



Ex Num. in Thes. Christianae Reg. Aug.

THE
WORKS
OF
HORACE,

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH PROSE,
AS NEAR AS THE PROPRIETY OF THE TWO LANGUAGES WILL ADMIT.

TOGETHER WITH
THE ORIGINAL LATIN,
FROM THE BEST EDITIONS.

WHEREIN
THE WORDS OF THE LATIN TEXT
ARE RANGED IN THEIR GRAMMATICAL ORDER;
THE ELLIPSES CAREFULLY SUPPLIED;
THE
OBSERVATIONS OF THE MOST VALUABLE COMMENTATORS
BOTH ANCIENT AND MODERN, REPRESENTED;
AND
THE AUTHOR'S DESIGN AND BEAUTIFUL DESCRIPTIONS
FULLY SET FORTH IN A KEY ANNEXED TO EACH POEM;
WITH NOTES GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL;
ALSO THE VARIOUS READINGS OF DR. BENTLEY.
THE WHOLE ADAPTED TO THE CAPACITIES OF YOUTH AT SCHOOL,
AS WELL AS OF PRIVATE GENTLEMEN.

BY DAVID WATSON, M. A.
OF ST. LEONARD'S COLLEGE, ST. ANDREWS.
A NEW EDITION.
REVISED, AND CAREFULLY CORRECTED THROUGHOUT,
BY W. CRAKELT, M. A.
EDITOR OF ENTICK'S LATIN DICTIONARY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. II.

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T O

D R. VALESIIUS WALKER.

SIR,

I PRESUME to address you in this public manner, that I may have an opportunity of expressing my gratitude for a series of favors almost beyond example: favors by so much the more engaging, as they regard that, without which life itself can hardly be accounted a blessing. In a word, Sir, I owe my present easy free state of health to your care and friendship; and, if I have been able to produce any thing in it, that, as an author at least, I am willing to believe may be useful in its way, it is reasonable that the public should receive it through your hands.

It is not my design to make this dedication a panegyric: the world is generally prejudiced, and indeed with good reason, against that method of praise. I shall therefore forbear mentioning those qualities in you, which have gained you so much the esteem of all who have the pleasure of your acquaintance. My own choice would rather lead me to speak of that by which I am more immediately indebted to you; but it is your peculiar way, even when you are laying a person under the greatest obligations, to forbid that public acknowledgment of them, which a grateful mind will be always ready to make.

I HAVE the honor to inscribe the following sheets to you, not only as a patron, but as a friend. The familiarity you have indulged me in allows me to say thus much ; and I know your good-nature will forgive me, if I am proud to mention a circumstance, which is now one of the chief pleasures of my life : and yet, perhaps, I would not have ventured so far, had not you yourself set the first example.

THAT your humanity and obliging temper may daily recommend you to the esteem of the public, and raise you soon to that extensive sphere of benevolence, for which you seem in a peculiar manner to have been formed by nature, is the hearty prayer of,

SIR,

Your most obliged, and

Most obedient humble servant,

THE TRANSLATOR.

T H E

P R E F A C E.

THE following sheets are intended as a second Volume to what is already published in this manner upon the *Odes*, *Epodes*, and *Carmen Seculare*. As the *plan* of that *work* has been generally approved of, and found useful to such as have made but a small proficiency in the *Latin* tongue; it was judged that an edition of all *Horace's* works done in that method would be an undertaking not unacceptable to the public. Accordingly it is here presented to the reader, and all possible care has been taken to keep close to the *plan* laid down in the first Volume.

WHAT appeared of the greatest importance to the translator, was to give the poet's true meaning. Accordingly he has made it his chief study to exhibit the precise ideas that *Horace* designed to communicate by his expressions, and this in language as near to the original as possible. He has not, indeed, been anxious to fashion his *phrases* with that exactness, that they might answer to the *Latin* word for word. That, besides that it very often would obscure the sense, appeared to him a labor quite unnecessary. For the words of the original are given in the order of construction, the several *Ellipses* are carefully supplied, and there are large *Annotations* added, to explain the difficulties arising from an allusion to

customs, metaphors, and such like modes of expression; in which cases chiefly he found it necessary to deviate from a strictly literal translation. In other parts he has been very exact, and is apt to think that, upon the whole, it will be found a closer and more explicit translation than any that hath yet appeared in the modern languages.

THE *Satires* and *Epistles* of *Horace* are full of morality and good sense. The most important precepts of philosophy are, in them, conveyed to the mind in the easiest manner. They give useful instructions for the conduct of life, display, in the strongest colors, the ridicule of vice, and insensibly form the soul to virtue. Few books are fitter to be put into the hands of youth; and, in fact, we find that our poet's works are more read than perhaps any other of all the *classics*. It is for this reason, that the translator has been at more than ordinary pains to render him of easy conception to the meanest capacity. Whatever relates to *history*, *antiquities*, *manners*, and *customs*, are explained at large in the *Notes*. Care has also been taken to illustrate the chief poetical beauties, that the young reader may be led, by degrees, to form his taste to correctness and propriety.

HAVING thus dispatched what seemed necessary to be said with respect to the design and method of this work; it will be expected that some notice be taken of the chief helps made use of in carrying it on. In the *Version*, indeed, regard was principally had to the original itself. For, as it was the main intention of the translator to render his author in a manner the most concise and near to the *Latin* he possibly could, he found it inconsistent with this design to follow the *French versions*, or even those in our own language; which, though for the most part well done in their way, and of good use in helping him to the meaning of several obscure passages; yet are generally so wide of the original, and allow themselves such liberties in varying the author's expressions, that he thought them by no means fit to be strictly followed, in a work chiefly intended for beginners.

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P R E F A C E.

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THE Notes are taken from a great variety of the most approved commentators, and selected with all possible care. Every thing superfluous has been industriously avoided: the translator, however, flatters himself, that his readers will miss nothing they could reasonably expect in a collection confined to such narrow limits. *Dacier* and *Sanadon* have been always consulted; for they had brought together whatever was most material in the commentators that went before them, so he found it, in general, his best way to follow them. This, however, did not hinder him from using proper diligence in consulting others also. *Cerutus*, *Cruquius*, *Lambinus*, *Torrentius*, and the late great Dr. *Bentley*, were always before him; and it was once his design to refer every note to its proper author: but that appearing, upon second thoughts, a very difficult task, as commentators often adopted one another's notions, without taking notice who it was that first started them, he dropped the design; and therefore has added a name only to some few remarks, where a certain peculiarity of criticism seemed to render such notice necessary. But, as he has no intention to rob those that went before him of the praise they are justly intitled to; so he thinks himself obliged to own, that, except a few observations dispersed here and there, and where he has sometimes varied the remark a little, to give it a greater clearness, or make it answer his particular notion, none of the merit of the following annotations belongs to him.

BUT, whatever care has been taken to render this second part of HORACE as correct as possible, the translator was unwilling to trust wholly to his own judgment. He has therefore submitted it to the perusal of several friends, to whose observations he owns himself greatly indebted. No one has done him greater service in this way than DR. PATRICK: he has taken the trouble to look over the sheets, one after another, and made several amendments, without which the work must have been far less perfect than it now appears. As this gentleman's name, both by his character as a teacher of the learned languages,

languages, and the several useful works he has given the public, is already well known in this sort of literature, I shall wave an unnecessary panegyric. Thus far, however, is but justice to inform the reader; that, as both the first and second Volumes of this work are the better for his revision, so the plan of it, which has been so generally approved of, was originally formed by him.

A
CRITICAL DISSERTATION
O N

The Origin and Progress of LYRIC POETRY and SATIRE
amongst the Ancients.

POETRY has, in all ages, been accounted an entertaining and useful study; and we meet with but few examples of great men, either in active or still life, that have not discovered a particular attachment to it. Indeed, we cannot conceive a more agreeable employment for the mind, when fatigued with a multiplicity of affairs, or willing to taste the pleasures of a retired life, than to unbend itself in the company of the Muses. This serves not only for amusement, but instruction: true poetry is always calculated to answer both these ends, and is therefore the fittest entertainment for great minds, which seldom are satisfied with bare pleasure, if not attended with profit. Hence poets have ever been held in the greatest esteem, and their memories, after their deaths, occasioned a certain veneration: men thought they could never enough testify their respect for those who had found out the way to divert them in their leisure-hours, and, by the useful works they had left behind them, put it in their power always to entertain themselves agreeably.

No wonder then if poetry, being so well received, has been cultivated with more than ordinary care. We find some traces of it in the earliest ages of the world; and as genius, when encouraged by a prospect of suitable rewards, seldom fails to exert itself in all its vigour, the fame and renown acquired by the first poets set others upon the like attempts, that, by improving upon the models they had left them, or striking out new tracks of their own, they might share, in some measure, of their glory. By this means several kinds of poetry were invented, and writers appeared, who distinguished themselves in all its different branches.

Among these no one has gained a greater reputation than HORACE: his *Odes* and *Satires* have been always accounted master-pieces in their kind; and we find, that, at this day, they are the delight of all who pretend to judgment and taste in writing. An approbation, so constant and universal, speaks HIM to be an author of uncommon merit; and accordingly the best critics have employed their pens in pointing out his beauties, and shewing the world how well the general esteem is grounded. As he is now presented to the public in a new manner, such as, it is hoped, will not only make the sense of the original better understood, but illustrate some of his poetical beauties; it may, perhaps, be no improper introduction to a work of this nature, to give some account of our author, and the kinds of poetry in which he chiefly excelled.

The genius of the *Romans*, especially in the infancy of their state, seems to have been formed only for war: ambition was their predominant passion, and the exercise of arms their darling study. *Romulus*, their first king, was himself of a very warlike temper, and, being engaged in continual contests with his neighbours, often led his subjects into the field. Thus that natural fierceness, for which they were so remarkable, daily gathered strength. As they had the good fortune generally to come off victorious, they began to enlarge their territories, and advance in power. This alarmed the neighbouring states, who could not, without jealousy, behold the flourishing condition of this new city. They foresaw danger to themselves in the prosperity of the *Romans*, and concluded, that unless a timely check was given to their run of success, they would soon prove too strong for them, and might, by degrees, bring them under a slavish dependence. To prevent this, alliances were formed, armies levied, and *Rome* attacked on all sides. But these several confederacies, far from answering the end expected from them, served only to advance that power they were designed to crush. The *Romans*, by the force of their native virtue alone, got the better of all this opposition. Being naturally a brave people, and having now the advantage of long experience, they became, in a manner, invincible, and arrived at that knowledge of military discipline, which

which makes a distinguishing part of their character, and is commonly held the chief cause of those amazing victories, by which they raised themselves to the sovereignty of the universe.

But all this time the polite arts were neglected: learning and science could not well flourish amidst the din and hurry of arms. Rhetoric, indeed, was always in great esteem, and the study of it, even in the more early ages of the state, pursued with uncommon assiduity. For in a republic, eloquence was found the surest road to preferment; and he, who, by his talent of speaking, could command the passions of people, and wind them which way he pleased, seldom failed of rising to the first honors of the commonwealth. But poetry, painting, and the other ingenious arts, made slower advances; nor was it till they had extended their conquests as far as *Greece*, that they began to apply, with true taste, to these studies. They had then an opportunity to examine the *Greek* originals, and copy after the most perfect models. It soon appeared, that the little progress poetry had made among them, was more owing to their never having applied their thoughts that way, than to any want of genius: for, in a very short space of time, they produced a set of poets all admirable in their way. *Livius Andronicus* was the first who brought a regular play upon the stage, soon after the end of the first *Punic* war. Succeeding writers, improving upon the hints he had given them, and keeping close in view the theatrical pieces of the *Greeks*, in a few years carried that species of poetry to perfection: for *Nævius*, *Ennius*, *Pacuvius*, *Accius*, *Cæcilius*, *Plautus*, *Afranius*, *Terence*, and *Lucilius*, all flourished before the end of the third *Punic* war. This account agrees exactly with what *HORACE* himself gives, in the first Epistle of his second Book.

*Et post Punica bella quietus, quærere cæpit,
Quid Sophocles, & Thespis, & Æschylus utile ferrent.
Tentavit quoque rem, si dignè vertere posset.*

Such was the temper of the *Romans*, that they could not rest satisfied with a moderate knowledge of things: they thought themselves born to excel in whatever they had once attempted; so that, when learning and the polite arts

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were introduced among them, they shewed no less eagerness to distinguish themselves this way, than they had before to render themselves masters of the military art. Nay, some tell us, that after the conclusion of the third *Punic* war, the power and grandeur of the *Romans* began visibly to decay, and ascribe it wholly to this uncommon passion for learning.

Whatever may be in that, so far is certain, that philosophers and men of letters were then in universal esteem and request: they were invited from all parts for the instruction of youth, and their advice was received with a kind of veneration, even in matters of state. Learning was looked upon as an essential qualification to recommend a man to honors and preferment; and the young nobility were no less concerned for the reputation of taste and science, than of courage and a martial capacity. Accordingly we find, that the several great men, who succeeded one another in the management of public affairs, were all eminent for their knowledge in philosophy and polite literature. *Sylla* wrote two and twenty Books of Memoirs, and contributed not a little to the advancement of learning, by transporting to *Rome* the famous library of *Apellicon* the *Peripatetic*. *Lucullus*, his successor, is known to have been one of the greatest scholars of his time. It is hard to say, whether he was a greater master of the pen or the sword. In the first part of his life he distinguished himself by his many victories in the *Mithridatic* war, and in the latter part of it by the pains he was at in his retirement to promote all kinds of knowledge.

But what may, perhaps, appear most wonderful, is, that learning never rose to greater perfection in *Rome*, than amidst the hurry and confusion of the civil wars. *Cicero*, *Crassus*, *Pompey*, *Antony*, *Cæsar*, *Cato*, and *Brutus*, who were the chief actors in them, were all famous in this way, and have, some of them, left monuments behind them that will be the admiration of latest posterity. It is to this period of time that we owe *HORACE*, born in an age of philosophers, orators, and poets, and with a genius that fitted him to rise to the first rank in the *commonwealth of letters*. The circumstances too were very favorable to a man of his temper:

temper: he had a father who was particularly careful of his education, and seemed to consider that as the best patrimony he could bestow upon him. The method which he followed in training him up was wonderfully adapted to quicken his emulation, and raise in him an ambition to excel: by pointing out on the one hand instances of vice, to make him sensible of the infamy that attended it; and proposing, on the other, examples of virtue, to inflame him with an early desire of glory, and beget an impatience of arriving at the same degree of honor and fame.

If we can judge of the poet's temper from his works, the old man seems to have well considered the genius and bent of his son. It is pretty evident, that he was passionately fond of fame, and was affected with nothing so much as the esteem and friendship of men of merit. A mind of this make was the likeliest of all others to be formed to what was laudable and praiseworthy, by applying the motives of infamy and honor. His father, moreover, took care to educate him in all the liberal arts, and accustom him, from his youth, to live with people of rank and distinction. He brought him, when almost but a child, to *Rome*, equipped him in the genteelst manner, and sent him to the same schools where the sons of the senators and first nobility received their education.

Thus was HORACE, from his infancy, taught to think in a manner above the vulgar, and considered himself as born for noble purposes. To be trained up with youths of quality gives the mind a certain dignity, and, as it were, inures it to greatness. *Greek* was then an essential part of education: our poet applied to it with great diligence, and made considerable advances; for, as we learn from himself, he was master of some of their best authors before he left *Rome*. *Athens*, at that time, the great school of politeness, gave the last finishings to his education. It was while he continued here, pursuing warmly the study of philosophy, that *Brutus*, passing through *Athens*, in his way to *Macedonia*, met him, and prevailed with him to accompany him to the army, where he made him a military tribune. It is probable that he gave early proofs of his genius for poetry. Some are of opinion, that the Satire, wherein
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he gives an account of the contest between *Perfius* and *Rupilius Rex*, was written at this time, on occasion of the latter's envying him the honor of being a military tribune. However that may be, I am apt to think, that his known capacity for poetry had, even at that time, recommended him to the esteem of several great men, and was what chiefly made him be so much taken notice of by *Brutus*. Every one has heard how he behaved at the battle of *Philippi*: the commonwealth was there finally overturned; and HORACE, stript at once of his fortune and hopes, left to provide for himself in the best manner he could.

The affairs of the *Romans* began now to have a new face: liberty, of which they had all along shewn themselves so passionately fond, was no more; and the state, from a republic, was fallen under the tyranny of three. These, too, soon fell out among themselves, and *Augustus*, by his artifices and plots, found means to get the government entirely into his own hands. But, as he had the example of *Cæsar* before his eyes, and knew that the *Roman* spirit was not easily to be broken, he affected great moderation; did every thing in his power to gain the favor of the people, and discovered a particular inclination to encourage learning and the liberal arts. *Mæcenas*, who was instead of his prime minister, and on whose advice he chiefly depended in all matters of consequence, contributed very much to improve this disposition in his prince, as foreseeing that it would be of great advantage to his affairs. Hence all who had any reputation for learning, and wanted to be well with the emperor, began by making court to *Mæcenas*; who, as he was considerably learned himself, and a great lover of ingenious men, seldom failed to give them a kind reception, and procure them the favor of his master. To this it is owing that *Mæcenas* has been always looked upon as the great patron of arts and sciences at that time, and carried away all the fame of encouraging them; though it is plain, he only complied with the inclinations of *Augustus*, who was, by much, the greater scholar, and did no less honor to learning by his example, than the esteem he professed for it. Industry, where it meets with suitable rewards, never fails to distinguish itself. As ingenious men were now in request, this
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put them upon exerting themselves; a laudable emulation was soon raised, and these mutual endeavours to outshine one another produced a set of the greatest geniuses that any age or country can boast of. Among others, that were recommended at that time to *Mæcenas*, was our poet. His merit gained him the esteem of that favorite, by whom, being introduced to *Augustus*, he found means to insinuate himself also into the good graces of the emperor. Thus fortune again smiled upon him, and things began to have a favorable aspect. As he was sensible that he owed his present hopes to his talent for poetry, so he knew the only way to cherish and increase these hopes, was by cultivating this talent with the greatest possible care. Gratitude too required, that he should do his utmost to celebrate a prince and patron, who gave him such daily marks of their friendship and esteem. Add, moreover, that this was the æra of great wits. *Rome*, at that time, abounded in poets, who excelled in all the different ways of writing. The *pastoral*, *elegiac*, *comic*, *tragic*, *epic*, &c. were almost carried to the highest perfection. We may well then suppose, that *HORACE*, who had so strong a passion for fame, would not be silent amidst such a crowd of great writers. Imagine, therefore, what may naturally be expected from a great genius, inspired by gratitude, emulation, and the hopes of raising his fortune and character. These were the spurs and incentives that fired our poet; these emboldened him to soar above the common rate of writers, and to attempt new and unfrequented paths.

It is reasonable to suppose, that *HORACE*, before he wrote any thing with a view to make it public, examined into the strength of his genius, considered well his own talents, and overlooked no circumstance by which he might be able to judge in what way of writing he was most likely to excel. This is a rule he has himself laid down in his *Art of Poetry*, as necessary to be observed by all who would acquire lasting fame from their works:

*Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, æquam
Viribus; Et versate diu, quid ferre recusent,
Quid valeant humeri: cui lecta potenter erit res,
Nec facundia deferet hunc, nec lucidus ordo.*

It is a rule he also more than once professes himself to have constantly followed in his compositions; and indeed, if we are to judge by the event, who can once question it? I would not, by this, be understood to insinuate, that he might not also have shone in other parts of poetry. Where no attempts have been made, it is hard to form a judgment; and could we even determine with certainty, it would be of no great consequence. HORACE, it is probable, found lyric poetry and satire the only way by which he could hope to acquire fame. All the other kinds of poetry were already improved by able hands, and had been brought in a manner to perfection. So he himself tells us, in the tenth Satire of his first Book: but these two afforded him still an ample field to expatiate in. Lyric poetry, particularly, was in a manner wholly unknown to the *Romans*; no one had attempted it besides *Catullus*: but I believe few, who consider the works of these two poets with any care, will imagine that HORACE could be the better for his going before him. Our poet, therefore, justly claims the merit of being the first and only lyric bard among the *Romans*. This is what he often hints at in his *Odes*; and though some accuse him of too much vanity and self-praise, yet they are forced to own he says nothing of himself but what was strictly true. As for *satire*, it had indeed passed through several hands; *Lucilius*, especially, had made great improvements in it, insomuch that some thought it was arrived at its greatest perfection: but HORACE still found it very defective, and capable of further graces and ornaments. *Lucilius* was incorrect in his versification, often wandered from his subject, and observed no measure or bounds in his excursions. This set HORACE upon examining into the nature and design of *satire*, that he might be able to ascertain its true boundaries, and form it into a more correct poem than any that had yet appeared in that way. The success answered his expectations; and, as he has owned by all to be the prince of the *Roman* lyric poets, his *Satires* have gained him no less reputation, and are still looked upon as the best pattern for those to copy after, who have a desire to excel in that species of poetry.

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We have thus taken a short view of the peculiar genius and character of HORACE, his education, the times in which he flourished, and the advantages arising from all these circumstances to form him for a great poet. We have seen too, that he applied himself chiefly to lyric poetry and satire, and has left behind him monuments in both kinds, that will do him eternal honor. It remains now that we speak more particularly of these two sorts of poetry, their origin, character, the changes that have happened to them till they were brought to perfection, and the several poets who have cultivated them.

To begin then with lyric poetry; it is undoubtedly the most ancient of all others, and had its rise from the festivals which were held by the first men, to relax their minds after hard labor, and return thanks to the Gods for all their favors. To fix the precise time when poetry first began to have some form would be a very difficult task; because the records of those more early ages of the world are so imperfect, that no reasonable conjecture can be drawn from them. Thus far however we may venture to say, that, as the worship and adoration of a Deity have been in some degree or other kept up ever since the world had a beginning, and, as hymns and songs to his honor are a natural consequence of that worship; it could not be long before some attempts were made in this way, though at first probably very rude, and ill put together. Poetry and music are very nearly related to each other; and therefore I am apt to think that there will be no absurdity in supposing they took their rise much about the same time. According to this account we may refer the first invention of poetry to *Jubal*, who is mentioned in scripture as the original contriver of musical instruments, and called *the father of all such as handle the harp and organ*.

But not to dwell too long upon inquiries that are rather ingenious than useful, we may be satisfied with observing, that the most ancient traces of this poetry are found among the *Hebrews*. For to pass over the songs of *David* and *Solomon*, which are of the same nature with the more grave and majestic *Odes* of HORACE; if we go still higher, we meet with that celebrated song of *Moses* upon *Pharaoh* and

his host's being overwhelmed in the *Red Sea*. Some of the best critics have commended it, as full of a noble enthusiasm, sublime ideas, and fine images: and in this indeed lay the chief excellence of their poetry; for several very learned critics seem to think they had no other poetry but the magnificence of expressions and images; and that by these only it was distinguished from common language. And perhaps this disdain to fetter themselves by feet and rhyme, was what chiefly contributed to give their songs that freedom and majesty, for which they are so remarkable.

If this poetry among the *Hebrews* surpassed that of other nations in the justness and majesty of the sentiments, it no less deserved attention for the use they made of it; for it was employed only in the worship of God, and for celebrating the virtue and bravery of great men. This is that wisdom which *Plato* attributes to the ancient *Egyptians*, when he commends them for not suffering their children to hear any verses or songs, but what tended to inspire virtue. For, says he, there is nothing more praiseworthy, or that better deserves the attention of a wise legislator, than to regulate the songs and solemnities belonging to festivals and sacrifices; in a word, every thing that regards mirth and pleasure. It is the work, says he, of a God, or at least of one above the common race of mortals. Thus all their dances, all their poetry, and all their songs, were sanctified; nor did they suffer any thing to enter into them, but what answered to the design of the received religion, and was worthy of the festivals they celebrated. This great elogium is so evidently due to the *Hebrews*, that there is no reason to doubt but *Plato* meant it of them. He calls them *Egyptians* upon account of their long abode in *Egypt*, which has made them often be confounded with that people: and the divine person, to whom he ascribes this wisdom of government, can be no other than *Moses*. Thus poetry had flourished long among the *Hebrews*, before the *Greeks* had any notion of it. Their first essays were very imperfect, without regularity or method; but time and experience made great alterations. Poetry by degrees began to assume different shapes, and, being ranged into distinct classes, each had a subject, style, and

and versification peculiar to itself. It is not possible to determine the times when these changes happened, or the several persons by whom they were brought about: antiquity has left us very much in the dark in that respect. All we can pronounce with certainty is, that towards the twenty-seventh *Olympiad*, lyric poetry had received its true form in the works of *Alcman*, who is the most ancient writer in that way, and of whom many fragments remain.

It is observable of all other kinds of poetry, that they confine themselves entirely to one sort of verse. Thus epic poetry chuses always heroics; tragedy, iambics; and elegy, an alternate mixture of the *hexameter* and *pentameter*. But lyric poetry admits of all the different kinds without distinction, and varies its numbers and versification according to the humor of the poet. Nor is this liberty confined only to the verse; it allows too of the same diversity in the subjects: for although at first it was employed wholly in honor of the Gods and great heroes, yet by degrees it extended also to things of a less serious nature, and was used on occasions of mirth, diversion and gallantry. This change is plainly to be seen in the works of *Sappho* and *Alcaeus*, who lived about fifty years after *Alcman*. But there is reason to think that they were not the first authors of it; for *Plutarch* ranks even *Alcman* among those who composed love-songs for the harp. Succeeding poets followed the example, and by their authority gave a sanction to this practice. Hence *HORACE*, after speaking of the character of some of the chief kinds of poetry, and the verse and subjects proper to each, adds:

*Musa dedit fidibus Divos, puerosque Deorum,
Et pugilem victorem, & equum certamine primum,
Et juvenum curas, & libera vina referre.*

“*Calliope* taught to celebrate on the harp the Gods, and
“the offspring of the Gods; to praise the victories of a
“wrestler, or swiftness of a courser that had gained the
“prize; to sing the gallantries of the youth, and describe
“the jovial mirth of a debauch.” Thus lyric poetry
in a manner multiplied itself, not only by the several kinds
of verse employed in it, but also by the variety of subjects
which it embraced. This gave it a great advantage over

all other poetry, which, as they were confined both in the subject and measure, could not break those bounds without destroying their very nature.

Greece in the space of two hundred and twenty years produced a set of lyric poets all admirable in their way. They are commonly reckoned nine in number, and flourished one after another, in the following order: *Alcman, Stesichorus, Sappho, Alcæus, Simonides, Ibycus, Anacreon, Pindar, Bacchylides*. There are none of all these whose works have had the good fortune to survive, except *Pindar* and *Anacreon*, for there are only two Odes remaining of *Sappho*: the other six furnish us only with a few scattered fragments, which, as they are scarce sufficient whereby to form any tolerable conjecture concerning their style, can yet less enable us to judge of the character, form, and connection of their odes. *Quintilian*, who had their works entire, contents himself with making a few observations upon the four chief of them, *Pindar, Stesichorus, Alcæus, and Simonides*, and pointing out the advantages which *Pindar* had over his rivals: *Spiritus magnificentiâ, sententiis, figuris, beatissimâ rerum verborumque copiâ, & velut quodam eloquentiæ flumine, propter quæ HORATIUS eum meritò credidit nemini imitabilem.* “By
“ the greatness of his genius and imagination, his sentences, figures, a happy abundance of things and expressions, and by that torrent of eloquence, which made
“ *HORACE* with reason believe that no other poet could
“ imitate him.” But he does not descend to any particular detail, nor acquaint us wherein the form and beauty of their style chiefly consisted, or whether their poems had any resemblance to each other; on all which it were to be wished he had left us his judgment.

With regard to the style, there is a great diversity of opinions. *Cicero* in his *Orator* tells us, that the custom of singing these poems was what alone gave them their harmony, and made them appear to be written in verse; without which the pieces of their best poets were no more than a kind of prose: *Quamquam etiam à modis quibusdam, cantu remoto, soluta esse videatur oratio, maximèque id in optimo quoque eorum poetarum, qui λυρικοὶ à Graecis nominantur; quos cum cantu spoliaveris, nuda penè remanet oratio.* From this some would infer,

fer, that the style of the *Greek* ode was simple, and a kind of prosaic language, very different from that of poetry. But this can never sure be the meaning of *Cicero*, whose judgment upon this supposition would be very false, especially with regard to the works of *Pindar*, whose expressions are so noble and full of fire, that their poetry easily appears without the help of singing them. Nay, even when his verses are unravelled, and reduced into the form of prose, we yet never fail to find *disjecti membra poetæ*. The same thing might be observed with respect to *Stesichorus* and *Alcæus*; seeing *Quintilian* says of the first, *that he supported with the harp all the majesty of epic poetry; et epici carminis onera lyrâ sustinentem*: and of the other, that he was *plerumque Homero similis*. It would be hard to conceive after this, that their expressions must be accompanied with singing to make the harmony and poetry appear. This therefore is not what *Cicero* meant to say: he would only be understood to mean, that in the lyric poetry of the *Greeks*, the feet were so far from being remarkable, that the ear in hearing them read was scarce able to distinguish them, and seemed to attend only to prose. It was chiefly the singing, that in marking the different measures ascertained also the verse. Without this they had the same appearance as the *Hebrew* poetry, of which we have spoken before, and which was lifted above common discourse only by a certain grandeur of sentiments and nobleness of expression.

This is so true, that even at this day, the best critics are not a little puzzled to unravel some of the stanzas of *Pindar*, and ascertain the measures of his verse; whereas, if we understood the ancient manner of singing, the music would at once guide us how to regulate and distinguish them. And there is room to think, that these measures, concealed under the natural appearance of prose, greatly contributed to give to the poetry of *Pindar* that nobleness and freedom, which we are often struck with in it, without knowing the cause. For art is never so perfect, nor pleases better, than when concealed so as to be taken for nature herself.

The *Strophe*, *Antistrophe*, and *Epode*, were invented but a very little time before *Pindar*; and he was probably the

first who introduced them into lyric poetry. They were stanzas consisting of a certain number of verses, often of various measure, and sung by the chorus with different gestures and movements. In singing the *strophe*, they made a motion from the right to the left, that is, from the east to the west: in singing the *antistrophe*, they moved from the left to the right, or from west to east; and in singing the *epode*, they stood still without any motion at all. This division, I say, had been invented some time before *Pindar*, and applied to the chorus of tragedy, first by *Æschylus*, and afterwards by *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, who, without confining themselves to any fixed rule, gave the chorus sometimes a continued song; sometimes divided into *strophes* and *antistrophes*; and sometimes into *strophes*, *antistrophes*, and *epodes*. This variety, conducted with judgment, and supported by all the majesty and beauty of poetry, produced a diversity of songs and dances; which gave a wonderful grace to the representation, and infinitely delighted the spectators.

Pindar, observing the success of this division in the chorus, and the beautiful turn which the measures thus varied and bounded gave to that poetry truly lyric, judged, with reason, that it might have an equally good effect in his Odes. He resolved therefore to imitate them, and the design succeeded to his wish. It is this that has given to his poetry a certain easiness and freedom, which we never meet with in odes, where his division is not followed.

But, to pass from the *Greeks* to the *Romans*, poetry at its first rise among them was of two kinds: one sacred to the praise of Gods and heroes, the other made up of railleries and satirical jests. The first of these we may well presume to have been the most ancient, as it was the principal care of that warlike people to excite courage, and cherish religion. Even as early as *Numa* we read the verses of the *Salii*, which were a collection of songs sung by the priests of *Mars* in honor of the Gods. This was commonly done while they were sacrificing to *Hercules*; and it was usual to mention in them the names of such as had distinguished themselves by any great exploits. Soon after this, the custom was introduced of singing at the public feasts, and even at private

private entertainments; the praises of great men, sometimes barely with the voice, at other times accompanying it with the flute and harp. This is what *Cato* mentions in his book *de Originibus*, as we learn from *Cicero*, *Tusc. Quæst. L. 1.* *Quaquam est in Originibus, solitos esse in epulis canere convivæ ad tibicinem de clarorum hominum virtutibus.* And again in his *Brutus*, *Atque utinam extarent illa carmina, quæ multis sæculis ante suam ætatem in epulis esse cantitata à singulis convivis de clarorum virorum laudibus, in Originibus scriptum reliquit Cato.* “It were much to be wished that those poems were still extant, which were sung by the guests at public and private entertainments in honor of illustrious men, as *Cato* has informed us in his book *de Originibus.*”

But the *Greeks* had long before this time carried lyric poetry to perfection, seeing, as has been before remarked, in the space of two hundred and twenty years, they had enjoyed a race of poets who had given it all the graces and improvements it was capable of receiving; whereas the *Romans* suffered it to continue in its first rudeness, not only all that time, but long after it had altogether ceased in *Greece*. For even after they begun to read with attention the *Greek* authors, which was not till towards the end of the second *Punic* war, they yet profited very little by the great examples they were furnished with in this kind of poetry; their genius led them entirely to dramatic performances, as *HORACE* observeth in the first Epistle of his second Book;

Serus enim Græcis admovit acumina chartis;

Et, post Punica bella quietus, quærere cæpit,

Quid Sophocles, & Thespis, & Æschylus utile ferrent.

They did not therefore so much apply themselves to the study of *Pindar*, *Alcæus*, and *Stesichorus*, as of the tragic poets: accordingly we do not meet with so much as one lyric poet in all that space of time, which passed between the first *Punic* war and the *Augustan* age. So that from the first foundation of *Rome*, till the times of that emperor, that is, during a period of above seven hundred years, the *Romans* had no other lyric poetry than their first extemporary essays; viz. the hymns of the *Salii*, and those rude unfinished songs which were sung at table in honor of great men.

men. HORACE therefore was the first, and indeed, properly speaking, the only *Roman* lyric poet: born with a happy natural genius, which was improved by a good education, and the reading the best writers among the *Greeks*, he imitated with success the manner of *Alcæus*, *Stesichorus*, *Anacreon*, and *Sappho*.

It is true, that some little time before HORACE, in the dictatorship of *Julius Cæsar*, *Catullus* had published several pieces, for which he is by some critics ranked among the lyric poets. But upon examination it will be found, that they have rather ventured a little too far. In the works of *Catullus* there are only two or three pieces at most in the lyric strain: one of these is no more than a translation of an ode of *Sappho*, and the other two are of a character very different from the manner of HORACE. All his other pieces lead us rather to consider him as an iambic poet, which, as it was held to be a distinct species of poetry in *Greece*, so was it also at *Rome*. Hence *Quintilian*: *Iambus non sanè à Romanis celebratus est, ut proprium opus, à quibusdam interpositus: cujus acerbitas in Catullo, Bibaculo, & Horatio; quanquam illi epodos intervenire reperiatur*. After which he adds: *At lyricorum idem Horatius ferè solus legi dignus*. Thus *Quintilian* manifestly distinguishes between iambic and lyric poets: the *Romans* in the former of these did not fall short of the *Greeks*, for we have seen that *Quintilian* mentions three, the same number that flourished in *Greece*; but the genius for lyric poetry discovered itself much less at *Rome*. Under their first kings they had only the verses of the *Salii*, and some imperfect songs: and things continued in much the same situation during the times of the republic, because of the little encouragement then given to poetry. In fine, under *Augustus* HORACE was the first and only poet who disputed the prize in this way with *Greece*. There were indeed others about that time, who seem to have raised great expectations. HORACE, speaking of *Titus Sestimius*, says:

Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus.

But it is doubtful whether any of his works were ever made public; if they were, they are now entirely lost.

It is a great happiness that the two only lyric poets, whose works have been handed down to us entire, are precisely those whom all have owned to be the best; *Pindar* and *Horace*. The first has been admired for his sublimity, depth, and rapid flight: *HORACE*, as he had not these in so great a degree, has been wise enough not to attempt to imitate him. *Alcæus*, *Stesichorus*, *Simonides*, and *Anacreon*, were those he chose to copy after in the lyric way; and *Archilochus* in the iambic. Not but that our poet sometimes soars in his flight very high, and supports himself with a becoming dignity in that elevation; but his flight is different from *Pindar's*, who soars above the clouds, and is always borne up by a favorable wind. *HORACE* therefore must be owned inferior to him in this respect, and also in the form and character of his odes, which are continued, and not divided by *strophes*, *antistrophes*, and *epodes*, like those of *Pindar*. Nor are we to imagine, that the want of this division in the odes of *HORACE* is to be ascribed to any defect in his language, which was rich and copious enough to have furnished that variety; we are rather to impute it to the music, which, as it was of a different kind, and far inferior to that of the *Greeks*, could not be accommodated to this sort of poetry. If *HORACE* had been as much favored by the music as *Pindar*, I am apt to think he would have followed that division, at least in his Secular Poem, which, as it was composed for a very particular solemnity, and to be sung by two choruses of boys and girls, gave him a very natural occasion of imitating the *Greek* poet. The *Romans* seem to have known nothing of these songs divided into *strophes*, *antistrophes*, and *epodes*: this appears not only from their odes, but also from the chorus of their tragedies, which was always continued, as may yet be seen in the chorus of the tragedies of *Seneca*.

But if *HORACE* was inferior to *Pindar* in enthusiasm, and what we may call poetical transport, he made ample amends for this in other points: he was not only a great poet, but also a great philosopher, and a great critic. In reading his works we meet with nothing that demeans the author; he in every thing appears a man who knew the world

world perfectly, and always instructs in a way of gaiety and humor. He explains to us in the clearest manner all the duties of civil life, and teaches us how to live well with ourselves, with our equals, and with our superiors. The man in public or private life, the magistrate, the warrior, the king and subject; in a word, all conditions and stages of life find in him precepts of the greatest weight, and the best adapted to their several situations.

It is easy to give examples in every one of these ways. When he addresses particulars, he advises them to contentment in a moderate fortune; not to give themselves up to the pursuits of ambition, or disquiet their lives by unavailing cares. He exhorts them in adversity to support themselves by the hopes of a change to the better, and in prosperity to be prepared against the accidents life is liable to.

Book II. Ode 3.

*Æquam memento rebus in arduis
Servare mentem; non secus in bonis
Ab insolenti temperatam
Iacitiâ.*

And again, Ode 10. of the same Book:

*Sperat infestis, metuit secundis
Alteram sortem benè præparatum
Pectus. Informes byemes reducit
Jupiter; idem
Summovet: non, si malè nunc, & olim
Sic erit.*

Magistrates he teaches to gain an entire mastery over their passions, to distribute justice with an unshaken firmness, and put the laws strictly in execution. What a fine picture does he give, in the 5th Ode of his 4th Book, of the happiness which Italy enjoyed under the wise government of Augustus? How often, in describing the rules followed by that prince, to settle the tranquillity of the empire, and make his subjects happy, does he tacitly convey the finest instructions for persons in a public character, armed with power and authority? Where can we see the character of an able magistrate better drawn, than in the 9th Ode of the fourth Book, addressed to Lollius, and applied to him:

-----*Est animus tibi
Rerumque prudens, & secundis*

Tem-

*Temporibus dubiisque rectus ;
Vindex avaræ fraudis, & abstinens
Ducentis ad se cuncta pecuniæ :
Consulque non unius anni ;
Sed quoties bonus atque fidus
Judex honestum prætulit utili, &
Rejecit alto dona nocentium
Vultu; & per obstantes catervas
Explicuit sua victor arma.*

To warriors he recommends hardiness, and a strict adherence to military discipline. They are to be trained up from their infancy to toil and danger, and early inured to bear hunger and watching, with all the other fatigues of a camp. Book, III. Ode 2.

*Angustam, amici, pauperiem pati
Robustus acri militiâ puer
Condiscat, & Partbos feroces
Vexet eques metuendus hastâ ;
Vitamque sub dio, & trepidis agat
In rebus.*

To instance in but one case more : he counsels the generals of armies, by setting before their eyes an example, that, to the protection of heaven, they ought to join, on their side, care, watchfulness, and foresight ; which are the sure resource of armies in all the operations of war, and ascertain the success of the most hardy enterprizes. His words are very remarkable:

*Nil Claudiae nonefficient manus ;
Quas & benigno numine Jupiter
Defendit, & curæ sagaces
Expediunt per acuta belli.*

" There is nothing so great or difficult, that the *Neros* will
" not execute with success ; *Jupiter* always accompanies
" them with his protection, and their watchful care and
" foresight extricates them happily from all the perils of
" war." Without this prudence and vigilance the greatest
force but destroys itself, and sinks under its own weight :

Vis consilii expers mole ruit suâ.

For the safety of states does not so much consist in their strength and great armies, as the wisdom and prudence
of

of those who sit at the helm. For so *Sallust* has very well observed: *Ego ita comperi, omnia regna, civitates, nationes, usque eò prosperum imperium habuisse, dum apud eos vera consilia valuerunt.* "I have found it universally to hold true, "that kingdoms, cities, and nations, have continued to "flourish in prosperity, so long as they have had the advantage of good counsels, and been wise enough to attend "to them." What has been said may serve to make us sensible of the usefulness of *HORACE's* lyric poems, and the great instruction that may be drawn from them in every condition and circumstance of life. It will be expected, that we now say something of the nature and character of lyric poetry; what are the laws prescribed to it, and wherein its chief beauty consists. As *Horace* and *Pindar* are allowed by all to stand in the first rank among this tribe of writers, I shall follow *Dacier* in making a few observations on their practice, by which we may be the better enabled to judge of works of this nature.

The *Ode* is a short poem, composed to be played upon the harp, or in imitation of such as are played upon it. It employs in its different compositions all the several kinds of verse, and often admits a variety of them in the same piece. Embracing too all manner of subjects, it treats those of a lesser kind with an air of gaiety, yet always noble; and the great ones with an elevation, that appears rather the effect of inspiration and enthusiasm, than of a sound judgment. What therefore we call the more elevated kind of lyric poetry, being the effect of enthusiasm, it necessarily follows:

I. That it may begin with transport, and a certain poetical fury; for inspiration allows of these quick and sudden emotions: and we meet with many instances of them in *Pindar* and *Horace*. Epic poetry is of quite a different character; for being a work of length, the poet is obliged to enter upon it with an *exordium*, to explain his subject, and beg for inspiration; and this *exordium* must be simple, because it is only the poet that speaks, who as yet is supposed not to be inspired. This is the rule observed both by *Homer* and *Virgil*. There is therefore a great difference betwixt the way of beginning an ode, and the *exordium* of an epic poem. Not but that the ode employs also some-

times

times this sort of *exordium*: it depends upon the poet to demand aid of the Muses. It is a method that *Pindar* and *Horace* have often taken; but these *exordiums* differ from the beginning of the ode, and are simple like those of the epic poem.

II. The poet ought to say things *remarkable, new, and uncommon*. This is a rule *HORACE* lays down to himself:

*Dicam insigne, recens, adhuc
Indictum ore alio.*

Of consequence he must reject *whatever is little, low, or speaks the weakness of mortality*; as the same poet has it:

*Nil parvum, aut humili modo,
Nil mortale loquar.*

It is in the more sublime lyric poetry as in painting. In lofty and heroic subjects a great painter does not amuse himself in little flourishes and airs; he aims at grandeur, nobleness, and strength in his figures, and rejects every thing frivolous, low or groveling. A great poet follows the same rule; and when he descends to little subjects, such as are gay and tender, and demand not that majesty and stateliness, he nevertheless still keeps up in some measure to his character, aims at novelty and gracefulness, and is particularly careful in the choice of his ornaments. The elegant, the graceful, the noble, the great, the sublime, pleasant images, figures, sentences, it is out of these that he makes his choice. If he rises above the clouds, he is able to support himself in that elevation, and to descend from it without tumbling headlong; and if at any time he takes his stand upon the earth, it is that he may gather from it the fairest flowers. As a painter is not accounted a perfect master of his art, whose talent only consists in representing great and august scenes; in like manner a lyric poet may be looked upon as deficient, whose genius is only fitted for the more sublime parts of composition. Both one and the other ought to possess all manners, the tender, the delicate, the lively and the trifling, that nature may be justly represented in all her different forms and shapes.

III. Lyric poets never observe rule or method in their pieces, nor affect to deliver themselves in a train of connected sentiments:

sentiments : inspiration, free and unconfined, despises regularity and constraint. But it would be an error to infer hence, that judgment is entirely excluded : for this seeming disorder must be conducted by the nicest judgment ; and the transitions, at the same time that they appear accidental and without design, are all the effect of a nicely concealed art.

IV. The several stanzas and couplets ought not to end with points and witticisms in the manner of epigrams. Nothing is more remote from the nature of lyric poetry, or favors less of inspiration. A man truly inspired is above the little turns of wit : genius is his predominant talent, which is of a very different nature, as might easily be made appear by a variety of convincing examples.

V. As morality is, properly speaking, the soul of poetry, here it must not be cold and trivial, but sublime, elevated, and brightened by all the ornaments of a warm imagination. It must at the same time be incorporated with the work, so as to make an essential part of it, not barely inlaid.

VI. Lastly, in the verse there must be number and harmony to charm the ear. I say, number and harmony, different from feet and rhyme ; such as results from a judicious choice of terms, their magnificence, connexion, and arrangement, which, when done with art, gives them a musical turn, that transports and ravishes the soul. This is that harmony which *Homer* first gave an example of, and which so apparently reigns in the Odes of *Pindar* and *Horace*. There is no kind of music more perfect, or that gives the mind a truer pleasure. This then is what we call lyric poetry ; and wherever these characteristics are wanting in a performance, it can have no just pretensions to that name. This too may be the reason why we meet with so few that excel in it. It requires a happy genius ; nor is that sufficient, unless cultivated by a careful study of the ancients, and a perfect comprehension of all those beauties in which they abound.

To say truth, this is necessary in every species of writing, but I believe I may venture to say is more so in lyric poetry than any other. The *Romans*, so long as they depended upon the mere strength of natural genius, made but small proficiency

iciency in learning; but when they came to be acquainted with the great wits of *Greece*, and study their works, the case was strangely altered. This appeared first in their dramatic poetry, which, by this means, in a short time received very considerable improvements. *Virgil*, by copying *Theocritus*, *Hesiod*, and *Homer*, gained great fame in all their different ways of writing; and as for *HORACE*, he every where professes himself an admirer and follower of the *Greeks*. We are not therefore to wonder, if he recommends to the poets of his own age, that they read day and night the *Greek* originals:

Vos exemplaria Græca

Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ.

This then we see is the method which sound reason has in former times dictated, and still continues to dictate. It is by an adherence to it, that our modern poets have acquired solid renown; for we find in fact, that they are the most esteemed, who most profess to admire and follow the ancients. Where this has been neglected, we meet with nothing but vanity and presumption; and whatever fame some may have gained, it is only with the unthinking part of mankind, and of but very short duration.

We have thus brought down the history of lyric poetry from its original to the times of *HORACE*; shewn the several changes that happened to it, and given some account of the chief poets who cultivated it. It remains that we proceed to a view of the other part of *HORACE*'s works; I mean his Satires. And here observing the same method as before, we shall endeavour to give, from the best authors, the origin, antiquity, growth, and completement of satire among the *Romans*; describe the nature of that poem, its several sorts, and distinguishing characteristics, and conclude with a comparison of *Horace*, *Juvenal* and *Persius*.

With respect to the origin of satire, there are great disputes among the critics; some deducing it from the satiric drama of the *Greeks*, others with no less warmth contending that it is wholly of *Roman* extract. Of the first opinion are *Julius Scaliger* and *Heinsius*; *Casaubon*, *Rigaltius* and *Dacier* maintain the latter. It is certain that satire,
con-

considered as an invective poem, is common to all nations. Nature teaches us, when provoked by others, to reproach them with their faults, and we find implanted in us a sense of ridicule, by which we are disposed to laugh at whatever appears absurd and fantastical. But when we consider satire as a particular species of poetry, and find it cultivated under different forms in *Greece* and *Rome*; it then becomes a question, whether the *Romans*, who were later than the *Greeks*, might not take the name and first hint of this poem from them, giving it only a different turn; or whether it was not entirely of their own growth, and in use among them before they had any commerce with that people.

We shall begin with the opinion of *Scaliger* and *Heinfius*, who make it to descend to *Rome* from *Greece*. They tell us, that the proper name of this poem is *Satyra*, with a *y*, and derive it from that mixt kind of animal, or, as the ancients thought him, rural God, made up of a form betwixt a man and a goat, called by the *Greeks* a *Satyr*, and by the *Romans* a *Faun*. Thus, according to them, from the word *Satyrus*, comes *Satyra*; and this they the more earnestly contend for, not only because of the affinity of the name, but also because of the great resemblance which they pretend to find betwixt the satire of the *Romans*, and the satirical pieces of the *Greeks*. Let us therefore examine into the original of these *Greek* satiric poems, and see whether we can meet with any such resemblance.

The *Grecians*, in celebrating their festivals to *Bacchus*, *Ceres*, and the other Deities, to whose bounty they supposed themselves indebted for their corn and wine, and other helps of life, introduced a dance of *Satyrs*. These *Satyrs*, as I have before described them, were a mixt kind of animal, and were, with the *Sileni*, supposed to be the tutors, attendants, and companions of *Bacchus*. The *Greeks* therefore habiting themselves like these rural Deities, and carrying *canisters* and *cornucopias* full of several kinds of fruit in their hands, imitated them in their rustic dances, to which they joined songs, with some sort of rude harmony, but without certain numbers, and to these they added a kind of chorus. *Thespis*, or whosoever he was that first invented tragedy, mingled with

with it this chorus and dances of Satyrs. Their character too, which was that of mirth and wantonness, was still kept up. His design in this was, no doubt, to keep up the attention of the common people, who are apt to grow weary of good sense, and, as daily experience may teach us, are so fond of nothing as buffoonery and farce. *Horace*, in his *Art of Poetry*, gives the same account of the matter:

*Carminē qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum,
Mox etiam agrestes Satyros nudavit, Et asper
Incolumi gravitate jocum tentavit; eò quòd
Illecebris erat Et gratâ novitate morandus
Spectator, sanctusque sacris, Et potus, Et exlex.*

From hence it came, that in the *Olympic* games, where the poets contended for four prizes, the satyric tragedy was the last of them; for, in the rest, the Satyrs were excluded from the chorus. *Euripides* has, by good fortune, left behind him one of those satyric pieces, called the *Cyclops*. By this we may be enabled to form some tolerable judgment of those poems, and, at the same time, see wherein they resemble the *Roman* satire. The story, upon which the fable of this piece was founded, is well known. After the destruction of *Troy*, *Ulysses*, proposing to return into his own country, was prevented by a variety of incidents, and forced to wander ten years; during which space he experienced all the rigors of fortune. Among the rest of his adventures, he and his companions were driven upon that part of the coast of *Sicily*, which was inhabited by the *Cyclops*. They applied immediately for relief to *Silenus* and the *Satyrs*, who were herdsmen to *Polyphemus* the one-eyed giant, and by them kindly received and entertained; but being at last perceived by *Polyphemus* himself, they were, contrary to the rules of hospitality, shut up in prison. *Ulysses* eloquently pleaded in his own and followers behalf, but all in vain; for they were put down into a den, and some of them devoured. The hero, greatly provoked at this outrage, and bent upon revenge, contrived to make him drunk, and when he was a sleep thrust out his eye with a firebrand. By this means he escaped with the remaining part of his followers, and freed *Silenus* and the *Satyrs* from their servitude under *Polyphemus*, who were now remitted to their first li-

berty of attending and accompanying their patron *Bacchus*.

We see then the nature of these satyric poems, which were a mixture of farce and tragedy. The adventure of *Ulysses* was to entertain the wiser part of the audience, and the uncouth person of *Silenus* and the *Satyrs* to divert the common people with their gross railleries. But in what can these be said to resemble the satire of the *Romans*? or where is the likeness between a pastoral tragedy and a paper of verses satirically written? The character and raillery of the *Satyrs* is the only thing that looks like affinity; but sure that can never give foundation to think that the one is derived from the other. What may have possibly led *Scaliger* and *Heinsius* into this mistake, is, that *HORACE*, giving an account of the origin of poetry among the *Romans*, tells us, that they had certain young men, who at their festivals (in a manner not unlike to the *Satyrs* of the *Greeks*) danced and sung, after their uncouth manner, to a certain kind of verse which they called *Saturnian*. It was moreover the custom on these holydays, which were a mixture of devotion and debauchery, for these rustics to reproach each other with their faults, in a sort of *extempore* poetry, and to answer in the same kind of gross raillery. The verses are:

*Agricolæ prisce, fortes, parvoque beati,
Condita post frumenta, levantes tempore festo
Corpus, & ipsum animum spe finis dura ferentem,
Cum sociis operum, & pueris, & conjuge fidâ,
Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant,
Floribus & vino Genium, memorem brevis ævi.*

As this seems to have some resemblance to the singing and dancing of the *Satyrs* among the *Greeks*, so it was what gave the first hint of satire among the *Romans*: and it is further remarkable, that this custom, as it had something of the nature of the old *Grecian* comedy in it, so, in process of time, it had the same fortune; for both, degenerating into abuse, were forbidden by law. For so *HORACE* goes on to tell us, in the forecited passage:

*Fescennina per hunc inuenta licentia morem,
Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit;*

*Libertasque recurrentes accepta per annos
Lusit amabiliter : donec jam sævus apertam
In rabiem verti cæpit jocus, & per honestas
Ire domos impunè minax. Doluere cruento
Dente laceffiti; fuit intactis quoque cura
Conditione super communi : quin etiam lex
Pœnaque lata, malo quæ nollet carmine quenquam
Describi. Vertère modum, formidine fustis
Ad benè dicendum deletandumque redacti.*

Hear now what the same poet says, speaking of the old Greek comedy :

*Successit vetus his comædia, non sine multâ
Laude; sed in vitium libertas excidit, & vim
Dignam lege regi: lex est accepta; chorusque
Turpiter obticuit, sublato jure nocendi.*

No wonder, therefore, if *Scaliger* and *Heinsius*, finding such a likeness between the origin of the satyric tragedy of the *Greeks*, and satire among the *Romans*, conclude, that the one is derived from the other. Perhaps they imagined that *HORACE* here was shewing the original of poetry in general, *Grecian* as well as *Roman*; or that the mirth and jollity of these *Roman* festivals were an imitation of the songs and dances of the *Satyrs* at the festivals of the *Greeks*. But this would be confounding two things, in themselves, very different; for the *Romans* knew nothing of these *Grecian* demi-gods: and their first farces, which were the rudiments of their poetry, were written before they had any communication with the *Greeks*. All that we can infer from it is, that as nature is the same in all places, and poetry took its first rise from the festivals that were held in honor of the Gods; so there seems to have been a great resemblance in the original and progress of it both among the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

It appears, therefore, that the satyric drama of the *Greeks*, and satire of the *Romans*, had no affinity but in name; and, to say truth, it seems to be on this chiefly, that *Scaliger* and *Heinsius* have founded their conjecture. But *Cassaubon* and his followers, with reason, reject this derivation: for the word *Satira*, as it signifies a poem, can never, with any propriety, be made to come from *Satyrus*. For *satira*

is an adjective, to which *lanx*, a charger, must be understood; so that the *Greek* poem, made in imitation of the manner of a *Satyr*, and expressing his qualities, must properly be called *satyrical*, not *satire*. That the *Grecians*, indeed, had such poems must be allowed; but then they were wholly different in kind from that to which the *Romans* gave the name of *Satire*.

Besides the satyric tragedies, the *Greeks* had another kind of poem, which they called *Silli*. These, indeed, approached more nearly to the *Roman* satire, and were full of railleries and invectives; as we may easily discern from some fragments still remaining of the *Silli* of *Timon*. *Casaubon* derives the name from *Silenus* the foster-father of *Bacchus*; but afterwards, considering a little better of it, he changes his mind, and deduces the word ἀπὸ τῆς συλλαίου, from their scoffing and petulancy. There is, however, this essential difference between these and the *Roman* satire, that the *Silli*, from one end to the other, were nothing but *parodies*; that is, verses patched up from great poets, and turned into quite another sense than their authors intended. Of this kind is the famous *Cento* of *Ausonius*, where the words are taken from *Virgil*; but, being applied to a quite different sense, they make the relation of a wedding-night, and fulsomely described the very act of consummation in the words of the modestest of all poets. In like manner, in the *Silli* of *Timon*, the words are taken from *Homer*, and the tragic poets; but satirically applied to some customs and sects of philosophy which he arraigns. The *Roman* satire, on the contrary, never uses any of these *parodies*. Sometimes, indeed, they repeat the verses of other men, as *HORACE*, in the fifth Satire of the second Book, cites two lines from *Furius*, and *Persius* some of *Nero's*; but not with a design to invert the sense, but only to ridicule them. The *Silli* therefore cannot be supposed to be the original of *Roman* satire, inasmuch as parody is essential to one, and no way belongs to the other.

Thus we have examined into the pretensions of *Greece*, and found that the *Romans* borrowed neither the name nor the manner of their satires thence. The truth is, satire, as we have it in the works of *Horace*, *Persius*, and *Juvenal*,
was

was a kind of poetry known only to the Romans. *Quintilian* says, in express terms, *Satira quidem tota nostra est*; *Satire is wholly of our own growth*. *HORACE* too, in the last Satire of his first Book, speaking of his predecessor in that way of poetry, calls him, *Græcis intacti carminis auctor*. Thus the poet and orator, both the best critics of the times in which they lived, are clearly on our side. Let us see, then, whether we can, from *Casauben*, give a natural etymology of the word. *Satire*, says he, comes from *satura*, a Roman word, which signifies full and abundant, where nothing is wanting to a due perfection. It is thus, as *Dacier* observes, that we say, *satur color*, when the wool has taken the whole tincture, and drunk in as much of the dye as it can receive. According to this derivation, from *satur* comes *satura*, which, in the latter times of the republic, was more commonly written with an *i*, *satira*; in like manner, as *optumus* was changed into *optimus*, and *maxumus* into *maximus*. *Satura* is an adjective, and supposes some substantive understood; for the Romans commonly said *saturam*, referring it to *lancem*, and *satura lanx* was properly a charger, or large platter full of all sorts of fruits, which was offered yearly to *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, as the *primitiæ*, or first gatherings. *Diomedes*, the grammarian, has perfectly well explained this custom of the Romans, and the word *satura*, in the following passage: *Lanx referta variis multisque primitiis sacris Cereris inferebatur, & à copiâ & saturitate rei Satura vocabatur; cujus generis lancium & Virgilius in Georgicis meminit, cum hoc modo dicit:*

Lancibus & pandis fumantia reddimus exta.

Et Lancesque & liba feremus.

“ A large platter filled with all manner of fruits was offered on the festivals of *Cere*, and on account of its variety and abundance called *Satura*. *Virgil* speaks of these platters in his *Georgics*, when he says, *We will offer the smoking entrails in great platters*. And, in another place, *We will offer the chargers and the cakes*. From this the word *satura* came to be applied to many other sorts of mixtures; as *Festus* calls it a kind of *olla*, or hotchpotch made of several sorts of meats. Laws were also called *Leges Saturæ*, when they were of several heads

and titles, as the *Lex Julia*, *Papia*, *Poppæa*, which may be likened to one of our tacked bills of parliament, and was called *Miscella*, the same with *satura*. Hence the phrase; *Per saturam legem ferre*, to carry a law without telling the senators, or counting voices, when they were in haste. *Sallust* too says, after *Lælius*; *Per saturam sententias exquirere*, when, to speak in our language, a point was carried by the house's dividing, and a majority being visibly on one side. The *Historiæ Saturæ*, or *per saturam*, of *Pescennius Festus*, were nothing else but miscellaneous tracts of history. From all which it might be conjectured, that the discourses of *Ennius*, *Lucilius*, and *Horace* took their name; and that they were called *Satires*, *Quia multis & variis rebus hæc carmina referta sunt*, as *Porphyrius* says. But *Dacier* affirms, that it is not immediately from thence, that these satires are so called; for that name, he tells us, had been before applied to other things, which more nearly resembled these discourses of *HORACE*. This, continues he, must be explained in a method which *Casaubon* never thought of, and which will set the matter in so clear a light, that no farther room will be left for doubt.

During the space of almost four hundred years, since the building of their city, the *Romans* had never known any entertainments of the stage. *Chance* and *jollity* first found out those verses, which they called *Saturnian*, because they supposed such to have been in use under *Saturn*; and *Fescennine*, from *Fescennina*, a town in *Tuscany*, where they were first practised. This roughcast and unknown poetry was instead of stage-plays, for the space of an hundred and twenty years together. These verses, we may well suppose, were rude and unpolished, without feet or measure, and nearer to prose than poetry, as being made *extempore*, by a people wholly given up to mirth and drinking. The actors, with a gross and rustic kind of raillery, reproached one another with their failings; and, at the same time, were no way sparing of it to the audience. Somewhat of this custom was afterwards retained in their *Saturnalia*, or feast of *Saturn*, celebrated in *December*: at least all kind of freedom of speech was then allowed to slaves, even against their masters, and we are not without some imitation of it in our *Christmas-gambols*.

We cannot, continues *Dacier*, better represent them, than by imagining a company of clowns on a holyday, dancing in a lubberly manner, and upbraiding one another, in *extempore* doggrel, with their defects and vices; and the stories that were told them in bakehouses and barbers' shops. This is what *HORACE* expressly says, in the first Epistle of his second Book :

*Fescennina per hunc inuenta licentia mcrem,
Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit.*

To this hobbling sort of verse there soon succeeded another sort of poem, more polished, which was also full of pleasant raillery, but without any mixture of obscenity. This sort of poetry appeared under the name of *Satire*, because of its variety; and this *satire* was adorned with compositions of music, and with dances, but lascivious postures were banished from it. So much we can collect from *Livy* Book VII. of his History. *Vernaculis artificibus, quia Hister Tusco verbo Ludio vocabatur, nomen Histrionibus inditum: qui non sicut antè Fescennino versu similem, compositum temerè ac rudem, alternis jaciebant; sed impletas modis Satiras, descripto jam ad tibicinem cantu, motuque congruenti peragebant,* “*Hister* in the *Tuscan* language signifies a player, and therefore those actors, which were first brought from *Etruria* to *Rome*, had the name of *Histriones* given them: they played not the former *extempore* stuff of *Fescennine* verses, or clownish jests; but what they acted was a kind of civil cleanly farce, with music and dances, and motions that were proper to the subject.”

Livius Andronicus found the stage in this condition, when he first thought of supplying it with the nobler entertainment of tragedies and comedies, in imitation of the *Greeks*. These new pieces appearing more useful and amusing, the people ran in crowds to see them, and for some time neglected their former satires; but soon after they took them up again, and then they joined them to their comedies; playing them at the end of the *drama*, in the same manner as farces are acted at this day upon our theatres, in the nature of a separate entertainment from the play itself. But, more particularly, they were joined to the *A-*

tellane fables, says *Casaubon*, and changed their name from *Satires* to *Exodia*, which they ever afterwards retained.

Thus far we have followed *Dacier* and *Casaubon*; but as *Mr. Dryden*, in his admirable preface before the *English* translation of *Juvenal* (to which we have been greatly obliged in this dissertation), has carried this matter farther, and started a very ingenious conjecture, we shall transcribe from him what may be necessary to make his opinion well understood.

Andronicus was a *Grecian* born, and being made a slave by *Livius Salinator*, and brought to *Rome*, had the education of his patron's children committed to him: which trust he discharged so much to the satisfaction of his master; that he gave him his liberty. *Andronicus*, thus become a freeman of *Rome*, added to his own name that of *Livius* his master; and, as it has been observed, was the first author of a regular play in that commonwealth. Being already instructed, in his native country, in the manners and decencies of the *Athenian* theatre, and conversant in the *Archæa Comædia*, or old comedy of *Aristophanes*, and the rest of the *Grecian* poets, he took from that model his own designing of plays for the *Roman* stage: the first of which was represented in the year 514, from the building of the city, after the end of the first *Punic* war, and the year before *Ennius* was born.

On this hint I will adventure to advance another proposition, which I hope the learned will approve: and though we have not any thing of *Andronicus* remaining to justify my conjecture, yet it is exceeding probable, that having read the works of those *Grecian* wits, his countrymen, he imitated not only the ground-work, but also the manner of their writing. And how grave soever his tragedies might be; yet, in his comedies, he expressed the way of *Aristophanes*, *Eupolis*, and the rest, which was to call some persons by their proper names, and to expose their defects to the laughter of the people. Now, if this be granted, we may easily suppose, that the first hint of satirical plays, on the *Roman* stage, was given by the *Greeks*: not from their satyric drama, for the contrary of that has been already shewn; but from their old comedy, which was first imi-

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tated by *Livius Andronicus*. Nor will this contradict the testimony of *Horace* and *Quintilian*, who speak of satire, not as in its first elements, but as it was formed into a separate work; begun by *Ennius*, pursued by *Lucilius*, and completed afterwards by *Horace*. The proof depends only on this *postulatum*, that the comedies of *Andronicus*, which were imitations of the *Greek*, were also imitations of their railleries, and reflections on particular persons. If this be granted, it is easy to infer, that the first light, which was given to the *Roman* theatrical satire, was from the plays of *Livius Andronicus*. This will appear with yet greater evidence, when I come to speak of *Ennius*. So far *Mr. Dryden*: but let us return to *Dacier*.

A year after *Livius Andronicus* had introduced these new plays at *Rome*, *Ennius* was born; who, when he was grown up to man's estate, having seriously considered the genius of the *Romans*, and with what eagerness they run after the first satires, began to think that poems written not to be acted upon the theatre, but read, and which retained the pleasantry, the venom, and the raillery upon particular persons and general vices, might, perhaps, meet with a kind reception. He made trial, and wrote several pieces, to which he gave the name of Satires. These pieces were of the same nature with the Satires of *HORACE*, both as to the matter and variety. The only considerable difference is, that *Ennius* did not confine himself to one sort of verse, but taking example from the *Greeks*, and even from *Homer* himself, in his *Margites*, joined together several kinds of verse in the same poem. For he mingled *hexameters* with *iambic trimeters*, or with *trochaic tetrameters*; as appears by those fragments, which are yet remaining of him. In these Satires of *Ennius*, then, there was the variety, the railleries, the allusions, the fables, the dialogue; in a word, every thing that belonged to the composition of the first satirical farces, except the music and dances. Let us now see what *Mr. Dryden* has added to these remarks of *Dacier*, to support his own conjecture.

Here, says he, we have *Dacier* making out that *Ennius* was the first satirist in that way of writing, which was of his invention; that is, satire abstracted from the stage, and
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new-modelled into papers of verses on several subjects. But he will have *Ennius* to take the ground-work of satire from the first farces of the *Romans*, rather than from the formed plays of *Livius Andronicus*, which were copied from the old *Greek* comedy. It may possibly be so, but *Dacier* knows no more of it than I do. And it seems to me the more probable opinion, that he rather imitated the fine railleries of the *Greeks*, which he saw in the pieces of *Andronicus*, than the coarseness of his old countrymen, in their clownish extemporary way of jeering. But, besides this, it is universally granted, that *Ennius*, though an *Italian*, was excellently learned in the *Greek* language. His verses were stuffed with fragments of it, even to a fault; and he himself believed, according to the *Pythagorean* opinion, that the soul of *Homer* was transfused into him. If I might be allowed to give my opinion, after so great a man as *Mr. Dryden*, there seems to be little necessity for supposing that *Ennius* borrowed any part of the plan, or design of his poem, from the *Greeks*. The variety, the pleasantry, the railleries, yea, and the reflections on particular persons, were all practised in the first farces, before the *Greek* comedy was introduced. The plan therefore of *Ennius's* poems was formed entirely upon these. But, as they had been rude and barbarous, and as, by the introduction of the *Greek* comedy, the *Roman* taste was much improved; it behoved *Ennius* to aim at correctness and propriety in his compositions. Add, moreover, that as these pieces were written only to be read, and were destitute of the helps of action and representation, something was to be done to make up for this want. *Ennius*, therefore, applied himself seriously to the study of the *Greek* comedy, and, by carefully observing their manner and art of pleasing, was enabled to give his Satires a certain elegance and delicacy, which that way of writing before knew nothing of. There is the more reason to believe this to have been really the case, because, as we shall afterwards see, *Lucilius* followed the same method.

Pacuvius succeeded *Ennius* in this way of satire; but as there are now none of his works remaining, we are not able to judge what improvements he made in it.

Lucilius

Lucilius was born at the time when *Pacuvius* flourished most. He also wrote Satires after the manner of *Ennius*, but gave them a more graceful turn, and imitated more closely the old comedy of the *Greeks*. This *HORACE* tells us expressly in the beginning of the fourth Satire of his first Book. By this means he considerably improved the *Roman* satire, and wholly eclipsed his predecessors. It is thus that we are to explain the passage of *HORACE*, Book II. Satire I.

---- *Quid? cum est Lucilius ausus*

Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem.

And also *Quintilian*, where he says, Lib. 10. *Satira quidem tota nostra est, in qua primus insignem laudem adeptus est Lucilius.* *Casaubon*, therefore, is guilty of a palpable mistake, when he says that the Satires of *Lucilius* were wholly different in species from those of *Ennius* and *Pacuvius*. *Diomedes*, the grammarian, led him into this error. The passage that occasioned it, is this: *Satira est carmen apud Romanos, non quidem apud Græcos, maledicum, & ad carpenda hominum vitia, Archææ comædiæ charactere compositum, quale scripserunt Lucilius, & Horatius, & Persius: sed olim carmen, quod ex variis poematibus constabat, Satira dicebatur, quale scripserunt Pacuvius & Ennius.* "Satire among the *Romans*, but not
" among the *Greeks*, was a biting invective poem, made after the model of the ancient comedy, for the reprehension of vice; and such were the poems of *Lucilius*, of *Horace*, and of *Persius*: but in former times the name
" of Satire was given to poems, which were composed of several sorts of verses, such as were made by *Ennius* and
" *Pacuvius*." It is plain, that *Diomedes* distinguishes here between the Satires of *Lucilius*, and those of *Ennius* and *Pacuvius*; but the reason, which he gives for this distinction, is ridiculous and false. The grammarian had not sufficiently examined the nature and origin of these two satires, which were entirely alike both in the matter and the form. For *Lucilius* had only added more politeness and more salt, without any change in the substance of the poem; and if he has not joined together several sorts of verses on the same piece, like *Ennius*, yet he has composed several Satires in several sorts of verses. One poem consisted only
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of hexameters, another was entirely of iambics, a third of trochaics, as is visible by the fragments yet remaining of his works. In short, if the Satires of *Lucilius* are therefore to be held different from those of *Ennius*, because he added much to the beauty of these poems, as *Casaubon* pretends: it would follow thence, that those of *Horace* and *Lucilius* were also wholly different, because *Horace* no less surpassed *Lucilius* in elegance, that he had done his predecessor *Ennius*.

We have thus traced the origin, improvement, and perfection of satire. But before I proceed to speak professedly of those graces that were added to it by our poet, and compare him with *Juvenal* and *Persius*, it will be proper to take notice of another kind of satire, which was also descended from the ancients, and is commonly known by the name of *Varronian* or *Menippean* satire; because *Varro*, the most learned among the *Romans*, was the first author of it, who imitated in his works the manner of *Menippus*, the *Gadarenian*, who professed the philosophy of the Cynics.

This satire was not only composed of several sorts of verse, but mixed also with prose, and had Greek sprinkled amongst the *Latin*. *Quintilian*, after speaking of the satire of *Lucilius*, adds; *Alterum illud est & prius Satiræ genus, quod non solâ carminum varietate mixtum condidit Terentius Varro, vir Romanorum eruditissimus*. "There is another" and former kind of Satire, composed by *Terentius Varro*, "the most learned of the *Romans*, in which he was not" "satisfied alone with mixing several kinds of verse." The only difficulty of this passage is, that *Quintilian* tells us this satire of *Varro* was of a former kind. For how can this be supposed, when *Varro* was contemporary with *Cicero*, and after *Lucilius*? He could not therefore mean, that it was the first in order of time, but only that, being a mixture of several sorts of verse, it was more after the manner of *Ennius* and *Pacuvius*, than *Lucilius*, who was more correct in his compositions, and gave himself less liberty in mixing different kinds of verse in the same poem. We have nothing now remaining of these *Varronian* Satires, except a few inconsiderable fragments, and those for the most part much corrupted. There are indeed several titles preserved, generally double, and which makes us sensible of the great variety

riety of subjects *Varro* had treated of. The mock deification of *Claudius* by *Seneca*, *Petronius Arbiter*, many of the dialogues of *Lucian*, and the *Symposium* or *Cæsars* of *Julian* the emperor, are all so many entire Satires in this way.

We come now to speak of *HORACE* himself, what ornaments he added to satire, and whether he was excelled by *Perfius* or *Juvenal*, who came after him. As these authors have each of them their particular merit and favorers, the comparing them together, in order to decide their title to preference, is no easy task. It is natural for a commentator or critic, who has labored long upon an author, to contract a certain liking to him, and endeavour to rank him above all others in the same way. Thus *Dacier* and *Heinsius* raise *HORACE* above the other two: *Scaliger*, *Rigaltius*, &c. give the preference to *Juvenal*; and *Casaubon*, who had taken great pains upon *Perfius*, and was perhaps the first commentator who understood him tolerably, debases both *Horace* and *Juvenal*, that he may exalt him. That I may avoid the imputation of such a partiality, I shall here fairly state the character of each, shew his particular merit as it is acknowledged by all, and by this means endeavour to give every one his proper due.

HORACE came immediately after *Lucilius*, and was resolved, if possible, to surpass him in his own manner. *Lucilius*, we find, was negligent in his compositions, and incorrect in his versification; he was moreover apt to run into excursions quit foreign to the subject, and in all his writings aimed at a simple unadorned style. Our poet, who saw that satire was still capable of farther improvements, set himself to consider the nature of this poem, that he might not only avoid the faults into which his predecessor had fallen, but give it also such finishing strokes, as it yet seemed to want. The chief end of it was to discountenance vice, and recommend virtue. Instruction therefore was mainly to be regarded, as that on which all the rest turned; but the manner of conveying that instruction was left wholly to his own choice. It appears that he looked upon the humble unadorned style of *Lucilius* as best answering this purpose. The precepts of morality strike most, when expressed in plain and simple language. It is for this reason that he studies
more,

more a certain perspicuity and clearness of phrase, than the ornaments and heights of poetry. But though he agreed with *Lucilius* in preferring the *sermo pedestris*, he is yet extremely attentive to the purity and correctness of his style, which his predecessor had notoriously neglected. He is, moreover, careful to keep his subject close in view, and multiply his instructions in every line; and all this in a way of delicate raillery and humour, that infinitely delights the reader.

Here, then, we seem to have hit upon the distinguishing excellences of HORACE'S Satires, viz. the extensiveness of his morals, and delicacy of his raillery. In these he has never been equalled by any writer, ancient or modern; and so long as his pre-eminence here remains undisputed, critics may give what commendations they please to *Juvenal* on account of the harmony of his numbers, and the strength and vigor of his genius: yet he must still be owned inferior to HORACE, because he falls below him in what constitutes the very essence of satire. But to set this matter in a yet clearer light, I shall here translate what *Dacier* has said upon this subject.

I cannot give a more just idea of the merit of HORACE'S Satires, than by comparing them to the statues of the *Sileni*, to which *Alcibiades* compares *Socrates* in the *Symposium*. They were figures which had nothing agreeable or beautiful on their outside; but when any one took the pains to open them, and search into them, he there found the figures of all the Deities. Just so, in the shape that HORACE presents himself to us in his Satires, we see nothing, at the first view, which deserves our attention: he seems rather fit to amuse children, than employ the consideration of men of sense. But when we remove the crust that hides him from our sight, when we discover him to the bottom, then we find all the Divinities in a full assembly; that is to say, all the virtues which ought to be the continual exercise of those, who seriously endeavour to correct their vices. In these two Books it is the chief design of the poet to instruct us how we may best combat our vices, regulate our passions, follow nature, give bounds to our desires, distinguish truth from falsehood, and ideas from the things themselves:

themselves: to call us back from our prejudices, and make us understand exactly the principles and motives of all our actions: to teach us to avoid the ridicule which all men fall into, who are obstinately bent to maintain their notions without submitting them to a fair examination. In a word, he labors to render us happy in relation to ourselves, agreeable and faithful to our friends, and discreet, serviceable, and well-bred, towards those with whom we are obliged to live and converse. To make his terms well understood, to explain the figures he employs, or conduct his readers through the labyrinth of some perplexed sentence, or obscure parenthesis, is no great matter: and, as *Epietetus* says, there is nothing of beauty in all this, or that is truly worthy of a wise man. The principal and most important point to us is, to shew the use, the reason, and the proof of his precepts; and make us sensible, that they who endeavour not to correct themselves, according to so exact a model, are just like the patients who have open before them a book of admirable receipts for their diseases, and please themselves with reading it, without comprehending the nature of the remedies, or how to apply them to their cure.

All this serves to shew how much HORACE excels in the instructive part. Here, I think, no one has pretended to set *Juvenal* on a level with him. He is copious and profitable in his lessons, and general in his instructions. *Juvenal*, on the contrary, is more limited: so that, granting the counsel they give equally good, HORACE, who gives the most various advice, and most applicable to all occasions which can occur to us in the course of our lives, is undoubtedly to be preferred to the other, who is more circumscribed in his instructions, makes them to fewer people, and on fewer occasions. HORACE includes in his discourses, not only all the rules of morality, but also of civil conversation; he does not confine himself to any one sect of philosophers, but extracts from each what is best and most useful; in a word, he teaches in every line, and is perpetually moral.

Let us now proceed to the other characteristic of HORACE, I mean his manner, which, as we have before said, is that of raillery and humour. Our poet lived at
the

the court of *Augustus*, when *Rome* was in the utmost height of splendor and politeness. The emperor, by a mild and gentle administration, endeavoured to reconcile the minds of the people to him, which, by the cruelties of the former part of his life, had been much alienated. Thus justice was carefully administered, villany suppressed, and crimes severely punished. Enormous vices were therefore little known in that age. But then the splendor of a court brought in luxury and all its attendants. Folly, caprice, extravagance, and whim, daily gained ground. Hence the satirist was called upon to combat those little vices, which we call follies and defects of understanding; the peccadillos of life, which expose a man to ridicule and contempt. Foppery and extravagance were therefore the proper quarry of *HORACE*, nor was it an easy matter to acquit himself in a masterly way. A common stock of good sense was far from being sufficient for this task; for as there are but few notoriously wicked men, in comparison with a shoal of fops and fools, so, as *Dryden* observes, it is a harder thing to make a man wise, than to make him honest: for the will is only to be reclaimed in the one, but the understanding is to be informed in the other. There are blind fides and follies, even in the professors of moral philosophy; nor has our poet failed to expose them one after another without mercy. But experience shews that nothing is so effectual in this case as raillery; *HORACE* has accordingly preferred it to all others; with what success, and how happily executed, we learn from one of his successors in satire:

*Omne vaser vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
Tangit, & admissus circum praeordia ludit,
Callidus excusso populum suspendere naso.*

----He with a sly insinuating grace
Laugh'd at his friend, and look'd him in the face;
Would raise a blush where secret vice he found,
And tickle while he gently prob'd the wound;
With smiling innocence the croud beguil'd,
But made the desperate passes when he smil'd.

It is certain, that men, who cannot be reasoned out of their follies, are very often to be laughed out of them; for there

is nothing that frightens us so much, as to be exposed to ridicule and contempt. Grave sober remonstrances, for the most part, raise only our mirth: men who pretend to know the world, can divert themselves with the philosophical formal air of these sedate advisers; but handsome well-timed raillery never fails to make them ashamed. Thus the manner of HORACE was not only that which best suited his design and times, but I will further venture to say, that it corresponds best with the nature and design of satire in general. This *Dryden*, the professed partisan of *Juvenal*, is forced to own. *The manner of HORACE (says he) is indeed the best; but HORACE has not executed it altogether so happily, at least not often.* How far this last accusation is true, I shall leave to every reader's judgment. It is pretty plain, from the above-quoted passage, that *Perfius* thought otherwise. And as he is universally allowed to be the better instructor, he must have the preference to all others, or at least with those who like his manner, and think he has acquitted himself well.

But, after all, it would be unjust to deny *Juvenal* his due praise; for if we consider the times in which he lived, and the vices he had to combat, his manner is admirably adapted to both. In the reign of *Domitian* the most enormous vices were become common. It was no longer avarice that was to be scourged, but oppression; sycophery and folly were not now to be laughed out of doors, but all manner of villany and baseness were to be treated with the utmost rigour. Accordingly he attacks them with a high strain of indignation, declaims warmly, and, like a zealous partisan of virtue, represents vice in all her horrors. But, after all, he seems to have had no talent for the other way of satire, as it is plain HORACE had for the sublime, by his celebrated epistle to *Augustus*. This even his great favorer Mr. *Dryden* owns, *had he lived in the age of HORACE, I must needs affirm that he had it not about him.* He took the method which was prescribed him by his own genius, which was sharp and eager; he could not rally, but he could declaim; and as his provocations were great, he has revenged them tragically.

cally. There is one thing indeed, in which *Juvenal* has manifestly the advantage of *HORACE*, I mean versification and numbers. This naturally arises from his subjects and manner; for as he is a zealous vindicator of virtue, and warm in its cause, he gives way to all the strength and vigor of his genius. The sentiments are just, manly, and elevated; the expressions sonorous and noble, the verse numerous, and the words, suitable to the thoughts, sublime and lofty. To say all in one word; *Juvenal* excels in what we may call the tragical satire, and *HORACE* in the comical. But as I cannot help thinking this last the true and genuine satire, and best calculated to banish vice and folly, I must still, upon the whole, give *HORACE* the preference.

Having thus got over the comparison between *Horace* and *Juvenal*, which was the more difficult, because their forces are almost equal; I shall soon dispatch what I have to say of *Persius*. *Casaubon*, I think, is the only one who pretends to exalt him above the other two. He seems to have understood him well; and, as he had labored long upon him, grew fond of his author. But let us hear what he can plead in his behalf. Moral doctrine, says he, and urbanity are what constitute satire, but the most essential part is the scourging of vice, and exhorting to virtue. *Persius* was educated in the Stoic philosophy, the undoubtedly best of all the ancient sects. Its chief intention was to form a severe virtue in the soul, to teach an unshaken fortitude amidst all the assaults of fortune, and to value every thing by its real use in life, not according to fancy and caprice. We see here an epitome of *Persius's* doctrine, which he expressed in the manner of his life, as well as in his Satires; a doctrine that might be taught with profit from pulpits, and, as sketched out by him, has by learned prelates been recommended to the study of their clergy, as furnishing the most useful hints, with respect to true virtue, and the practice of all social duties. In this then *Persius* seems to have the advantage of both *Juvenal* and *Horace*; he sticks close to his philosophy, not a wanderer like the one, or a declaimer as the other, but every
where

where the same, and true to the dogmas of his master. His doctrine is no more than a transcript of his life, he is sincere in every thing he says, and the reader easily perceives that he is in earnest. But with all these virtues, it must be granted he has a great many faults. His verses are extremely defective, whether we consider the numbers, or the purity of the *Latin*. His words are not always well chosen, his doctrine is hard, his figures too bold and daring, and his metaphors insufferably strained. There is still another fault in *Perfius*, which all critics and commentators have been forced to own, and that is his obscurity. Notwithstanding all the diligence of *Casaubon*, *Stelluti*, and others, we can still, in many passages, but barely guess at his meaning. To conclude; he was a great admirer of HORACE, and has borrowed most of his greatest beauties from him, but falls very short of his master; and, in my opinion, cannot come into competition either with him or *Juvenal*.

I have thus gone through all that I promised in this dissertation, and given the reader a general view of the history both of *lyric poetry* and *satire*. It remains only that I make a few remarks upon those other writings of our poet, which he has left behind him under the title of *Epistles*. There are many of them such as, notwithstanding this name, may be justly looked upon as satires. But as *Dacier* has considered them in a very ingenious light, and given a better account of them than I have any where met with, I shall here give the reader, in as few words as possible, the substance of what he has said upon the subject.

HORACE perceiving that the great fault of those who, before him, had undertaken to combat vice, and give precepts for virtue, was owing, for the most part, to the want of order, method, or connexion, formed the design of making his work more complete and regular; and, in consequence of that, has ranged and disposed it with a great deal of judgment. In the front he has placed his two books of Satires; in the first of which he labors to eradicate vice; and, in the second, to wear out those prejudices, and false notions, which are apt

to

to infest the mind. After these two come the Epistles, which may be considered as the *appendix, or second part of the Satires*. They come after the Satires, because they are designed to form the mind to virtue by proper precepts, and correct the depraved taste, which then prevailed at *Rome*, by laying down, in the most clear and forcible manner, the rules of just writing. Thus, taken all together, they make up a complete system of morality. The first part, to speak in the language of the Platonists, is *to combat and refute*, the other *to insinuate and teach*. In this division, HORACE follows the maxims of *Socrates*, who never taught his disciples any thing, till he had first purged their minds of all those prejudices, which might contradict the sentiments he wanted to inspire them with; and this is a method agreeable both to nature and reason. In a field, the thorns and weeds must be plucked up, and the whole well cultivated, before the grain is thrown into it. *Socrates* not only pursued this method in every dialogue, where he always *refuted* before he *taught*; but sometimes connected several dialogues together upon the same plan, in like manner as HORACE has done his Books of Satires and Epistles. The first are the purgations, καθαρμοί, which he makes use of to combat our passions, and deliver us from those errors and false notions we may have imbibed, before we were capable to judge of their absurdity: the last are the lessons, μαθήματα, the pure and salutary doctrines, which he wanted to implant in the mind, in place of those maladies of which he had cured it. It is for this, that these last books will be always most agreeable to those, who have divested themselves of all false prejudices.

THE
SATIRES, EPISTLES,
AND
ART OF POETRY,
OF
HORACE,
TRANSLATED INTO
ENGLISH PROSE.

Vol. II.

A

THE FIRST BOOK OF SATIRE S.

SATIRE I.

He inveighs against men's inconstancy, and thence takes occasion to censure avarice.

WHENCE comes it, Mæcenas¹, that no man is satisfied with his own condition, whether reason has directed his choice, or chance thrown it in the way; but applauds rather those who follow a different course of life?

O happy merchants! says the soldier now full of years, and
5 broken with the fatigues of war. The merchant on the other hand, when his ship is tossed by stormy winds², gives the preference to a military life. For why? The fight begins; and in the short space of an hour comes either a speedy death, or joyful victory.

A lawyer, when his client knocks at the gate before cock-
10 crowing³, commends the easy undisturbed life of the peasant. The peasant again, who, having given bail for his friend⁴, is drawn from his farm to town, protests that they who live in town are the only happy people⁵. In short, complaints of this kind are so numerous, that to repeat them would even tire that

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¹ *Mæcenas*. The prime minister and favourite of *Augustus*; a great patron of learned men, and particularly attached to *Horace*, who, in return, often celebrates him in his writings.

² *Stormy winds*. In the original we read *jaſtantibus Auſtris, ſtormy ſouth-winds*; becauſe they prevailed moſt on the *Adriatic* and *Sicilian* ſeas, and were the cauſe of frequent ſhipwrecks on thoſe coaſts. We may here obſerve the great judgment which *Horace* ſhews in the deſcription he gives of a vice very incident to the generality of men. It is then that we are moſt apt to complain of our buſineſs or profeſſion, when we labour under any inconvenience that more immediately ariſes from it. We are always moſt ſenſible of the preſent evil, and our impatience makes us very quick-ſighted in diſcerning all the inconveniencies we are

expoſed to. On the other hand, our neighbour's lot appears to us in the moſt advantageous light; already prejudiced in its favour, we overlook the diſagreeable part of it; and if that is ſometimes ſo apparent, as to force itſelf upon us, we are willing, however, to view it on the favourable ſide. Thus, the merchant in a ſtorm, preſſed by the uneaſineſs he then feels, will not attend to the hardſhips of a military life, but at once gives it the preference. He thinks a ſudden death the greateſt evil they have to fear, which is far more eligible, in his account, than the cruel alarms and terrors he is forced to ſuſtain ſometimes for weeks together. He is quite blinded by his paſſion, which will not allow him to reflect, that accidents frequently fall out in war, which give much more trouble than even death itſelf.

3 Before

S A T I R A R U M

LIBER PRIMUS.

S A T I R A I.

Hominum inconstantiam, & exinde avaritiam insectatur.

QUI fit Mæcenas, ut nemo, quam sibi
sortem
Seu ratio dederit, seu fors objecerit,
illâ

Contentus vivat; laudet diversa sequentes?
O fortunati mercatores! gravis annis
Miles ait, multo jam fractus membra labore!
Contrâ mercator, navim jactantibus Austris, 6
Militia est potior. Quid enim? concurritur;
horæ

Momento cita mors venit, aut victoria læta.
Agricolam laudat juris legumque peritus,
Sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat. 10
Ille, datis vadibus, qui rure extractus in ur-
bem est,

Solos felices viventes clamat in urbe.

Cætera de genere hoc (adeò sunt multa)
loquacem

Delassare valent Fabium. Ne te morer, audi

O R D O.

Mæcenas, qui fit, ut nemo
vivat contentus illâ sor-
te, quam sortem seu ratio sibi
dederit, seu fors objecerit; ut
laudet sequentes diversa insti-
tuta? O fortunati mercatores!
ait miles jam gravis annis, &
fractus quod ad membra mul-
to labore! Mercator contrâ,
Austris jactantibus navim, ait,
Militia est potior. Quid enim?
concurritur prælio; momento
horæ aut cita mors, aut læta
victoria venit. Peritus juris
legumque, ubi consultor pulsat
ostia sub cantum galli, laudat
agricolam. Ille verò, qui, dà-
tis vadibus, extractus est è rure
in urbem, clamat solos viventes
in urbe felices esse. Cætera de
hoc genere (adeò multa sunt)
valent delassare loquacem Fa-
bium. Ne moror te, audi

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3 *Before cock-crowing.* Horace here re-
fers to the practice of the Romans under the
commonwealth: Such as were distinguish-
ed for their knowledge of the civil law,
used to open their gates by break of day, as a
token that they were willing to give their
advice gratis, to all who applied for it.
Sometimes they walked in the Forum, and
other public places. It is reported of Q.
Scaevola, a celebrated professor of this sci-
ence, that, during the time of the Marfic
war, he never refused his advice to any
who asked it, but always kept his house
open, as a sign that he was ready with it at
all times; insomuch that he came to be
called the oracle of the city. This is the
same Scaevola to whom Cicero was recom-
mended when he put on the manly gown.

4 *Having given bail for his friend.* In the
original, datis vadibus. Vades were pro-
perly those who gave surety for a friend,
and engaged to make him appear by a cer-
tain day. They were so called, because the
persons who thus gave bail, were set at li-
berty, till such time as they were obliged to
answer again in court. Vadendi seu disce-
dendi habebant potestatem, donec sistendi se ju-
dicio præstitutus adesset dies, says Torrentius.
If they failed to appear, their surety had
an action against them, and might seize
their goods. This was called Actio vadimo-
nii deserti. The persons therefore who had
given bail, never deserted their sureties
but in the most desperate cases.

5 *Protests that they who live in town are
the only happy people.* Dacier remarks on
this

that eternal talker Fabius⁶. But not to detain you longer in this manner, hear now what I aim at.

- 15 Should some God⁷ thus address these querulous men: Well for once I'll grant what you desire. You, soldier, shall be a merchant; you, lawyer, a peasant. Be gone, change your pursuits, and let every man follow what he approves most. Hah! what do you stand for? They will not: yet it is in their power to be happy.

- 20 Now what more reasonable than that Jupiter justly offended at their perverseness should look upon them with indignation⁸; and swear that, henceforth, he will be less ready to hear their prayers?

- But not to run over a matter of this kind with too much mirth, as if I only intended to raise a little laughter: (although why may'nt a man speak the truth in good-humor⁹? Like soothing teachers, who sometimes allure their young scholars with cakes and sweatmeats¹⁰, to learn the first elements. But to lay aside mirth, and reason seriously.)

- The labourer who tears up the heavy earth with his sharp plough, the knavish innkeeper¹¹, soldier, and daring merchant, who boldly traverses the wide-extended main, all, with one voice, tell you, that their view in exposing themselves to so many hardships is, to procure an easy safe retreat in old-age, when they shall have gained a competent provision for life: thus the ant (for it is their common example¹²) that little industrious animal carries in its mouth whatever it can come at, and adds to the rising heap, thoughtful and provident of futurity.

It

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this passage, that the difficulty of it does not appear at first sight. We are apt to think that the farmer esteems the inhabitants of the town happy, because they are near the courts of judgment, and can answer to any suit without the trouble of a journey on purpose. But this, according to him, is a mistake: The poor man counts nothing of his labour; it is his affair alone that disgusts him; for he is obliged to carry his taxes to the collectors, and pay fees from which he would be exempted, were he an inhabitant of the city.

⁶ *Fabius*. Commentators are divided in their opinions about this *Fabius*. The old scholiast assures us, that he was of *Narbonense Gaul*, descended from an *equestrian* family, and that he had taken part with *Pompey*. He had frequent disputes with *Horace* about the principles of the Stoical philosophy, and probably had often tired him with histedious discourses; and *Horace* here introduces him in his proper character, to be revenged on that talkative hu-

mor, which we may presume had been so troublesome to him.

⁷ *Should some God*. It is the part of a great man not to complain of his lot, or wish for another; but to sustain, with courage and constancy, whatever part heaven has assigned him. But this is very seldom the case: we no sooner meet with any thing to disgust us, than we throw the blame upon Providence, and undervalue its gifts as scarce worth the receiving. Yea, such is the levity of our nature, that though we murmur at our own fate, and commend that of another; yet, were God to make us an offer of that part which we applaud, we would reject it also. Nothing could have been more happily devised, to shew the unreasonableness of discontent, and that a great part of what is disagreeable in life, arises chiefly from our own folly and extravagant humor.

⁸ *Look upon them with indignation*. The expression, in the original, is somewhat singular; *ambas iratus buccas inflet*. *Inflare buccas*,

Quò rem deducam. Si quis Deus, En ego, dicat, 15
 Jam faciam quod vultis. Eris tu; qui modò miles,
 Mercator; tu, consultus modò, rusticus. Hinc vos,
 Vos hinc mutatis discedite partibus. Eja!
 Quid statis? Nolint: atqui licet esse beatis.
 Quid causæ est, meritò quin illis Jupiter ambas 20
 Iratus buccas inflet; neque se fore posthac
 Tam facilem dicat, votis ut præbeat aurem?

Prætereà ne sic, ut qui jocularia, ridens
 Percurram: (quanquam ridentem dicere verum
 Quid vetat? Ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi 25
 Doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima.
 Sed tamen amoto quæramus seria ludo.)
 Ille gravem duro terram qui vertit aratro,
 Perfidus hic caupo, miles, nautæque, per omne
 Audaces mare qui currunt, hac mente laborem 30
 Sese ferre, senes ut in otia tuta recedant,
 Aiunt, cum sibi sint congesta cibaria: sicut
 Parvula (nam exemplo est) magni formica laboris
 Ore trahit quodcunque potest, atque addit acervo
 Quem struit, haud ignara ac non incauta futuri. 35

discere prima elementa. Sed tamen, amoto ludo, quæramus seria.) Ille qui vertit gravem terram duro aratro, hic perfidus caupo, miles, nautæque, qui audaces currunt per omne mare, aiunt, sese ferre laborem hac mente (consilio), ut senes recedant in tuta otia, cum cibaria congesta sint sibi; sicut parvula (nam est exemplo) formica magni laboris trahit quodcunque potest ore, atque addit acervo quem struit, haud ignara ac non incauta futuri temporis.

quò deducam rem. Si quis Deus dicat, En ego jam faciam id quod vultis. Tu, qui modò eras miles, eris mercator; tu, modò consultus, eris rusticus. Mutatis partibus, hinc vos, vos inquam hinc discedite. Eja! quid statis? Nolint: atqui licet illis esse beatis. Quid causæ est, quin Jupiter meritò iratus inflet ambas buccas illis; & dicat se posthac neque fore tam facilem, ut præbeat aurem votis? Prætereà ne sic ridens percurram hæc, ut qui percurrit jocularia: (quanquam quid vetat me ridentem dicere verum? Ut blandi doctores olim (aliquando) dant crustula pueris, ut velint

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buccas, to blow up the cheeks, was a phrase used by the Latins in the same sense, as φυσῶν τὰς γνάθους among the Greeks, and denoted very great rage, this being the usual effect of it; for the blood and spirits, which at that time mount into the face, commonly blow up the cheeks.

9 *Although why mayn't a man speak the truth in good humor? No poet ever possessed this talent in a greater degree, or made a happier use of it than Horace; and it is this chiefly in which he has excelled all other satirists. Persius's character of him is well known.*

Omne vaser vitium ridenti Flaccus amico Tangit, & admissus circum præcordia ludit,

Callidus excusso populum suspendere naso.

He, with a sly insinuating grace,
 Laugh'd at his friend, and look'd him
 in the face;

Would raise a blush where secret vice
 he found,

And tickle while he gently prob'd the
 wound:

With smiling innocence the croud be-
 guil'd,
 And made the desperate passes when he
 smil'd.

10 *Cakes and sweetmeats. In the original Crustula. The word signifies properly any kind of sweet cake. Seneca uses it in the same sense: Consolari crustulo pueros: To humor children with sweet cakes.*

11 *The knawish innkeeper. Caupo, the word used in the original, signifies properly a merchant, who contracted to furnish an army with provisions. But Horace here uses it more expressly for the keeper of a tavern or inn, who bought up wine to retail to the masters of ships, and sailors who came to those ports where they kept their taverns and eating-houses. He calls them perfidious, because they adulterated their wines, and sometimes used false measures. Dacier.*

12 *For it is their common example. Nam exemplo est. It is a question here, whether these words come from Horace himself, or whether we are to suppose them spoken by the persons whom the poet introduces. Da-*

It is so: but when the approach of winter¹³ deadens the revolving year, the ant never creeps from her place of shelter, but with patience and contentment lives upon her gathered stores; whereas neither the scorching heat of summer, nor the rigor of winter, shipwrecks, fire, or sword, can divert you from the pursuit of gain: no obstacle appears insurmount-
 40 able to the obtaining of the first character for riches.

What pleasure can it yield to dig timorously into the earth, and deposite by stealth immense sums of gold and silver? But should you break in upon it¹⁴, say you, it may be reduced to a wretched shilling. And, unless this be done, where is the value of the hoarded mass? Grant that your barn-floor is covered with a hundred thousand measures of corn¹⁵; what
 45 then? your stomach will receive no more of it than mine: it is with you as with the servant whom his master has pitched upon to carry the basket of bread¹⁶; he groans under the burden, yet receives no greater share of the common provisions than those who carry nothing. Or say, where is the difference to a
 50 man who lives within the bounds prescribed by nature, whether he tills a hundred or a thousand acres? But oh! say you, it is charming to take from a great heap. While our wants can be as well supplied from a small one, what advantage have your granaries over our corn-baskets¹⁷? As if you wanted only a pitcher of water¹⁸, or glass-full, and were to say, I had rather
 54 take it from a great river, than from this little fountain. Hence it

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cier is of opinion, that the latter interpretation is the best, and thinks it more satirical to make the persons themselves speak; like the ant; for it furnishes an example; whereas the other way of explaining it, appears to him flat. I have chosen however to follow the first interpretation, being that in which almost all the commentators are agreed, and have endeavoured at the same time to render it so, as not to lose the satirical turn he speaks of.

¹³ But when the approach, &c. Horace here resumes the discourse; and, the more effectually to convince these men how much they impose upon themselves, retorts upon them the very example they had chosen to defend themselves by. The ant, when it has gained a sufficient stock for the winter, ceases from its labour, and lives upon its stores; but you are always grasping at more, and not so studious how to enjoy happily the fruit of your toils, as how to increase stock, which your unreasonable humor renders in a manner useless. *Quæ, simul inversum contristat Aquarius annum.* Literally: But when the sun, entering Aquarius, deforms with rain the new year. *Inversus annus:*

The year beginning anew, or turned round to the place whence it set out; for the year may be considered as a circle, constantly turning round, and renewing its course. *Aquarius* is a constellation of thirty stars, and one of the twelve signs of the zodiac. The sun enters it in the month of January, when the year begins; and as this month is commonly very rainy, Horace ascribes that effect to the sign itself. *Aquarius contristat annum pluvius, viz. & tempestatibus.*

¹⁴ But should you break in upon it. Horace admirably well expresses here the wretched consequences of avarice; and that the man who once suffers himself to become a slave to his passions, defeats the very end he seems all along to aim at in gratifying them. Thus the avaricious man, in hoarding up of money, proposes to himself to provide against want, and secure a comfortable subsistence in old-age. But the same covetous humor adhering to him through life, forbids him the free use of what he has amassed. And that fear of want, which ought now no longer to subsist, possessing

Quæ, simul inversum contristat Aquarius annum,
Non usquam prorepat, & illis utitur antè
Quæsitis patiens * ; cùm te neque fervidus æstus
Demoveat lucro, neque hiems †, ignis, mare, ferrum:
Nil obstet tibi, dum ne sit te ditior alter. 40
Quid juvat immensum te argenti pondus & auri
Furtim defossâ timidum deponere terrâ?
Quod si comminuas, vilem redigatur ad assem.
At, ni id sit, quid habet pulchri constructus acer-
vus?

Millia frumenti tua triverit area centum; 45
Non tuus hoc capiet venter plus quam meus ‡: ut si
Reticulum panis venales inter onusto
Fortè vehas humero; nihilo plus accipias quàm
Qui nil portârit. Vel dic, quid referat intra
Naturæ fines viventi, jugera centum an 50
Mille aret? At suave est ex magno tollere acervo.
Dum ex parvo nobis tantundem haurire relinquis,
Cur tua plùs laudes cumeris granaria nostris?
Ut tibi si sit opus liquidi non ampliùs urnâ, 54
Vel cyathò, & dicas; Magno de flumine mallem ||
Quàm ex hoc fonticulo tantundem sumere. Eo fit,

plus accipias quàm qui portârit nil. Vel dic, quid referat viventi intra fines naturæ, utrùm
aret centum jugera an mille? At suave est, inquires, tollere ex magno acervo. Dum relin-
quas nobis haurire tantundem ex parvo, cur laudes tua granaria plùs cumeris nostris? Ut si
opus sit tibi non ampliùs urnâ, vel cyathò liquidi, & dicas; Mallem sumere tantundem de
magno flumine, quàm ex hoc fonticulo. Eo fit,

* sapiens, Bentl. † nec hiems, Id. ‡ plus ac meus, Id. || malim, Id.

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possessing him as strongly as ever, makes
him restless in pursuit of more; and anx-
ious not to take aught from what he has
laid up, lest, by that means, it should at
last be reduced to nothing.

15 *A hundred thousand measures of corn.*
Millia frumenti tua triverit area centum. Cen-
tum millia frumenti, instead of, Centum millia
modiorum frumenti. The modius was a mea-
sure commonly reckoned equivalent to our
bushel, though some think it was no more
than a peck and a half. It was used in
measuring both dry things and liquids.

16 *Basket of bread.* Reticulum, called by
Varro, panarium, was properly a sack or
basket wrought in form of a net, in which
the slaves were wont to carry bread. Horace
is here thought to have had in his eye the
celebrated story of Æsop, who chose to
carry the basket of bread, though seeming-
ly the heaviest burden; because he knew
the weight of it would daily lessen, in pro-
portion as the provisions were consumed.

17 *Your granaries over our corn-baskets.*
Granaria, the storehouses of the rich are
here opposed to the cumeræ, or corn-baskets
of the poor. These last were properly ves-
sels of earth or clay, in which the poorer
sort were wont to keep their small stock
of provisions. Horace's reasoning here is
simple and natural, and of such irresistible
force, that it is impossible to withstand the
evidence of it.

18 *As if you wanted only a pitcher.* The
poet goes on to expose the folly of covet-
ousness, and its ill consequences. Often,
instead of that security which we promise
ourselves, we are involved in new dangers,
and, striving to prevent a distant and chi-
merical evil, we plunge ourselves into a real
one. This is admirably well illustrated by
the comparison now before us. A man,
whose desires are immoderate, can never be
satisfied with what is barely sufficient to
answer his present demands, he must abound
in what is superfluous. If he want a glass-

it often happens, that while we eagerly grasp at what is unnecessary, the impetuous Aufidus¹⁹ hurries us away with the faithless bank. But he, whose desires are bounded by his wants,
 60 neither drinks water polluted with mud, nor loses his life in the the stream.

But the greater part of mankind²⁰, blinded by false views, think they can never have enough; because, say they, men are usually esteemed in proportion to their wealth. What is to be done here? Why, even bid them be wretched, since they so heartily labour to be so: like the rich sordid wretch at Athens²¹,
 65 who was thus wont to despise the flouts of the populace: the mob, it is true, hiss me; but I sweetly hug myself at home, as often as I contemplate the money in my coffers.

Tantalus²² perishing with thirst greedily catches at the waters that flow away from his lips. Why do you laugh? Change
 70 only the name, and the case is your own. You eagerly hang over the bags you have piled up from all quarters, and religiously abstain from them as if they were sacred, or gaze at them as so many fine pictures. Are you a stranger to the true value of money, or what real uses it may serve in life? Lay it out upon bread, pot-herbs, wine²³; add, in short, those comforts, which nature cannot want without pain.
 75

To watch night and day²⁴ half-dead with fear, and to be under perpetual apprehensions from wicked thieves, fire, and your own servants,

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ful of water, he will not take it from a little fountain, where he might have it good, and with safety; he thinks it better to take it from a great river, never reflecting that he thereby unnecessarily exposes himself to the danger of being carried away by the stream. Whereas, a wise man, who knows how to set bounds to his desires, not only drinks with security, but also of what is best in its kind. *Urna* was a measure of liquids, that contained about four of our gallons. *Cyatbus* was a cup into which they filled drink out of a large vessel; it contained four spoonfuls.

¹⁹ *The impetuous Aufidus.* The *Aufidus*, a river of *Apulia*, now the *Ofanto*. *Horace* here takes it indifferently for any river, his reasoning being universal, and applicable to all cases of the like kind. It is possible that *Horace* may have pitched upon this river rather than any other, in allusion to some history of this nature, well known at that time. *Dacier*.

²⁰ *But the greater part of mankind.* *Horace* having proved, by the most solid reasoning, that riches, when hoarded up, are

neither useful nor pleasant, pursues the covetous man to his last refuge. He foresaw the objection that might be made to him, that it was necessary to amass riches, because men are only esteemed in proportion to their wealth. But the poet shews the covetous man, that he deceives himself, and that it is not a desire of reputation and honor that influences him, but merely avarice. This he demonstrates by the example of a rich miser at *Athens*. This man was so far from being valued on account of his riches, that he was the object of perpetual contempt, and yet his eagerness in pursuit of them was not one jot abated. Where then was there any sense of honor, or what account can be given of this, but by ascribing it wholly to avarice?

²¹ *Liket the rich sordid wretch at Athens.* Several commentators are of opinion, that this is meant of *Timon* the man-hater; but undoubtedly, they are mistaken; for, if we can credit *Diogenes Laërtius*, this *Timon* was neither covetous nor sordid; and it was a common saying of his, related by *Stobæus*, *That ambition and avarice were the source*

Plenior ut si quos delectet copia iusto,
Cum ripâ simul avulsos ferat Aufidus acer.
At qui tantulo eget quanto * est opus, is neque
limo

Turbatam haurit aquam, neque vitam † amittit
in undis. 60

At bona pars hominum, decepta cupidine falso,
Nil satis est, inquit; quia tanti, quantum, habeas
fis.

Quid facias illi? jubeas miserum ‡ esse, libenter
Quatenus id facit: ut quidam memoratur Athenis
Sordidus ac dives, populi contemnere voces 65
Sic solitus: populus me sibilat; at mihi plaudo
Ipse domi, simul ac nummos contemplor in arcâ.

Tantalus à labris sitiens fugientia captat
Flumina—Quid rides? mutato nomine, de te
Fabula narratur. Congestis undique faccis 70
Indormis inhians, & tanquam parcere sacris
Cogeris, aut pietis tanquam gaudere tabellis.

Nescis quo valeat nummus, quem præbeat usum?
Panis ematur, olus, vini sextarius; adde,
Queis humana sibi doleat natura negatis. 75

An vigilare metu exanimem, noctesque diesque
Formidare malos fures, incendia, servos,

parcere tanquam sacris, aut gaudere tanquam tabellis pietis. An nescis quo nummus valeat, quem usum præbeat? Panis ematur, olus, sextarius vini; adde ea, queis negatis humana natura sibi doleat. An hoc juvat vigilare exanimem metu, & formidare noctesque diesque malos fures, incendia, servos,

* quantum, *Bentl.*

† nec vitam, *Id.*

‡ miseram, *Id.*

ut si copia plenior iusto delectet quos, Aufidus acer ferat eos avulsos simul cum ripâ. At qui eget tantulo quanto opus est, is neque haurit aquam turbatam limo, neque amittit vitam in undis. At bona (magna) pars hominum, decepta falso cupidine, inquit, Nil satis est; quia tanti fis, quantum habeas. Quid facias illi? jubeas esse miserum, quatenus facit id libenter: ut quidam sordidus ac dives memoratur existisse Athenis, sic solitus contemnere voces populi: populus sibilat me; at ipse plaudo mihi domi, simul ac contemplor nummos in arcâ. Tantalus sitiens captat flumina fugientia à labris. Quid rides? mutato nomine, fabula narratur de te. Inhians indormis faccis undique congestis, & cogeris

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of all mischief. It is more probable, that Horace refers to some story, which, though now lost, was well known in his time.

²² *Tantalus.* His story is well known. In an entertainment he gave the Gods, to make trial of their divinity, he killed and served up his son *Pelops*: the Gods, as a punishment for this daring impiety, condemned him to perpetual hunger and thirst, amidst water and fruit, that were continually enticing him, and which yet he could not touch. Horace applies this with admirable vivacity. *Tantalus*, and others recorded in fable, were only general names, which the poets used at pleasure, to mark out such characters as they intended to give a representation of.

²³ *Wine.* *Sextarius*, the word used in the original, was a Roman measure that held 24 ounces, or 12 cyathi, about our

pint and half. This was reckoned sufficient for a moderate man at one meal. *Flavius Vopiscus*, speaking of the emperor *Tacitus*, says, *Ipse fuit vitæ parcissimæ, ita ut sextarium vini toto die nunquam potaverit: Ille was remarkably abstemious, inasmuch that he was never known to drink a sextarius of wine in one day.*

²⁴ *To watch night and day, &c.* These verses are admirable. It is with great reason that *Juvenal* says, Sat. 14. 304.

Misera est magni custodia census.

Great riches expose men to great alarms.

As we have much to lose, our apprehensions on that head must of consequence create the greater uneasiness; and there is the more reason to suspect that snares will be laid for us, and all possible means used to strip us of them. On this account it has been wittily said, *Gold is always pale*; and we admire.

wants, lest they run away from you and rob you of all²⁵; is this the profit of riches? Then grant, heaven, that I may never come to the possession of such burdensome goods!

- 80 But if you are seized with a violent cold, or any other accidental disorder confines you to your bed; you can afford, say you, to keep one to sit by you, nurse you, and solicit the physician to raise you up, and restore you to your children and dear relations. You are deceived. Neither your wife, nor son wishes for your recovery²⁶: all your friends and acquaintances hate you, and the very
85 youth of both sexes join in despising you. Do you wonder, when you prefer money to every thing, that nobody regards you with an affection, which you in nowise deserve? But if, unhappily, you fancy to yourself that you can retain the relations whom nature hath given you, and preserve their friendship, without doing any thing to deserve it; you will labour as much in vain, as if you should attempt to render an ass obedient to the reins.

- Learn therefore to set bounds to your desires; and as your riches increase, banish the fear of poverty; that having at length acquired what you wanted, your labour may have an end: nor
95 imitate the example of one Umidius²⁷ (the story is not long), so rich that he measured his money, so sordidly narrow-spirited that he never went better clad than a slave; to the very last moment of his life, he was under continual fears of dying for want of bread:
100 at length his freed-woman, more resolute than the daughters of Tyndarus²⁸, cleft him in two with an ax. What would you then advise me to? To live like Mænius, or Nomentanus²⁹? You still persist to bring together things that are plainly repugnant. When I counsel you against avarice, I don't urge you at the same time

to

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admire much that celebrated saying of *Aristophanes*, *Timidi sumus res divitiarum*: Riches are the most timorous things in the world.

²⁵ Lest they run away from you, and rob you of all. *Ne te compilent fugientes*. *Compilare* is derived from the ancient verb *pileare*, which comes from the Greek *πῖλαι*, *pileare*, *denzare*, to make close or compact; for robbers usually tied up in the most compact manner what they carried off, and reduced it to as small a compass as possible, that they might the more easily escape with it. *Dacier*.

²⁶ Neither your wife, nor son wishes for your recovery. It is folly to imagine, that your relations will have any real regard for you, when, though it is in your power to be serviceable to them all, you yet refuse to do good to any. We naturally wish that may happen, by which we expect to be considerable gainers. A benevolent generous man,

who supports his friends, and is continually doing them good offices, never fails of gaining by this means their affection. They love him, esteem him, wish well to him, and are very solicitous about the life of a person, on whom their good-fortune and happiness in life in some measure depends. On the contrary, the covetous man is hated by his relations. They always think with disgust of a person, who, when it is in his power to do them great service, is yet such a wretch as to deny it. As they can hope only to be gainers by his death, when his riches are to be shared amongst them, so they make no scruple to wish him out of the world, who seems incapable of doing any good in it. Nature may give us relations, but it is our business to make them friends by our care and services.

²⁷ *Umidius*. *Terentius* reads *Vmidius*, which is a Roman name. But whether we read

Ne te compilent fugientes; hoc juvat? horum
Semper ego optârim pauperrimus esse bonorum.
At si condoluit tentatum frigore corpus, 80
Aut alius casus lecto te affixit; habes qui
Affideat, fomenta paret, medicum roget, ut te
Suscitet, ac reddit gnatis * carisque propinquis.
Non uxor saluum te vult, non filius: omnes
Vicini oderunt, noti, pueri, atque puellæ. 85
Miraris, cùm tu argento post omnia ponas,
Si nemo præstat, quem non merearis, amorem?
At si † cognatos nullo natura labore
Quos tibi dat, retinere velis, servareque amicos;
Infelix operam perdas: ut si quis asellum 90
In campo doceat parentem currere frænis.
Denique sit finis quærendi; cùmque habeas plus,
Pauperiem metuas minùs; & finire laborem
Incipias, parto quod avebas: nec facias quod
Umidius quidam (non longa est fabula), dives 95
Ut metiretur nummos, ita sordidus ut se
Non unquam servo meliùs vestiret; ad usque
Supremum tempus, ne se penuria victûs
Opprimeret, metuebat: at hunc liberta securi
Divisit medium, fortissima Tyndaridarum. 100
Quid mî igitur suades? Ut vivam Mænius? aut sic
Ut Nomentanus? Pergis pugnantia secum
Frontibus adversis componere. Non ego avarum
Cum veto te fieri, vappam jubeo ac nebulonem.

incipias finire laborem: nec facias quod quidam Umidius (fabula non est longa), ita dives ut metiretur nummos, ita sordidus ut non unquam vestiret se meliùs servo; metuebat usque ad supremum tempus, ne penuria victûs opprimeret se. At liberta, fortissima Tyndaridarum, divisit (diffidit) hunc medium securi. Quid igitur suades mî, inquires? Ut vivam sic ut Mænius? aut sic ut Nomentanus? Respondeo, Pergis componere secum pugnantia adversa frontibus. Cum ego veto te fieri avarum, non eodem tempore.

* natis reddat, Bentl.

† An, si, Id.

‡ ne facias, Id.

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read *Umidius* or *Vinidius*, both the one and the other are equally unknown. *Dacier* thinks that we ought to prefer *Umidius*, because there was a family of that name at *Rome*; and that there is mention made of the *Umidians* in public inscriptions.

²⁸ *More resolute than the daughters of Tyndarus.* As if she had been another *Clytemnestra*, the daughter of *Tyndarus*, who cut off her husband's head with an ax. *Fortissima Tyndaridarum*; from the accusative of *Tyndaris*, viz. *Tyndarida*, comes the noun *Tyndarida*, *Tyndaride*, &c. *Sanctius* thinks there is a transposition in

this sentence, not uncommon to *Horace*, and that the natural order of the words is thus: *At liberta fortissima divisit hunc medium securi Tyndaridarum*, the ax of the *Tyndaridæ*, as he elsewhere says the ax of the *Amazons*; but this is rather ingenious than solid. *Dacier*.

²⁹ *Mænius*, or *Nomentanus*. Some read *Nævius* instead of *Mænius*; but this *Nævius* was a noted miser; whereas both *Mænius* and *Nomentanus* are here instanced as examples of prodigality. It must doubtless therefore be *Mænius*. *Mænius* and *Nomentanus* were both remarkable for their debaucheries,

105 to be prodigal and profuse³⁰. There is a wide difference between Tanais and the father-in-law of Vifellius³¹. There is a measure in things; there are in fine fixed and stated bounds, on either side of which virtue cannot be found. But to return whence I set out. Is it possible³² that all resemble the covetous man in this? to repine at their own fate, and commend those who follow a different way of life? Do they waste with
 110 envy, because another's goat gives more milk than their own? Never comparing themselves to the greater croud of the poor³³; but striving to surpass this and the other in riches? While, unhappily, some one that is richer always starting up proves a bar in their way: as in races³⁴, when the chariots start from the
 115 goal, the driver bears only upon the horses that have got the start of his own, wholly regardless of those he has left behind. Hence it is, that we seldom meet with a man, who can say he has lived happily, and, when the term of his life is expired, can contentedly quit this world, like a well-satisfied guest. But
 120 enough; nor will I add one word more, lest you should suspect me of rifling the papers of blear-eyed *Crispinus*³⁵.

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baucheries, and so profuse and lavish in their expences, that they at last ruined their fortunes, and were obliged to sell their paternal estates.

³⁰ *Prodigal and profuse.* *Vappam jubeo ac nebulonem.* *Vappa* signifies properly wine that is corrupted, that has lost its relish. Thence it was translated to signify one entirely lost, whose debaucheries had rendered him good for nothing. *Nebulo* is derived by some from *nebula* a cloud, denoting a man of no value, unstable as a cloud, guided neither by his reason nor interest. *Dacier* makes the reason of this derivation the same as that of *tenebrio* from *tenebræ*. *Nebulones* and *tenebriones*, according to him, are impious and wicked men, who love darkness, and hate light. This nearly agrees with what *Non. Marcellinus* says on the same subject: *Nebulones & tenebriones dicuntur, qui mendaciis & astutiis suis nebulam quandam & tenebras obiciunt*: by *nebulones* and *tenebriones* are commonly understood persons who endeavour, by lying and artifice, to throw a cloud over things.

³¹ *Tanais and the father-in-law of Vifellius.* We know nothing certain of the persons whose names are here mentioned; all that we can assuredly collect is, that they were remarkable for vices directly oppo-

site. The old scholiast tells us, that *Tanais* was an eunuch made free by *Mæcenas*, and that the other had a rupture. But as we are at a loss to know whence he had this account, we ought to regard it as at best but a very uncertain conjecture.

³² *Is it possible, &c.* *Nemon' ut avarus.* It is somewhat strange, that so many have written on this passage without hitting the true meaning of it, which yet is very obvious. *Horace* says, *Is it possible that all resemble the covetous man in this? To repine at their own fate, and commend those who follow a different way of life?* For as the covetous man always thinks that his neighbour's flocks thrive better than his own, in like manner the inconstant man prefers the condition and way of life of his friend. By this *Horace* makes it evident, that inconstancy and avarice are much the same, which is precisely what all along he has been endeavouring to prove. It is worth while to take notice of the great address *Horace* shews in the management of his subject. *Dacier*.

³³ *Never comparing themselves to the greater croud of the poor.* There are few men so unhappy in life, but if they compare their state with that of others below them, will have cause to rejoice at their situation,

Est inter Tanaim quiddam * focerumque Vifellî:

Est modus in rebus; sunt certi denique fines, 106

Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.

Illuc, unde abii, redeo. Nemon' ut avarus

Se probet, ac potius laudet diversa sequentes?

Quôdque aliena capella gerat dissentius uber, 110

Tabescat? neque se majori pauperiorum

Turbæ comparet; hunc atque hunc superare laboret?

Sic festinanti semper locupletior obstat:

Ut cùm carceribus missos rapit ungula currus,

Instat equis auriga suos vincentibus, illum 115

Præteritum temnens extremos inter euntem.

Inde fit, ut rarò, qui se vixisse beatum

Dicat, & exacto contentus tempore, vitâ

Cedat, uti conviva satur, reperire queamus.

Jam satis est; ne me Crispini scrinia Lippi † 120

Compilasse putes, verbum non ampliùs addam.

instat equis vincentibus suos, temnens illum præteritum euntem inter extremos. Inde fit, ut rarò queamus reperire hominem, qui dicat se vixisse beatum, & qui, exacto tempore, cedat vitâ contentus, uti conviva satur. Jam est satis; non addam verbum ampliùs, ne putes me compilasse scrinia Crispini Lippi.

* quidam, Bentl.

† Lippum, Id.

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tuation, and think themselves extremely fortunate. This is one of the most useful and interesting maxims of morality, and what, well attended to, seldom fails to make a man easy and contented with his condition. But such is the folly of the greater part of mankind, that they are more observing of those who are above them, and strive all they can to equal their rank. This, however, so far from bettering their condition, has quite the contrary effect. Their anxiety after more makes them lose the relish of what they have; and they usually waste their life in the fruitless pursuit of a happiness, which it is impossible they can attain; inasmuch as whatever rank they arrive at, there is still something higher to aspire after, and engage them in fresh pursuits.

34 *As in races.* This comparison arises from the word *festinanti* used in the foregoing verse. It is inexpressibly beautiful, and exactly in the stile of heroic poetry.

Horace was sensible that such a long train of reasoning would be apt to tire the reader, and therefore found it necessary to conclude, by a very lively comparison; for it is his peculiar happiness never to seem tedious. *Dacier.*

35 *The papers of blear-eyed Crispinus. Crispini scrinia Lippi.* *Scrinium*, from the Greek *στυριον*, signifies properly a little box or coffer, in which papers were kept. *Crispinus* was a philosopher of the sect of the Stoics, but at the same time affected poetry, for which he had no talent. He is here called *Lippus*, either because that was his real surname, or, which is more probable, because he was blear-eyed. The old scholiast pretends, that *Horace* gives him this appellation, *non oculorum ratione, sed mentis; quòd fuerat insulsus poeta; not so much for any defect in his sight, as in his understanding, being but a mean poet.* But such a conceit is childish, and below *Horace*.

The KEY.

IF *Horace* acquired a great reputation by his *Odes*, and has been esteemed by all ages as the first and best of the *Roman* lyric poets, his *Satires* and *Epistles* have equally gained him the character of a philosopher. It is plain, he was well acquainted with the writings of that set of men, had studied their different opinions and tenets, and extracted from each set what was of greatest use and value. This system of philosophy, collected by one of the greatest masters that any age or country has produced, he has dispersed through his *Satires* and *Epistles*, which are justly esteemed, by men of true discernment, one of the finest collections of morality, and precepts for the conduct of life, that all antiquity can boast of. What seems most wonderful in these compositions, is the admirable dexterity with which *Horace* joins the politeness and good-sense of the courtier, to the depth and sagacity of the philosopher; so that, as a celebrated writer well remarks, *he seems to be the author of all antiquity, who has made the happiest union of the gentleman and the scholar*. His reasonings, his sentences, his precepts, in a word, every thing he says, is set off with that vivacity and agreeable humor, that a reader is tempted to think he had never once looked into the books of philosophers; but that his writings are only a set of observations drawn from conversation and real life. There is nothing stiff or affected, nothing that has the air of a lecture, but all free and easy, as if he addressed you in an unpremeditated discourse.

The design of this *first Satire* is to expose the folly of discontent and avarice, those two reigning vices among mankind, and great disturbers of their quiet and happiness; and to shew the near connexion there is between them. There is nothing more common than to hear men exclaim against their own lot, and admire that of another. *Horace*, with great vivacity, shews the ridicule of this humor, by supposing a change of condition offered to these very men, which yet they all reject. Nothing could have been more
happily

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happily devised to convince men of their folly, and that their misery and disquiet spring mostly from themselves. He then proceeds to inveigh against avarice as a plentiful source of calamities to mankind. They may indeed flatter themselves, that in pursuing after gain, they aim at nothing but what is right and commendable, to secure a competent provision for life, and a quiet retreat in old-age: but their continued pursuits, even after their fortune far exceeds their first wishes, shew them to be actuated by a very different principle. It is the misfortune of the greater part of mankind, that they mistake the way to true happiness, and bring misery upon themselves, by their very endeavours to prevent it. Thus, the humor of amassing riches, by which they hope to free themselves from all anxious cares, is itself the cause of a thousand anxieties, more perplexing than the former. The desire of increasing wealth still grows upon them; the apprehension that by taking aught from it, it may at last sink to nothing, deprives them of the free use of it; and the fear of losing what they set so great a value upon, haunts them day and night. Thus a sordid narrow spirit takes possession of them, and extinguishes every thing great or generous. Their friends hate and despise them, as men who have power to do good without inclination: and as they can only hope to be gainers by their death, when their riches are to be shared amongst them, they think there can be no crime in wishing them out of the world, who are incapable of doing any good in it. *Horace* concludes with advising to embrace that middle way in which virtue stands; observes the near connexion between avarice and discontent; and that the chief reason, why men so seldom appear satisfied with life, arises from the great prevalence of these two vices in the mind.

The date of this piece is very uncertain: as it is addressed to *Mæcenæ*, we may consider it as the dedication of his works, in like manner as we find addressed to him the first of the *Odes*, the first *Epode*, and the first *Epistle*.

SATIRE II.

He confirms by examples the common saying, *Fools always run into extremes*. He inveighs bitterly against adultery.

THE tribe of musicians¹, perfumers², sharpers³, mimics, rope-dancers⁴, with all others of that stamp, are anxious and disconsolate on the death of Tigellius⁵ the singer; a man of a very liberal temper. This man on the contrary, fearing the
 5 imputation of prodigality, refuses to supply his needy friend, wherewith to defend him against the severity of cold and hunger. If you ask a third, why he foolishly wastes the large inheritance of his ancestors upon an unthankful appetite⁶, borrowing money at extravagant interest to purchase what is delicate and
 10 rare; he answers, that he disdains to be thought one of a sordid narrow soul. Some commend this temper, while others are as forward to censure it. Fufidius⁷, rich in lands, and money lent out at usury, dreads the character of a prodigal and a rake. He deducts from the capital sum five common interests⁸;
 15 and the more profligate and abandoned he perceives any cha-

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¹ The tribe of musicians. *Ambubaiaurum collegia*. *Ambubaia* signifies properly players on the flute, from the Syriac word *ambūd*, a flute. The Syrians excelled much in playing upon that instrument, and were always in great crowds at Rome. *Collegium*, a society, fraternity, or corporation, a tribe or troop.

² Perfumers. *Pharmacopola*, in a large sense, takes in all who deal in drugs or medicines; but its signification is here restrained to those who sold perfumes, probably because they also kept medicines to prevent conception, or procure abortion.

³ Sharpers. *Mendici*. Under this word are included the priests of *Cybele* and *Isis*; in short, all who may be said to live by their wits, as gamesters, conjurers, &c.

⁴ Rope-dancers. *Balatrone*. These were properly *Aquarioli*, who attended upon the baths, and poured water into them. As they were commonly men of no character, the word came to be taken for one that was abandoned, and lost to all shame. Some derive it from one *Servilius Balatro*, noted for his debaucheries. *Dacier* gives another etymology of this word. He observes, that

the Greeks used the word *βάλλειν* or *βαλίζειν* for *saltare*, to dance. Hence the Latins had *ballare*, *ballator*, and by an easy transposition *balatro*. This last sense is followed in the translation, as agreeing best with the order in which *Horace* ranges the several characters enumerated; the *Balatrone*s coming after the *Mimæ*.

⁵ Tigellius the singer. This *Tigellius* was a native of *Sardinia*, and one of the most celebrated musicians of his time, but more especially famous for his dexterity in playing on the flute. As men of this character are usually very acceptable at the courts of princes, so he was highly in favour both with *Julius Cæsar* and his successor *Augustus*. *Horace* gives us his character at some length in the next Satire. He was a man of an inconsistent unaccountable temper, and prodigal in the highest degree.

⁶ Upon an unthankful appetite. *Ingratū ingluvie*. The epithet *ingratū*, used here, has very much embarrassed commentators. *Torrentius*, and several others after him, are of opinion, that it denotes an ingratitude to parents, in spending so lavishly what they left to another and better use. But *Dacier*,

SATIRA II.

Exemplis dictum illud confirmat, Dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt. Insanas quorundam circa adulteria libidines infectatur.

A Mbubaiarum collegia, pharmacopolæ,
Mendici, mimæ, balatrones; hoc genus omne
Mœstum ac sollicitum est cantoris morte Tigelli;
Quippe benignuserat. Contrà hic, ne prodigus esse
Dicatur metuens, inopi dare nolit amico,
Frigus quo duramque famem depellere possit.
Hunc si perconteris, avi cur atque parentis
Præclaram ingrata stringat malus ingluvie rem,
Omnia conductis coëmens obsonia nummis;
Sordidus atque animi quod parvi nolit haberi,
Respondet. Laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis.
Fusidius vappæ famam timet ac nebulonis,
Dives agris, dives positus in scœnore nummis.
Quinas hic capiti mercedes exsecat; atque
Quanto perditior quisque est, tanto acrius urget:

nummis conductis undique; respondet, quod nolit haberi homo sordidus atque animi parvi. Laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis. Fusidius, dives agris, dives nummis positus in scœnore, timet famam vappæ ac nebulonis. Hic exsecat quinas mercedes capiti; atque quanto quisque est perditior, tanto urget acrius:

ORDO.

Collegia ambubaia-
rum, pharmacopo-
læ, mendici, mimæ,
balatrones; & omne hoc
genus est mœstum ac so-
licitum morte cantoris
Tigelli; quippe erat be-
nignus erga illos. Hic
contrà, metuens ne di-
catur esse prodigus, no-
lit dare amico inopi,
quo possit depellere fri-
gus duramque famem.
Si perconteris hunc,
cur malus (malè) strin-
gat præclaram rem
avi atque parentis in-
gratâ ingluvie, coë-
mens omnia obsonia

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cier, from an Epigram of Callimachus, gives a very different explication of it. *Ingratâ*, according to him, means, *that preserves nothing of what is given it, that soon forgets and loses the relish*. This sense I have chosen to follow in the translation.

7 *Fusidius*. A celebrated usurer in Horace's time, remarkable chiefly for the immoderate interest he exacted from all that applied to him. Cicero, in the 13th Book of his Epistles, recommends one of this name to Brutus. He was a Roman knight, and had served under Cicero in Cilicia, as military tribune. He was, at the same time, a great usurer. Dacier thinks, the person here mentioned by the poet is the same with *Fusitius*, of whom Catullus speaks in one of his Epigrams against Cæsar. The matter, however determined, is not of very great consequence. *Vappa* and *Nebulo* have been explained in the remarks upon the preceding Satire.

8 He deducts from the capital sum five common interests. *Quinas hic capiti mercedes*

exsecat. *Caput* signifies here the capital sum, what we call the principal, and *merces* the interest. The Romans let out their money by months, like the Greeks. Their usury differed according to times and persons. That which was most in use was one per cent. a month, called the *usura centesima*. There were also several other species of usury lower than this, marked by particular names, such as the *usura semis*, a half per cent. per month; *quadrans*, *quincunx*, *sex-tans*, &c. This *Fusidius* was so cruel an usurer, that he exacted from those to whom he lent his money, five times the common interest, or five per cent. per month, or sixty per cent. a year; so that in twenty months his capital was doubled. Thus, to avoid the character of a prodigal, of one who was negligent of his affairs, he run into an extreme much more blamable, *extortion*. Before we dismiss this remark, it will be necessary to take notice of the manner of expression here used, *Exsecat quinas mercedes capiti*; he deducts five interests

character to be, the more he rises in his demands⁹: he is at great pains to learn¹⁰ the names of young heirs, who have lately taken the manly gown under frugal-managing fathers. Who, upon hearing these things, can forbear crying out, Almighty Jupiter? But you will say, His expences are in proportion to his gains. He? It is scarce credible how little he is his own
 20 friend: insomuch that the father¹¹, who is represented in the comedy as miserable for having been the cause of his son's flight, did not use himself with greater cruelty. But, say you, What means all this? Why briefly, that fools, while they strive to shun one vice, often run into its contrary. Malthinus¹² walks
 25 with his gown dragging after him; another wantonly tucks it up to his waist: Rufillus smells of nothing but perfumes¹³, Gorgonius is always offensive. In short, there are none who observe a due medium. Some disdain to touch a woman, unless her ankles are adorned with a border of purple¹⁴: others as
 30 industriously avoid all, who are not upon the town. For this they plead the authority of Cato, who observing a man of figure come out from a place of bad repute¹⁵, commended his
 pru-

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from the capital sum. To understand which, we must observe, that usurers, when they lent out their money, had the interest of the first month advanced to them, or they retained it out of the principal sum. Hence the poet uses the expression *exsecat capiti*; because it was deducted from it. We are farther to note, that the sum retained out of the capital, was equivalent to the interest which the usurer exacted monthly, and might serve to express it. *Exsecare quinas mercedes capiti*, then, was the same as to exact five per cent. Interest per month, and is to be understood in that sense here.

9 *The more he rises in his demands.* This, tho' one of the basest of vices, is yet but too much the practice of the world. Nothing is more common than to take advantage of the necessities of another; and when we perceive they cannot do without us, to make our own terms. It is, however, so directly contrary to every thing that is great, generous, or praiseworthy in human nature, that we are not to wonder if Horace afterwards supposes that every one who hears this description will be struck with amazement. The commonness of any vice never lessens its baseness, nor takes from that horror which it raises in the breast of every sober good man.

10 *He is at great pains to learn.* Nothing could serve to give a stronger idea of the unbounded avarice of this *Fufidius*. He knew well what persons were fittest for his

purpose; young lavish heirs, who receiving but a scanty allowance from their too frugal fathers, were glad to take up money on any conditions. The Roman youth, at the age of sixteen, were brought into the *Forum*, where, with great solemnity, they put on the manly gown; after which they were indulged in a freer way of life: and when their fathers refused to give them wherewith to gratify their desires, they commonly applied to usurers. But this practice was afterwards suppressed by the senate, upon complaint being made to them of the impositions of one *Macedo*, a famous usurer. The decree made upon that occasion was, from him, called *Senatusconsultum Macedonianum*, Suet. Vesp. c. 11. *Auctori senatui fuit decernendi, ne filiorum familias faeneratoribus exigendi credita jus esset unquam, ne post patrum quidem mortem.*— It was decreed by the senate, that usurers should have no right to begin an action for money lent to young heirs, not even after the death of their fathers.

11 *Insomuch that the father, who is represented, &c.* *Menedemus*, in Terence's *Self-Tormentor*, who accusing himself of being the cause that his son had forsaken him, and gone to the wars, made himself miserable by laying the blame upon his own harshness. *Dacier* remarks upon this comparison, that it is a strong evidence of Horace's natural sweetness of temper. He had himself probably been much affected with the grief and

Nomina sectatur, modò sumptâ veste virili
Sub patribus duris tironum. Maxime, quis non,
Jupiter, exclamat, simul atque audivit? At in se
Pro quæstu sumptum facit. Hic? Vix credere possis
Quàm sibi non sit amicus: ita ut pater ille, Te-
renti

Fabula quem miserum gnato vixisse fugato
Inducit, non se pejùs cruciaverit atque hic.
Si quis nunc quærat, Quò res hæc pertinet? Illuc:
Dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt.
Malthinus * tunicis demissis ambulat; est qui
Inguen ad obscœnum subductis usque facetus:
Pastillos Rufillus olet, Gorgonius † hircum.
Nil medium est. Sunt qui nolint tetigisse nisi illas,
Quarum subsutâ talos tegat instita veste:
Contrà alius nullam, nisi olenti ‡ in fornice stan-
tem.

Quidam notus homo cùm exiret fornice, Macete
Virtute esto, inquit sententia dia Catonis:

guen: Rufillus olet pastillos, Gorgonius olet hircum. Nil est medium. Sunt qui nolint tetigisse mulieres, nisi illas, quarum instita subsutâ veste tegat talos: alius contrà vult nullam, nisi stantem in olenti fornice. Et sic se tuetur: Cùm quidam notus homo exiret fornice, sententia dia Catonis inquit, Macete esto virtute:

* Malthinus, Benti.

† Gorgonius, Id.

‡ olente, Id.

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and repentance of this unhappy father, for the false step he had made. He must be hardhearted indeed, who can read this part of the comedy without being moved.

¹² *Malthinus.* Malthas was a name which the Romans often gave to soft and effeminate men. *Lucilius, Satire xxvii.*

Insanum vocant, quem Malthum ac scæminam dici vident.

They look upon a man as a fool, who has got the reputation of being soft and effeminate.

Maltha comes from the Greek word *μαλθακός*; whence some pretend, that *Horace*, under this feigned name, points at *Mæcenas*, who always walked with his gown dragging after him, as *Seneca* tell us in his 114th *Epistle*. *Hunc esse qui solutis tunicis semper incesserit.* And who was so effeminate that *Velleius* says of him, *Otio & mollitiis pendula scæminam fluens: That he outdid even women in softness and indolence.* If this is really so, *Horace*, no doubt, intended by it to make his court to *Augustus*, who often reproached *Mæcenas* with his soft effeminate air. But I can hardly fancy that *Horace* would endeavour to please *Augustus* at the expence of *Mæcenas*, and rally his benefactor so unmercifully in a satire addressed to

him. It was enough to censure, in the person of another, a vice of which his patron was but too guilty. It is well known that *Malthinus* was a Roman name. *Dacier.*

¹³ *Rufillus smells of nothing but perfumes, &c.* It was held scandalous among the Romans to be perfumed. The story of *Vespasian* is generally known, who having granted a commission to a young man, revoked it next day, because he came perfumed to thank him; adding, at the same time, with an air of contempt, *Maluisses allium oboluisse; I had rather you had smelt of garlic.* *Pastillus* is a diminutive of *panis*, *paniculus*, *panicillus*, *pastillus*. *Pastillus* was properly *libi rotundi* genus, a kind of little cake made up round; a perfuming ball: *Horace* observes of *Gorgonius*, that he was as much to blame for the negligence of his person. This verse drew a great deal of ill-will upon *Horace*, as we afterwards learn from his fourth satire.

¹⁴ *Border of purple.* *Instita*, the word used in the original, was a border of purple that went round the bottom of the robe worn by women of quality. This robe was commonly the *stola*; and we find *instita longa* taken by *Ovid* for the *stola*.

¹⁵ *A place of bad repute.* These were

prudence, and advised him to continue the same course ¹⁶: for it is better, says he, when love inflames the blood, to repair hither, than attempt to seduce the wife of your friend. But Cupiennius ¹⁷, whose taste leads him to admire only women of rank, protests that he desires no such share of praise. It is worth while, however ¹⁸, to you especially, who wish that the designs of adulterers may fail of success, to attend to the difficulties they are pinched with on all sides; how their pleasures are often dashed by a mixture of the most cruel pains; that they are at most but rare, and often accompanied with imminent dangers. Some are forced to throw themselves headlong from the house-tops; others are almost whipped to death: one in his flight falls into the hands of street-robbers; another is obliged to redeem himself with a round sum; a third is most unmercifully cudgelled: in fine it sometimes happens, that the offenders are shamefully dismembered: all allow the justice of their punishment; Galba ¹⁹ alone complains. How much safer is it to trade with those of the second class; I mean the freed-women? But is Sallust, say you ²⁰, less extravagant with them, than adulterers with married women? Perhaps so: yet would Sallust observe any moderation in his gifts, and, consulting his reason and fortune, be no farther liberal than his circumstances will bear; he might save both his reputation and estate. But this alone is what he values himself upon; what he loves and admires: I avoid all commerce with married women. Like Maræus that once noted gallant of Origo ²¹, who threw away his paternal estate and mansion-house upon a comedian; I never had any intrigue, says he, with the wife of another. But you attach yourself to comedians and courtezans; by which your reputation is more hurt than your estate. Do you think it enough ²² to avoid some particular persons whom you suspect as dan-

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commonly vaults under ground, whence the appellations *fornix* and *ganea*.

¹⁶ *Advised him to continue the same course.* *Maeste virtute esto. Maeste for magis aucte.* These are the words of Cato the censor. But observing afterwards the same person to frequent these places too much, he said to him: *Adolescens, ego te laudavi quod interdum hic venires, non quod hic habitares:* Young man, I praised you for coming here sometimes, not that you should make a dwelling-place of it. *Sententia dia Catonis;* a way of speaking borrowed from the Greeks, instead of *divinus Cato*.

¹⁷ *Cupiennius.* Probably the same to whom Cicero writes the 20th Epistle of his 16th Book. He admired only women of quality, who wore the white robe or *stola*.

¹⁸ *It is worth while, however.* *Audire est,*

operæ pretium. This solemn introduction is industriously copied from the first Book of Ennius's Annals, to give the greater air of importance to what he is about to say.

Audire est operæ pretium, procedere recte Qui rem Romanam, Latiumque auferere vultis.

It is worth while for you to attend, who wish well to the affairs of Rome, and the prosperity of the empire. This gives a great air of pleasantry to the whole passage. *Dacier.*

¹⁹ *Galba.* *Servius Sulpicius Galba*, a celebrated lawyer, famous for intrigue. This inclined him to favor that tribe, whose cause he was always ready to plead. Perhaps the misfortune here spoken of had happened to himself.

²⁰ *But is Sallust, say you.* Very few comment

Nam simul ac venas inflavit tetra libido,
Huc juvenes æquum est descendere, non alienas
Permolere uxores. Nolim laudari, inquit, 35
Sic me, mirator cunni Cupiennius albi.

Audire est operæ pretium, procedere rectè
Qui mæchis* non vultis, ut omni parte laborent;
Utque illis multo corrupta dolore voluptas;
Atque hæc rara, cadat dura inter sæpe pericla. 40
Hic se præcipitem tecto dedit; ille flagellis
Ad mortem cæsus: fugiens hic decedit acrem
Prædonum in turbam; dedit hic pro corpore
nummos;

Hunc perminxerunt calones: quin etiam illud
Accidit, ut cuidam testes caudamque salacem 45
Demeteret † ferrum ‡: jure omnes; Galba negabat.

Tutior at quanto merx est in classe secundâ;
Libertinarum dico? Sallustius in quas ||
Non minùs insanit, quàm qui mæchatur. At hic si,
Quà res, quà ratio suaderet, quaque modestè 50
Munifico esse licet, vellet bonus atque benignus
Esse; daret quantum satis esset, nec sibi damno
Dedecorique foret. Verùm hoc se amplectitur uno;
Hoc amat, hoc laudat: Matronam nullam ego tango.
Ut quondam Marsæus amator Originis; ille, 55
Qui patrium mimæ donat fundumque laremque,
Nil fuerit mi, inquit, cum uxoribus unquam alienis.
Verùm est cum mimis, est cum meretricibus; unde
Fama malum gravius quàm res trahit. An tibi abundè
Personam satis est, non illud, quidquid ubique 60

ratio suaderet, quaque licet esse munifico modestè; daret quantum esset satis, nec foret sibi damno dedecorque. Verùm amplectitur se hoc uno; amat hoc, laudat hoc: Ego tango nullam matronam. Ut Marsæus quondam amator Originis; ille, qui donat mimæ patrium fundumque laremque, N. l. inquit, unquam fuerit mi cum alienis uxoribus. Verùm est cum mimis, est cum meretricibus; unde fama trahit gravius malum quàm res. An satis abundè est tibi cavere personam, & non illud, quidquid est quod ubique

* mæchos, Bentl. † Demeterent, Id. ‡ ferro, Id. || qua, Id.

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commentators have observed the fineness and delicacy of this passage. It is an objection made by those to whom *Horace* is giving advice. He had said, that it was safer to deal with freed-women. But, says one, *Does Sallust play the fool less with them?* True, answers *Horace*; yet it is his own fault, who will observe no bounds. This is not meant of *Sallust* the historian, but of a grandson of his sister, the same to whom *Ode ii. Book II.* is addressed: for all that *Horace* says here of his prodigality,

agrees perfectly with the character there given of him. *Dacier.*

²¹ *Origo.* There lived in *Horace's* time three famous courtezans at *Rome*; *Origo*, *Cytheris*, and *Arbuseula*, all comedians. The poet was probably acquainted with them all. We are at a loss to know who *Marsæus* was.

²² *Do you think it enough?* *Horace* here observes, that all extremes ought to be avoided as hurtful. The difference of persons makes no difference in the vices,

- dangerous, without shunning, at the same time, what is every where and at all times pernicious? To lose your credit, and ruin your estate, is always madness; nor will it, in the least, lessen your misfortune, whether it be with a matron, a slave, or a courtesan. Villius²³ in love with Fausta, proud to be accounted
- 65 the son-in-law of Sylla, and unhappily deceived by his fondness for that empty title, was too severely punished for his folly; when bruised, and cruelly beaten, he had the mortification to see himself thrust out of doors, while Longarenus his rival was freely admitted. Could that part which is so powerful in us have addressed him with the voice of reason: What is it you want?
- 70 Do I, even when my pulse beats highest, demand the daughter of an illustrious consul, or one adorned with a rich flowing robe? What could he have answered? That Fausta was descended of an honorable father. How much better, and widely differing from this, is the language of nature²⁴ always rich in her native
- 75 funds! Did men but know how to make a moderate use of her gifts, and distinguish right between what they ought to shun and what to pursue! Do you fancy there is no difference²⁵, between wanting because of immoderate desires, and wanting through downright necessity? Therefore, to prevent a late and unavailing repentance, cease admiring women of quality; with whom
- 80 the pleasure is always overbalanced by pain. Nor can a lady of quality amidst her jewels and pearls²⁶ (although this be your infirmity, O Cerinthus²⁷) boast of a finer leg, or plumper thigh; yea, a courtesan has often the advantage. Add to this, that she appears without disguise²⁸; frankly exposes her merchandize to view; and is neither too solicitous to shew her beauties,
- 85 nor hide her deformities.

It is customary for kings, when they buy horses, to eye them narrowly, and strip off all their trappings; lest (as is often the case) a very beautiful horse should have a very bad foot, and the eager purchaser be deceived by his fine buttocks, little head, and stately neck. In this they do wisely. It is foolish to attend only

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which are all equally blamable when carried to excess.

²³ Villius. He was of a noble family at Rome, Fausta, the daughter of Sylla, of an abandoned character. She preferred Longarenus, a man of mean birth and no merit, to Villius. Besides these, she had for her gallants Pompeius Macula, and Fulvius Tullus. Villius's vanity to be accounted the son-in-law of Sylla, made him submit patiently to the cruel usage Horace here mentions.

²⁴ Nature always rich in her native funds. This sentence is admirable. Nature is rich in herself without any foreign aid.

Beauty, shape, and mien, belong properly to her; birth, riches, and honors, are external, and what she can be satisfied without. Dacier.

²⁵ Do you think there is no difference? *Tuo vitio, rerumque labores.* He who has what is necessary, and whose wants are only the effect of caprice and vanity, *laborat suo vitio*: he who really wants what is needful, *laborat vitio rerum.* The grand secret of living happily therefore is, to examine into the cause of our desires, that we may know whether they arise from want, or from caprice and humor. Dacier.

Officit, evitare? Bonam deperdere famam,
Rem patris oblimare, malum est ubicunque. Quid
inter-

est in matronâ, ancillâ, peccesve* togatâ?

Villius in Faustâ Sullæ gener, hoc miser uno
Nomine deceptus, pœnas dedit usque superque 65

Quàm satis est; pugnis cæsus, ferroque petitus,
Exclusus fore, cum Longareus foret intus.

Huic si mutonis verbis mala tanta videntis
Diceret hæc animus: Quid vis tibi? Numquid ego

à te

Magno prægnatum deponco consule cunnum, 70
Velatumque stolâ, mea cum conferbuit ira?

Quid responderet? Magno patre nata puella est.

At quanto meliora monet, pugnantiaque istis,

Dives opis natura suæ! Tu si modò rectè

Dispensare velis, ac non fugienda petendis

Immiscere! Tuo vitio, rerumne labores,

Nil referre putas? Quare, ne pœniteat te,

Desine matronas sectarier; unde laboris

Plus haurire mali est, quàm ex re decerpere fructus.

Nec magis huic inter niveos viridesque lapillos 80

(Sit licet hoc †, Cerinthe, tuum †) tenerum est
femur, aut crus

Rectius; atque etiam melius persæpè togatæ||.

Adde huc, quod mercem sine fucis gestat; apertè

Quod venale habet ostendit; nec**, si quid ho-
nessi est,

Jactat habetque palam, quærit quo turpia celet. 85

Regibus hic mos est; ubi equos mercantur, apertos

Inspiciunt; ne, si facies (ut sæpè) decora

Molli fulta pede est, emptorem inducat †† hiantem,

Quòd pulchræ clunes, breve quòd caput, ardua
cervix.

crus rectius (licet hoc tuum sit, O Cerinthe); atque etiam crus togatæ persæpè melius est. Adde huc, quòd gestat mercem sine fucis; ostendit apertè quòd habet venale: nec, si quid honesti est ei, jactat habetque palam, nec quærit quo celet turpia. Hic mos est regibus; ubi mercantur equos, inspiciunt apertos; ne (ut sæpè fit) si facies decora fulta est molli pede, inducat hiantem emptorem, eò quòd ei sint pulchræ clunes, breve caput, ardua cervix.

* peccesne, Benl. † hoc, Id. † tuo, Id. || est, Id. ** neque, Id. †† ducat, Id.

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26 Jewels and pearls. Nivei lapilli, pearls; lapilli virides, emeralds.

27 Although this be your infirmity, O Cerinthus. This is the same Cerinthus so often mentioned in the works of Tibullus, and who is so well known by the love which Sulpicia the daughter of Servius had for him, notwithstanding the celebrated Mes-

sala was his rival. Cerinthus was one who would take up only with women of quality; for this seems to be what Horace intimates, as Dacier, with great reason conjectures. Sit licet hoc Cerinthe tuum; although this be your infirmity, poor Cerinthus, to affect women that shine with diamonds, &c.

28 Appears without disguise. Mercem sine fucis

ly to the beauties of a woman²⁹, while at the same time we are blind to her imperfections³⁰. O her well-turned leg, her fine arm! yet she is without hips³¹, has a great nose, short waist, and long foot. In a woman of quality you can see nothing
 95 but her face; the rest, unless she is another Catia³², being concealed with great care. If you attempt to come at what is hid, and pass the bounds wherewith she is fenced round (for it is this that inflames your desires), you are sure to meet with a thousand obstacles; waiting-women, chaises³³, tire-women, parasites, a long robe and mantle³⁴; in fine, innumerable little
 100 hindrances, to baffle your curiosity. In the other there is no stop; you may see her shape distinctly through her robe of gauze³⁵, and discern if there be an ill-made leg, or ugly foot; you can measure her waist with your eye. Had you rather be imposed upon, and pay the price, before you examine your merchandise? "A hunter³⁶ pursues a hare in the deep snow, but if she
 105 "offers herself to him will not touch her:" thus he sings, and adds: "My love is of this kind; for it rejects what lies directly
 "before it, an easy mistress, and catches at what runs from it, a
 "coy beauty." Can you vainly hope that these lines are sufficient
 110 to banish from your breast, grief, the tumults of passion, and tormenting cares? Hath not nature set bounds to our desires; which we ought to examine, that we may know what she necessarily requires, and what she can bear to be deprived of; by this means to distinguish between the specious and the solid?
 115 When parched with thirst, are you solicitous to drink out of a golden cup³⁷? If overcome with hunger, can you endure nothing but peacock and turbot? When urged by love, if a beautiful

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fucus gestat. Fucus. The herb red alkanet, used in dyeing, wherewith women palleted their cheeks.

²⁹ *To attend only to the beauties of a woman.* *Lynceis contemplari oculis.* Lynceus was the first who discovered metals, whence he was said to have so good eyes, that he could see into the bowels of the earth.

³⁰ *Blind to her imperfections.* *Hypsæa cæcior.* This *Hypsæa* was a lady of quality, of the *Plautian* family, probably the daughter of *Plautius Hypsæus*, a consular senator, who had been convicted of bribery in disputing the consulship with *Milo* and *Scipio*. We may suppose that she had bad eyes, or, what is more likely, was blindly fond of some gallant, of but an indifferent person, which gave rise to the proverb.

³¹ *Without hips.* *Dépygis.* For *pyga* signifies the hip or haunch, from the Greek *πυγή*. This is a very considerable defect; for the ancients looked upon a good proportion here, as so necessary a

part of beauty, that they gave to *Venus* the epithet *καλλιπυγος*.

³² *Catia.* The name of some Roman matron, of an abandoned character.

³³ *Chaises.* The Roman ladies of quality appeared in the streets in chaises, which had commonly glass windows, and close shut. They were called *lecticæ*. They commonly sat in them even in their own houses; so that, whether abroad or at home, these chaises debarred all approaches. *Cinifones*, the same as *cinerarii*, equivalent to our tire-women.

³⁴ *A long robe and mantle.* The *stola* was a long robe that reached to the feet, the ordinary habit of ladies of distinction within doors. When they went abroad, they usually put over it the *palla*, sometimes the *pallium*, a kind of mantle.

³⁵ *Robe of gauze.* *Cos.* *Cosæ vestes* were robes of gauze made in the isle of *Cos*, so fine and transparent, that one might see the shape

Hoc illi rectè. Ne * corporis optima lynceis† 90
Contemplare ‡ oculis, Hypsæa cæcior, illa
Quæ mala sunt, spectes ||. O crus, ô brachia!
verum

Depygis, nasuta, brevi latere, ac pede longo est.
Matronæ præter faciem nil cernere possis,
Cætera, ni Catia est, demissâ veste tegentis. 95
Si interdicta petes, vallo circumdata (nam te
Hoc facit insanum), multæ tibi tum officient res;
Custodes, lectica, cinisfones, parasitæ,
Ad talos stola demissa, & circumdata pallâ;
Plurima, quæ inuideant purè apparere tibi rem. 100
Alterâ nil obstat; Cois tibi penè videre est
Ut nudam, ne crure malo, ne sit pede turpi;
Metiri possis oculo latus. An tibi mavis
Insidias fieri, pretiumque avellier, antè
Quàm mercem ostendi? Leporem venator ut altâ
In nive sectatur**, positum sic tangere nolit: 106
Cantat, & apponit: Meus est amor hûic similis;
nam

Transvolat in medio posita, & fugientia captat.
Hiscene versiculis speras tibi posse dolores, 109
Atque æstus, curasque graves è pectore pelli††?
Nonne cupidinibus statuit‡‡ natura modum; quem,
Quid latura sibi, quid sit dolitura negatum,
Quærere plûs prodest, & inane abscindere sôldo?
Num, tibi cùm fauces urit sitis, aurea quæris
Pocula? Num esuriens, fastidis omnia præter 115
Pavonem rhombumque? Tument tibi cùm inguina,
num, si

Ancilla, aut verna est præstò puer, impetus in quem
huic; nam transvolat posita in medio, & captat fugientia. Sperasne dolores, atque
æstus, curasque graves posse pelli è pectore tibi hisce versiculis? Nonne natura statuit modum
cupidinibus; quem plûs prodest quærere, nimirum, quid negatum sibi latura sit, quid doli-
tura, & abscindere inane sôldo? Num, cùm sitis urit fauces tibi, quæris aurea pocula?
Num esuriens, fastidis omnia præter pavonem rhombumque? Cùm inguina tument tibi, num,
si ancilla, aut verna puer est præstò, in quem

* tu, Benti. † lyncei, Id. ‡ Contemplare, Id. || spectas, Id.
** sectetur, Id. †† tolli, Id. ‡‡ statuat, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

shape of any person through them with the greatest distinctness.

36 A hunter. The chief difficulties in Horace arise from his sometimes inserting in his works whole passages of ancient Greek poets. The passage now before us, which has so much embarrassed the commentators, is little else than a translation of a Greek Epigram of Callimachus. The Epigram itself is this:

Epicurus, the hunter, pursues the deer a-

mong the mountains, through the snow and rocks. If any one desires him to stop, because the beast is killed, he pays no regard to it. My love is of this nature; it pursues what flies, and despises what may be easily come at. The reader sees, at first, the happy application Horace has made of these lines, which, no doubt, were well known, and often sung at Rome. Dacier.

37 A golden cup. Seneca makes good use of this passage, in his 120th epistle. Egge-
gic

tiful slave offers³⁸, with whom you may indulge yourself cheaply, had you rather languish with desire? It is not so with me; for I love pleasure that is cheap and easily come at. Women who
 120 plead for delays, insist upon a greater price, or put off till their husbands go out of town; these, says Philodemus³⁹, I leave to eunuchs⁴⁰: be mine the girl, whose demands are moderate, and who readily comes when sent for; let her be fair, of a good size, and so far agreeable⁴¹, that she may seek to appear no other
 125 than what nature made her: such a one, in my embraces, is Ilia or Egeria⁴²; I can give her what name I please. Nor am I in any pain, lest her husband should return from the country; the door be broke open; the dogs fall a barking, or the house resound with a tumultuous noise: no trembling wife descends pale from the bed; no confident in dread of her life bewails
 130 her fate; no mistress by an unseasonable discovery hazards the loss of her dower⁴³. In fine, I am in no pain for myself; nor necessitated to fly with my robe loose, and feet bare, to avoid suffering in my reputation, person, or purse. It is an unhappy thing to be surpris'd; even Fabius⁴⁴ will decide in my favor.

A N N O T A T I O N S.

quæ sitque Horatius negat ad sitim pertinere, quæ poculo aqua, aut quam elegantimanu ministratur: Horace rightly observes, that it is of no importance towards quenching a man's thirst, in what cup he receives the water, or by what hand it is conveyed.

38 *If a beautiful slave offers.* From this passage it is past dispute, that the satire now before us, was published before the law *de adulteriis & pudicitia*; for it is not to be supposed, that Horace would have given any such advice, after Augustus had so expressly declared against these practices, and enacted such severe penalties against those who were guilty of them.

39 *Philodemus.* We read of a poet of this name, of the sect of Epicurus, who lived in the time of Cicero, and of whom there still

remain some Epigrams. But I am apt to suspect, that he is not the person Horace means here, because he had a taste quite the reverse of that described in these lines, and agreed rather to the character in the Epigram of Callimachus; for in one of his own Epigrams he says: Demo and Thermion kill me, the one a courtesan, the other a stranger to the pleasures of love. The one makes me a sharer of her favors, the other is cruel and hardhearted. I swear by you, charming Venus, that I am at a loss for which to declare myself. But, in fine, my dear Demo, Thermion carries it; for I despise what may be easily had, and pursue that which implies difficulty. This is enough to persuade, that the poet means some other person of that name.

40 *Eunuchs.*

The KEY.

IN the foregoing Satire, Horace had observed, that there was a measure in things; that there were fixed and stated bounds, out of which it would be in vain to look for what was right and honest. Yet so it is with the greater part of mankind, that, instead of searching for virtue where reason directs, they always run from one extreme to another, and despise that middle way where alone they can have

Continuò fiat, malis tentigine rumpi?

Non ego; namque parabilem amo venerem facilemque.

Illam, Pòst paulò, sed pluris, si exierit vir; 120
Gallis hanc, Philodemus ait: sibi, quæ neque magno
Stet pretio, neque * cunctetur, cum est iussa, venire;
Candida, rectaque sit, munda hætenus, ut neque
longa

Nec magis alba velit, quam det natura, videri:
Hæc, ubi supposuit dextro corpus mihi lævum, 125
Ilia & Egeria est; do nomen quodlibet illi.

Nec vereor, ne, dum futuo, vir rure recurat;
Janua frangatur; latret canis; undique magno
Pulsa domus strepitu resonet; vepallida † lecto
Defiliat mulier; miseram se conscia clamet; 130
Cruribus hæc metuat, doti ‡ deprensa, egomet mi.
Discinctâ tunicâ fugiendum est, ac pede nudo;
Ne nummi pereant, aut pyga, aut denique fama.
Deprendi miserum est; Fabio vel iudice vincam.

impetus fiat continuò, malis rumpi tentigine? Non ego; namque amo venerem parabilem facilemque. Quoad illam quæ dicit, Pòst paulò, sed pluris, si vir exierit; Philodemus ait, hanc Gallis relinquentam: si autem sit ancilla, quæ neque fiet magno pretio, neque, cum iussa est venire, cunctetur; sit candida, rectaque, hætenus munda, ut neque velit videri magis longa nec magis alba, quam natura det: hæc, ubi supposuit lævum corpus mihi dextro, est Ilia & Egeria; do illi quodlibet nomen. Nec vereor, ne, dum futuo, vir recurat rure; janua frangatur; canis latret; domus pulsa magno strepitu undique resonet; mulier vepallida defiliat lecto; conscia clamet se miseram; hæc metuat cruribus, deprensa doti, egomet mi. Fugendum est tunicâ discinctâ, ac nudo pede; ne nummi pereant, aut pyga, aut denique fama. Miserum est deprendi; vincam vel Fabio iudice.

* nec, Bentl.

† ne pallida, Id.

‡ doti hæc deprensa, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

40 *Eunuchs.* Gallis hanc. The Galli were the priests of Cybele, and all eunuchs; who, of consequence, could with more patience bear delays.

41 *And so far agreeable.* Munda hætenus. The word *munda* here is very extensive, and implies not only neat and clean, but also a good proportion of shape and size. I have therefore chosen to render it *agreeable*, as what takes in its whole latitude.

42 *Ilia or Egeria.* That is, I am as happy with her, as others are with ladies of the first rank. *Ilia* was mistress to *Mars*, and *Egeria* to *Numa*.

43 *The loss of her dower.* For the wife surprized in adultery, lost her dower. Before the *Julian* law, husbands might kill their wives for an offence of this kind; but *Augustus* moderated this rigor, and lodged the power in the hands of the wife's father.

44 *Fabius.* Horace ends with a lively stroke of satire; for this *Fabius* was a celebrated lawyer of those times, who being once surprized in adultery, was very severely handled.

The KEY.

have any chance to find her. The design of the poet, in this Satire, is to expose the folly of this vice, and shew them that they thereby plunge themselves into a wider and more unfathomable sea of misery, increase their wants, and ruin both their reputation and fortune; whereas, would men be but prevailed with to live within the bounds prescribed by nature, they might avoid all these calamities, and have wherewith

The KEY.

wherewith to supply their real wants. He takes occasion from the death of *Tigellius*, a famous singer, one of a liberal profuse temper, to begin with observing the various judgments men pass upon actions and characters, according to their different humors. Some commend a man as liberal and generous, whom others censure as profuse and extravagant. From this difference of judgment proceeds a difference of behaviour, in which men seldom observe any degree of moderation, but always run from one extreme to another. One disdaining to be thought a miser, profusely squanders away his estate; another, fearing to be accounted negligent in his affairs, practises all the unjustifiable methods of extortion, and sticks at nothing that will better his fortune. Thus it happens, that the middle course is neglected: for,

Dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt.

"While fools strive against one vice, they run into the contrary." The poet then proceeds to shew, that the same observation holds good in all the other pursuits of life, and those several passions by which men are commonly influenced. Fancy and inclination usually determine them, while little or no regard is paid to the voice of reason. Hence he takes occasion to attack two of the reigning vices of his time. The first, *adultery*: this he endeavours to dissuade men from, both by the enormity of the crime itself, and the dangers they incurred by giving into it. Of these last he gives a very lively representation, and such as is sufficient to shew the madness of hunting after transient, and, for the most part, imaginary pleasures, with so much hazard. Another prevailing vice which he inveighs against, is *squandering away one's estate, and ruining his reputation* with

SATIRE III.

He blames those, who, while they are quick in discerning the faults of others, are blind to their own. Like lovers and indulgent fathers, we ought to overlook the slight errors of our friends. Lastly, he inveighs against the tenet of the Stoics, that maintains all crimes to be equal.

IT is a prevailing vice with singers, that when entreated by their friends they are never in the humor to sing; but leave them to themselves, and they never cease humming.

Tigellius

The KEY.

with Courtezans. The poet argues for a middle way, which is to follow nature. Every reader must feel a sensible regret, when he observes, that, in establishing this middle course, he runs into the very excess he had, with so great strength of reason, declaimed against, and recommends an excess more criminal than either of the former. This may serve to convince us, that there is nothing more difficult than to keep exactly in this middle way; since even those who recommend it, are themselves often apt to mistake it.

As *Horace*, through the whole of this Satire, talks like a libertine, I have endeavoured to soften it in the translation, and flatter myself, I have rendered his sentiments in language that will not offend the chastest ear. It abounds with many excellent precepts, and such as may be very serviceable to the present age, in which men seem to have thrown off all restraint, and acknowledge no other rule of action but blind appetite. As to the excess before-mentioned, this can only serve to convince us of the insufficiency of human reason, when left to itself, and the superior merit of that religion, which enables us to correct those errors, that some of the greatest men among the ancients blindly gave into. I once intended to have omitted the translation of the latter part of this Satire, but reflecting that it might only serve to excite a hurtful curiosity, and that by not pointing out to youth the mistakes they were to guard against, they were exposed to the greater danger afterwards, I chose to render it in the manner I have done.

As to the time when it was written, commentators are not agreed, nor is it possible to determine it precisely; it is probable, however, that it was before the *Lex Julia de Adulteriis & Pudicitia*.

S A T I R A III.

Eos reprehendit, qui aliena peccata acutè vident, ad sua verò conniveant. Amatorum & patrum exemplo, leviora vitia in amicis excusari debent. Postremò insectatur Stoicos, asserentes omnia peccata esse paria.

O R D O.

OMnibus hoc vitium est cantoribus, inter amicos
Ut nunquam inducant animum cantare rogati;
Injussi nunquam desistant. Sardus habebat

HOC vitium est
(inest) omnibus
cantoribus, ut rogati
cantare inter amicos
desistant. Tigellius ille Sardus habebat
hoc

nunquam inducant animum; injussi nunquam desistant. Tigellius ille Sardus habebat

Tigellius¹ was remarkable for this. Cæsar, who might have compelled him to it, yet if he begged by his own and by his father's friendship, he could not prevail with him; but if the fit seized him, he would sing from the beginning to the end of the repast², O Bacchus³, sometimes with a treble voice, sometimes with a low bass, in concert with his tetrachord⁴. This man was never of a piece, but all extravagance and whim: oft-times he would run as if pursued by an enemy; oft-times walk with a slow pace as if bearing the sacred symbols of Juno⁵. He was often followed by two hundred servants, often he would allow himself no more than ten. Sometimes he would speak of kings and tetrarchs⁶, and affect every thing that was grand in conversation; anon, Let me have but a three-legged table⁷, a frugal salt-celler, and a gown, which, though coarse, is yet good enough to defend me from the cold; it is all I ask. Had you given a million of sesterces⁸ to this frugal manager who could be happy with so little, in five days his coffers would have been empty. He would sit up all night, and snore all day; never was man so inconsistent with himself. Now may one object; But pray, sir, what are you? Are you faultless? I allow I have faults; faults, which, though of another kind, are perhaps no less disagreeable than the former. As Mænius⁹ the other day inveighed against Novius¹⁰ who was absent: How, says one of the company to him, are you so little acquainted with yourself? or do you think to impose upon us as if we were strangers to your character? Oh, I can easily forgive my own faults, replies Mænius. This is a foolish and unjust partiality, worthy of severe
25 censure. When you can so readily shut¹¹ your eyes against your

ANNOTATIONS.

¹ *Tigellius*. This is the famous *Tigellius Sardas*, of whom *Horace* speaks in the preceding Satire. Some take him for *Hermogenes Tigellius* of *Sardinia*; but this can't be true, for the person here spoken of, was dead; whereas *Hermogenes* was alive at this very time.

² *From the beginning to the end of supper.* *Ab ovis usque ad maia citaret.* For they began supper with eggs, and finished it with apples.

³ *O Bacchus. Io Bacche.* That is, says *Sanadon*, he sung without ceasing, a known song, which began with these words, *Io Bacche*. This was probably some hymn to *Bacchus*, that had been composed by *Tigellius* himself.

⁴ *In concert with his tetrachord.* *Dacier's* conjecture upon this passage is somewhat singular. He understands it thus: *Modò bœ voce, quæ ima resonat chordis quatuor*: "Sometimes with a low bass voice, which makes the counter-part to the

"tetrachord." *Horace* therefore says here of *Tigellius*, that he was so fantastical, as, after singing a long time with a treble voice, he would change to the bass, accompanying it with his tetrachord. Our version agrees very well to this explication.

⁵ *As if bearing the sacred symbols of Juno.* *Junonis ad instar procedere*, was a common Proverb among the *Latins*, to denote a slow majestic pace, being that for which this Goddess was celebrated.

Que Divum incedo regina.—*Virg.* *I who walk majestic, the queen of the Gods.* But this more particularly relates to the processions made in honor of that Goddess, which were performed with a slow and solemn pace.

⁶ *Tetrarchs.* Governors of the fourth part of a kingdom.

⁷ *A three-legged table.* Before the *Asiatic* luxury was introduced, the *Romans* made use of tables with three legs. But these
after

Ille Tigellius hoc. Cæsar, qui cogere posset,
 Si peteret per amicitiam patris atque suam, non 5
 Quidquam proficeret; si collibuisse, ab ovo
 Usque ad mala citaret*, Io Bacche, modò summâ
 Voce, modo hâc, resonat quæ chordis quatuor imâ.
 Nil æquale homini fuit illi: sæpè velut qui
 Currebat fugiens hostem; persæpè velut qui 10
 Junonis sacra ferret. Habebat sæpè ducentos,
 Sæpè decem servos. Modò reges atque tetrarchas,
 Omnia magna loquens; modò, Sit mihi mensa
 tripes, &
 Concha salis puri, & toga, quæ defendere frigus,
 Quamvis crassa, queat. Decies centena dedisses 15
 Huic parco paucis contento, quinque diebus
 Nil erat in oculis. Noctes vigilabat ad ipsum
 Mane, diem totum stertebat; nil fuit unquam
 Sic impar sibi. Nunc aliquis dicat mihi; Quid tu?
 Nullane habes vitia? Imò alia, haud † fortassè mi-
 nora. 20

Mænius absentem Novium cùm carperet: Heus tu,
 Quidam ait, ignoras te? an ut ignotum dare nobis
 Verba putas? Egomet mî ignosco, Mænius inquit.
 Stultus & improbus hic amor est, dignusque notari.
 Cùm tua pervideas oculis mala†lippus inunctis; 25

ei in oculis. Vigilabat noctes ad ipsum mane, stertebat totum diem; nil unquam fuit sic
 impar sibi. Nunc aliquis dicat mihi; Tu autem quid? Habesne nulla vitia? Imò habeo
 alia, fortassè haud minora. Cùm Mænius carperet Novium absentem: ait quidam, Heus tu,
 an ignoras te? an putas te ut ignotum dare verba nobis? Inquit Mænius, Egomet ignosco
 mi. Hic amor est stultus & improbus, dignusque notari. Cùm lippus inunctis oculis pervideas
 tua mala;

* iteraret, Bentl.

† &, Id.

‡ malè, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

afterwards came to be despised, and new
 fashions were introduced.

* A million of sesterces. The *sestertium*
 among the Romans, was about 7 l. 16 s.
 of our money, and contained a thousand
sestertii. Their manner of reckoning was
 this. When a numeral noun agreed in
 gender and number with *sestertius*, it de-
 noted precisely so many *sestertii*, as *decem*
sestertii, just so many; but if the noun was
 joined to the genitive plural of *sestertius*,
 it signified so many thousands; as *decem se-*
stertiūm, ten thousand *sestertii*. If the ad-
 verb numeral was joined to the genitive
 plural, it denoted so many hundred thou-
 sand, as *decies sestertiūm*, ten hundred thou-
 sand *sestertii*. Sometimes they put the
 adverb by itself, and sometimes added the
 numeral noun to it; as in this place *decies*

centena, ten hundred *sestertia*, or ten hundred
 thousand *sestertii*

9 Mænius. Horace, after acknowledging
 that he was not without faults, here re-
 sumes the discourse. "I am far (says he)
 " from being like Mænius, who defames
 " his friend, and at the same time winks
 " at much greater failings in himself;
 " on the contrary, I highly blame his
 " partiality." This Mænius is, in all
 probability, the same with him mentioned
 in the first Satire. Besides the character
 of a rake, there given him, Horace here
 taxes him with a propensity to slander.

10 Novius. He is the same whom we find
 mentioned afterwards in the sixth Satire,
 a man given to all kinds of debauchery.

11 When you can so readily shout, &c. Cùm
 tua

- your own failings; why are you more clear-sighted towards those of your friends, than an eagle, or serpent of Epidaurus¹²? The effect of it is, that they in their turn will be equally rigorous in examining into your faults. This man is a little too passionate¹³, and cannot bear raillery¹⁴; he is in danger of being laughed at for his awkward appearance; he is always ill-shaved, his habit clownish, and his shoes fit ungenteelly. But what of all this? He is as good-natured a man as lives; he is your friend; nay, add, that a vast and comprehensive genius lies hid under this rustic appearance.
- 35 In fine be persuaded thoroughly to canvass yourself, that you may know whether nature has planted any seeds of vice in you, or whether bad habits have been contracted by custom; for uncultivated fields produce nothing but usefess fern. Let us now turn to this common remark¹⁵, that a lover is for the most part blind to the defects of his mistress, and sometimes seems even
- 40 pleased with them; as Balbinus with the polypus of Agna¹⁶. I could wish that we erred in like manner in friendship, and that virtue would dignify this error with some honorable name. But as a father despises not his child for any natural defect, no more ought we for a like reason to disregard our friend. If he
- 45 looks askint¹⁷, the father will tell you he has got pretty winking eyes; if of little stature, as was of old dwarfish Sisyphus¹⁸, he calls him his chicken: are his legs distorted¹⁹, or do his ankles

A N N O T A T I O N S.

tu pervideas oculis mala lippus. Commentators differ very much in explaining this passage. Some think that *pervidere* is the *ωραζόμεν* of the Greeks, *prætervidere*, to pass over without notice. Others think, we ought to read *prævideas*, instead of *prætervideas*. Dacier is of opinion, that Horace here makes use of the figure called *Oxumoron*, *pervideas lippus*; for *pervidere* signifies to see to the bottom of things; which was impossible for one of weak and tender eyes.

¹² *An eagle, or serpent of Epidaurus.* The acuteness of sight for which eagles are remarkable, especially those called *Haliæti*, may be learnt from Pliny, B. x. c. 3. *Haliætos, clarissimâ oculorum ratione.* As to the serpent, let us hear what Tacitus says: *Dracones appellantur ἀπὸ τῆ δρακῆς, id est, videre. Clarissimam enim dicuntur habere oculorum aciem. Quâ ex causâ incubantes eos thesauris custodiæ causâ sinxerunt antiqui. Idcirco Æsculapio attribuantur, quod vigilantissimi generis putantur, quæ res medicinæ maximè necessaria est.*—“They are called “dragons from the Greek *δρακῆς*, to see. “For they are said to be endued with great “acuteness of sight. It is on this account, “that they are so often represented in an-

cient fictions, as the watchful keepers of treasures. They are held sacred to “*Æsculapius* for the same reason, as “watchfulness is, in a peculiar manner, “necessary in physic.” *Serpens Epidaurius* must therefore mean the serpent sacred to *Æsculapius*, who was particularly worshipped at *Epidaurus*, a city of Greece.

¹³ *This man, you say, is a little too passionate.* The old scholiast tells us, that the six following lines point at *Virgil*, whom Horace here endeavours to defend against the railleries he was so often made the subject of in the court of *Augustus*. What adds the greater probability to this supposition, is the manifest resemblance of the character here drawn, with the real character of that poet. All the accounts we have of him, represent him as a man who had never studied politeness, and whose air and behaviour had very much of the rustic in it. The writer of his life says, *Corpore & staturâ fuit grandis, aquâ colore, facie rusticânâ.* He adds, that he was so bashful and modest, that when he observed himself pointed at in the streets, he would retire into some friend's house to conceal himself. *Dacier.*

Cur in amicorum vitiis tam cernis acutum,
Quam aut aquila, aut serpens Epidaurius? At
tibi contra

Evenit, inquirant vitia ut tua rursus & illi.
Iracundior est paulo, minus aptus acutis
Naribus horum hominum; rideri possit, eò quòd 30
Rusticius tonso toga defluit, & malè laxus
In pede calceus hæret. At est bonus, ut melior vir
Non alius quisquam; at tibi amicus; at ingen-
nium ingens

Inculto latet hoc sub corpore. Denique te ipsum
Concute, num qua tibi vitiorum in se verit olim 35
Natura, aut etiam consuetudo mala; namque
Neglectis urenda filix innascitur agris.

Illuc prævertamur, amatorem quòd amicæ
Turpia decipiunt cæcum vitia, aut etiam ipsa hæc
Delectant; veluti Balbinum polypus Agnæ*. 40
Vellem in amicitia sic erraremus, & isti
Errori nomen virtus posuisset honestum.
At pater ut gnati, sic nos debemus amici,
Si quod sit, vitium non fastidire. Strabonem
Appellat pætum pater; & pullum; male parvus 45
Si cui filius est, ut abortivus fuit olim
Sisyphus: hunc varum, distortis cruribus; illum

Agnæ delectat Balbinum. Vellem ut sic erraremus in amicitia, & ut virtus posuisset honestum nomen isti errori. At ut pater non fastidit vitium grati, sic nos debemus non fastidire vitium amici, si quod sit (si aliquod inest.) Pater appellat strabonem, pætum; & si cui est filius male parvus, ut abortivus Sisyphus olim fuit, vocat pullum: appellat hunc

* Hagnæ, Bentl.

ANNOTATIONS.

14 And cannot bear raillery. Minus aptus acutis naribus. Acute naribus, raillery. This make of the nose being an ordinary mark of those who had a turn that way. Nares obsecæ, on the contrary, denoted a dull heavy good-for-nothing fellow.

15 Let us now turn to this common remark. Illuc prævertamur. Let us principally, or before all things, observe. For so the word prævertere was often used by the ancients. Virgil is wonderfully delighted with it. Volucrumque fugâ prævertitur Hebrum.

16 As Balbinus with the Polypus of Agnæ. This Balbinus is unknown to us. Horace here treats him very cruelly, in thus citing him, seemingly, as an example of virtue. The polypus is a fleshy excrescence in the nose, that sends out an offensive smell.

17 If he looks askint, &c. Strabonem appellat pætum pater. Strabo, one whose eyes

are distorted, who looks askint, from spēQiv, vertere. Pætus, one who has pinking eyes. This was accounted a beauty; Venus's eyes were commonly painted so.

18 Sisyphus. The dwarf of Mark Antony the triumvir. He was of a diminutive stature, scarcely two foot high, but of a very acute wit; whence he got the name of Sisyphus; for Sisyphus was so remarkable for his dexterity and cunning, that Sisyphi artes came to be a proverb.

19 Are his legs distorted, &c. Varus is properly a man whose legs touch one another inward, about the middle, so as to form two arches on the outside, by the knees and feet being at a considerable distance from each other. When the knees and feet meet so as to form a kind of circle inward, the person was called valgus. Scaurus is one, whose feet are so miserably distorted, that he walks upon his ankles. A kind father will

ankles bunch out, he will still find some softer name to express these defects. Doth this man live rather too sparingly? let it
 50 be ascribed to his frugality: is another impertinent, and brags without measure? he wants to divert his friends, and pass for a good companion: but is he sometimes rude, and more forward than becomes him? let us look on him as a man of courage, whose manners are plain and simple: is he hot and passionate? he is a man of spirit, one who warmly espouses the interest of
 55 his friend. This, in my judgment, is a sure way to make and preserve friends. But we misrepresent virtues themselves, and are desirous to cast a slur upon the most illustrious characters²⁰. Does our friend study to live with honesty and innocence? we accuse him of meanness: is another slow and circumspect? we say he is heavy and thick-skulled. This man, finding himself in-
 60 volved in a way of life, compassed about with envy and deceit, prudently avoids all snares, and leaves himself open to no malicious designs; instead of calling him provident and discreet, we say he is crafty and full of dissimulation. Is he a simple uncourtly man²¹, that sometimes interrupts you with his imper-
 65 tinent discourse, when engaged in reading or thinking (as I may have often obtruded myself upon you, Mæcenas)? we will not allow him so much as common sense. Alas, how rash are we in making unjust and severe laws against ourselves! For no man is born without faults: he is most perfect, who has the fewest. A kind good-natured friend, when he compares my vir-
 70 tues with my imperfections, ought, in reason, if he has any value for my esteem, to incline to the most favorable side; more especially if it be true, that my good qualities are superior: on this condition, he may expect to be weighed in the same balance. We ought to overlook lesser blemishes²² in our friends, if we expect that they should not be shocked with our greater defects.

It

A N N O T A T I O N S.

take care to soften the name, and, lisping, call his son *scaulus*; for that is the meaning of *balbutit scaurum*, or rather *scaulum*, softening the word by this manner of pronouncing it.

²⁰ To cast a slur upon the most illustrious characters. *Sincrum cupimus was incrustare*. Unsound vessels, or such as had a bad smell, were usually done over with a varnish made on purpose. But this was never done to good vessels, for it would not only have been useless, but might have caused a suspicion of some defect in them. *Sincrum was incrustare* therefore commonly meant, to do over a good vessel with a bad varnish, which very happily expresses Ho-

race's sentiment, but could not well be translated literally. *Dacier*.

²¹ Is he a simple uncourtly man, &c. *Horace* names himself among those rough unpolished mortals, who often broke in upon their friends at improper times; but it is only in mirth, and to make his court to *Mæcenas*; for this was by no means a fault he was apt to fall into: on the contrary, he was reserved, spoke very little, and was so great a master of decorum, in this respect, that no man knew how to advise better. Perhaps it is done with a design to remove a reproach thrown upon him by his enemies, of being a refined courtier.

Balbutit scaurum, pravis fultum malè talis.
 Parcius hic vivit? frugi dicatur: ineptus,
 Et janctantior hic paulò est? concinnus amicis 50
 Postulat ut videatur: at est truculentior, atque
 Plùs æquo liber? simplex fortisque habeatur:
 Cãldior est? acres inter numeretur. Opinor,
 Hæc res & jungit, junctos & servat amicos:
 At nos virtutes ipsas invertimus, atque 55
 Sincerum cupimus vas incrustare. Probus quis
 Nobiscum vivit? multùm est demissus homo: illi*
 Tardo † cognomen pinguis damus. Hic fugit omnes
 Insidias, nullique malo latus obdit apertum,
 Cùm genus hoc inter vitæ versetur†, ubi acris 60
 Invidia, atque vigent ubi crimina; pro benè sano
 Ac non incauto, fictum astutumque vocamus.
 Simplicior si quis (qualem me sæpè libentè
 Obtulerim tibi, Mæcenas), ut fortè legentem
 Aut tacitum impellat||, quovis sermone molestus;
 Communi sensu planè caret, inquit. Eheu, 66
 Quàm temerè in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam!
 Nam vitiis nemo sine nascitur: optimus ille est,
 Qui minimis urgetur. Amicus dulcis, ut æquum est,
 Cum mea compenset vitiis bona, pluribus hisce 70
 (Si modò plura mihi bona sunt) inclinet, amari
 Si volet: hæc lege, in trutinâ ponetur eadem.
 Qui ne tuberibus propriis offendat amicum
 Postulat, ignoscat ** verrucis illius. Æquum est
 Peccatis veniam poscentem, reddere rursus.

fortè impellat legentem aut tacitum; inquit, caret planè communi sensu. Eheu, quàm temerè sancimus legem iniquam in nosmet! Nam nemo nascitur sine vitiis: ille optimus est, qui urgetur minimis. Amicus dulcis, cum compenset mea bona vitiis, si volet amari, inclinet, ut æquum est, hisce pluribus (si modò plura bona sunt mihi): hæc lege, ponetur in eadem trutinâ. Qui postulat ut ne offendat amicum propriis tuberibus, ignoscat verrucis illius. Æquum est poscentem veniam peccatis, rursus reddere.

* homo ille, Bentl.

† tardo ac, Id.

† versetur, Id.

|| impediatur, Id.

** ignoscet, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

22 *We* ought to overlook lesser blemishes, &c. This is one of the most reasonable and obvious precepts in life; yet very seldom practised. Men always find out some excuse for themselves, which they imagine cannot hold in another; nor can we meet with that person who is not in some degree or other guilty of this blamable partiality. Horace had good reason therefore to caution against it. It is certain, would men but prevailed with to examine candidly

their own actions, they would see the necessity of this mutual forbearance. It is related of Diogenes, that coming to visit Plato, he observed an embroidered couch in his apartment; and treading upon it with his feet, all over covered with dirt, said, *Thus I trample on the pride of Plato.* Plato only shook his head, and answered, *But with more pride than dost it, good Diogenes!*

C 2

23 Since

- 75 It is but reasonable that we grant the same favor to others, which we demand for ourselves. Since therefore it is impossible wholly to extinguish ²³ the vice of anger, and other faults that adhere so closely to fools²⁴; why does not reason make use of her weights and measures; and, as the nature of things requires,
- 80 punish every crime as it really deserves? Should a master cause his servant to be crucified, for eating up the remains of the fish and sauce²⁵, as he carried them from the table; would he not by all men in their senses be charged with the highest degree of madness ²⁶? How much more ridiculous and blamable is
- 85 your behaviour? Your friend has given you some slight cause of offence, which it would be surly and inhuman not to overlook; yet you cruelly hate and shun him, as an unhappy debtor does the sight of Druso²⁷; who, when the first day of the month comes, unless he can some how or other procure money wherewith to discharge either principal or interest, is condemned, like a captive, to hear with a forced attention the recital of his
- 90 ungrateful histories. My friend, perhaps, after a hard drinking-bout makes free with my couch, or throws down from the table a dish that had been often handled by Evander²⁸: for this, or because through impatience of hunger he helps himself to a chicken that lay before me, shall I therefore conceive a disgust against my friend? What if he thieved, betrayed the
- 95 secrets intrusted to him, or were wanting to his most solemn engagements? They who hold that all crimes are equal²⁹, find themselves at a loss, when they come to examine things narrowly: common sense, and the established customs of all nations, are against them; yea, and public utility, the great source of justice and equity.

When

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²³ Since therefore it is impossible wholly to extinguish, &c. Horace here attacks a second abuse which was common at Rome, and no less deserving of censure than the former. A great number, blindly addicted to the sect of the Stoics, would allow of no difference between the slightest failings, and the greatest crimes; and pretended that all ought to be punished with equal severity. This has a manifest connection with what goes before. For as all men have their faults, and these are not to be quite eradicated; it follows, that we ought not only to have a mutual indulgence towards each other, but that we ought to weigh the faults of our friends in the balance of reason, that we may not form a wrong judgment about them. *Dacier.*

²⁴ To fools. He speaks here in the language of the Stoics, who called all vici-

ous men fools, and excepted none out of that number but their wise man.

²⁵ The remains of the fish and sauce, &c. *Tepidumque ligurrierit jus.* Ligurriere, to sip slowly, and with a great deal of pleasure.

²⁶ Be charged with the highest degree of madness? *Labeone insanior.* This is probably that *Marcus Antistius Labeo*, whom *Anteius Capito*, in an epistle which we find in *Aulus Gellius*, lib. xiii. c. 12. describes as one well acquainted with the Roman laws and customs. He was a great admirer of the forms of the ancient republic, and would allow nothing to come before *Augustus* but what was perfectly agreeable to this model. He would often contradict *Augustus* to his face, and observed no measure in his stiffness. Hence the poet, to make his court to *Augustus*, uses the expression *Labeone insanior.*

²⁷ Druso

Denique, quatenus excidi penitus vitium iræ,
 Cætera item nequeunt stultis hærentia; cur non
 Ponderibus modulisque suis ratio utitur; ac, res
 Ut quæque est, ita suppliciis delicta coerces?
 Si quis eum servum, patinam qui tollere iussus, 80
 Semefos pisces tepidumque ligurrierit jus,
 In cruce suffigat; Labeone * infanior inter
 Sanos dicatur: quanto hoc furiosius atque
 Majus peccatum est? Paulum deliquit amicus,
 Quod nisi concedas, habere insuavis, acerbus: 85
 Odisti & fugis, ut Drusonem † debitor æris;
 Qui nisi, cum tristes misero venere Calendæ,
 Mercedem aut nummos unde unde extricat,
 amaras

Porrecto jugulo historias, captivus ut, audit.
 Commixxit lectum potus, mensæve catillum 90
 Evandri manibus tritum || dejecit: ob hanc rem,
 Aut positum antè meâ quia pullum in parte catini
 Sustulit esuriens, minùs hoc jucundus amicus
 Sit mihi? Quid faciam, si furtum fecerit, aut si
 Prodiderit commissâ fide, sponsumve negarit? 95
 Quæis paria esse ferè placuit peccata, laborant,
 Cum ventum ad verum est: sensus, moresque re-
 pugnant,
 Atque ipsa utilitas, iusti propè mater & æqui.

Denique, quatenus vitium iræ, item cætera hærentia stultis nequeunt penitus excidi; cur non ratio utitur suis ponderibus modulisque; ac, ut quæque res est, ita coerces delicta suppliciis? Si quis suffigat eum servum in cruce, qui iussus tollere patinam, ligurrierit semefos pisces tepidumque jus; ille inter sanos dicatur infanior Labeone: at quanto majus atque furiosius hoc est peccatum istud? Amicus deliquit paulum, quod nisi concedas, habere insuavis, acerbus; odisti & fugis eum, ut debitor æris fugit Drusonem; qui debitor, cum tristes Calendæ venere illi misero, nisi extricat mercedem aut nummos unde unde, ut captivus, audit amaras historias porrecto jugulo. Potus commixxit lectum, dejecit mensæ catillum tritum manibus Evandri: ob hanc rem, aut quia esuriens sustulit pul-

lum antè positum in meâ parte catini, an hoc amicus minùs jucundus sit mihi? Quid faciam, si fecerit furtum, aut si prodiderit commissâ fide (fidei), negaritve sponsum? Quæis placuit dicere peccata ferè paria esse, laborant, cum ventum est ad verum: sensus, moresque, atque utilitas ipsa, propè mater iusti & æqui, repugnant.

* Labieno, Benti. † Rusonem, Id. || tortum, Id.

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87 *Druso.* A celebrated usurer of those times, and wretched historian. He was of much the same humor with the rich usurer mentioned by *Philostrophus*, who always caused this clause to be inserted in his contracts; That his debtors should be bound to bear him declaim. And if any one failed, he was sure of being prosecuted. *Druso* therefore required of those who were unable to pay him, that they should come and hear him recite his histories; on which condition he allowed them time. *Horace* says, that they heard the recital porrecto jugulo, to denote that they were obliged to counterfeit a strict attention.

88 *A dish that had been often handled by Evander.* Evandri manibus tritum. Some make this *Evander* a celebrated artificer or engraver, and explain tritum by tornatum, calatum, fabricatum. But this explication is too remote from the common use of the

word. *Horace* seems rather to speak of some dish valuable on account of its antiquity; and to express this the more strongly, tells us it had been often in the hands of *Evander*, who built ancient Rome upon mount *Palatine*.

89 *They who hold that all crimes are equal.* This was the sentiment of the Stoics, which *Horace* here inveighs against, and endeavours to refute. We are not to suppose, that ferè takes ought from the strictness of the assertion; for it is sometimes used for *semper*, and is only a modest way of expressing an universal proposition: for it is certain that the Stoics maintained this tenet in its utmost rigor. *Cicero*, in his 4th Book *De finibus*, introduces *Zeno*, an eminent Stoic, thus ascertaining the opinion of his sect. *Æquè miseros esse omnes qui non sunt sapientes; sapientes omnes summè beatos esse; rectè facta omnia æqualia; omnia peccata pa-*

100 When mankind first sprung from the earth, a dumb and stupid race, they fought for their acorns and caves with their nails and fists, afterwards with clubs, and such other armour, as necessity taught them to fashion. Things remained in this state, till words were found out to express their thoughts, and distinguish things by proper names: upon this, wars began to
 105 cease; they united together to build and fortify towns, and enacted laws to prevent robbery, theft, and adultery. For long before the rape of Helen a woman had been the cause of most cruel and bloody wars: but the heroes of those times, who, like the brutes, seeking to gratify their appetites at large, were always obliged to yield to the strongest, as to the bull in
 110 the herd, have all perished by an obscure and unlamented death. If we turn over the records and annals of the first ages of the world, we shall be forced to acknowledge that laws had their first rise from the fear of violence³⁰ and oppression. Nor can nature of herself distinguish between right and wrong, as she discerns what is profitable from what is hurtful, what is
 115 desirable from what ought to be avoided; nor will it ever stand with reason, that a man who has only stolen a few coleworts out of his neighbour's garden, is equally criminal with him, who has robbed in the night the temples of the Gods. A rule therefore should be sought for, that may proportion punishments to crimes; that he who merits only the rod,³¹ may not be scourged with an
 120 unmerciful whip. For there is no danger of your remitting ought to a criminal who deserves a severer chastisement; for all you maintain that a thief is equally guilty with a highwayman, and threaten, that were the government in your hands, you would punish the smallest crimes with the same rigour as the greatest. But why this wish³²? If the wise man is rich, if

4

ANNOTATIONS.

ria. "All except the wise man are equally wretched; wise men are all happy in the highest degree; all good actions are equally so; all crimes are likewise equal." *Horace* observes, that whatever specious pretences this opinion may be supported by, yet when we come to examine things to their source, the fallacy easily appears; for common sense, the universal practice of mankind, and public utility, are against it. *Cicero* reasons much in the same manner in his fourth Book *De finibus*. *Hæc magnificè primò dici videntur; considerata minus probantur. Sensus enim cujusque, & natura rerum, atque ipsa veritas clamat, quodammodò non posse adduci, ut inter eas res, quas Zeno exæquaret, nihil interesset:* "These assertions seem to carry a noble air of virtue; but when we

"come to weigh them narrowly, the proof appears deficient. For common sense, the nature of things, and truth itself, all jointly proclaim the absurdity of allowing no difference in things, but asserting them all, with *Zeno*, to be equal."

³⁰ *That laws had their first rise from the fear of violence, &c.* *Horace* here mounts to the source of things, and observes, that if we trace the history of the first ages of mankind, we shall find, that public utility gave rise to society and laws. The danger every one was in of being oppressed by a stronger, made him think how to provide against it: and calling in the aid of those who were in like danger, they formed little societies, to stand by and defend one another, and enacted laws, to prevent any differences arising

Cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris,
Mutum & turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia
propter

Unguibus & pugnibus, dein fustibus, atque ita porro
Pugnabant armis, quæ post fabricaverat usus;
Donec verba, quibus voces sensusque notarent,
Nominaque invenire: dehinc absistere bello,

Oppida cœperunt munire, & ponere leges;
Ne quis fur esset, neu latro, neu quis adulter,
Nam fuit ante Helenam cunnus teterrima belli
Causa: sed ignotis perierunt mortibus illi,
Quos, venerem incertam rapientes, more ferarum,
Viribus editior cædebat, ut in grege taurus.

Jura inventa metu injusti fateri necesse est,
Tempora si fastosque velis evolvere mundi.
Nec natura potest justo secernere iniquum,
Dividit ut bona diversis, fugienda petendis;
Nec vincet ratio hoc, tantundem ut peccet idem-
que;

Qui teneros caules alieni fregerit * horti,
Et qui nocturnus Divum sacra legerit. Adsit
Regula, peccatis quæ pœnas irroget æquas;
Ne scuticâ dignum horribili sectere flagello.
Nam, ut ferulâ cædas meritum majora subire
Verbera, non vereor; cum dicas esse pares res
Furta latrocinii, & magnis parva mineris
Falce recisurum simili te, si tibi regnum
Permittant homines. Si dives qui sapiens est

Divum. Regula adsit, quæ irroget pœnas æquas peccatis; ne sectere horribili flagello dignum tantum scuticâ. Nam non vereor ut cædas tantum ferulâ meritum subire majora verbera; cum (etiâ si) dicas furta esse res pares latrocinii, & mineris te recisurum parva peccata simili falce magnis, si

* infregerit, Bentl.

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arising among themselves. And however serviceable reason might be in new-modeling these states afterwards, and settling them on a firmer basis, yet it is plain that the necessity of mutual defence, and repelling violence, gave the first rise to them.

31 *That be who merits only the rod.* Ne scuticâ dignum horribili sectere flagello. Scutica was a small leathern thong, wherewith schoolmasters used to correct children. Scutica therefore here signifies some slight gentle punishment. The flagellum, on the contrary, was not only a severe chastisement, but was also held ignominious, being inflicted upon slaves and such as had been condemned by a sentence of the Triumphs. Thus, Ode iv. B. V.

Sectus flagellis hic Triumviralibus, Præconis ad fustidium.

32 *But why this wish?* In the remaining part of this satire, Horace ridicules, with great humour, that whimsical tenet of the Stoics concerning their wise man, that he was master of the whole circle of arts and sciences; in a word, that in him alone was united all the knowledge, power, and skill that was dispersed through the whole human race. Horace writing on the same subject, in an Epistle to Mæcenas, says, *Ad summam sapiens non minor est Jove, liber, Dives, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum.* If this be the case, why do you wish for what you are in possession of already? As the

C 4

Stoic

Cum animalia prorepse-
runt primis terris, pecus
mutum & turpe, pugna-
bant propter glandem
atque cubilia unguibus
& pugnibus, dein fustibus,
atque ita porro armis,
quæ usus post (postea)
fabricaverat; donec
invenire verba nomina-
que, quibus notarent
voces sensusque; dehinc
cœperunt absistere bello,
munire oppida, & po-
nere leges; ne quis esset
fur, neu latro, neu quis
adulter. Nam ante He-
lenam cunnus fuit cau-
sa teterrima belli; sed illi
perierunt ignotis mor-
tibus, quos editior viri-
bus, ut taurus in grege,
cædebat, rapientes, more
ferarum, incertam ve-
nerem. Si velis evol-
vere tempora fastosque
mundi, necesse est ut fa-
tere jura inventa fu-
isse metu injusti. Nec
natura potest secernere
iniquum justo, ut divi-
dit bona diversis, fugi-
enda petendis; nec ra-
tio vincet hoc, ut tan-
tundem idemque peccet
is, qui fregerit teneros
caules alieni horti, & qui
nocturnus legerit sacra

125a skilful artist, if he alone is amiable, and king into the bargain; why do you seek after what you possess already? O sir, (say you) you do not well comprehend what our father Chrysippus³³ says: A wise man never made his own boots or shoes; yet he is an able artist. How? Why just as Hermogenes³⁴, though silent, ceases not to be an excellent singer and performer in music; as Alfenus³⁵ the cunning lawyer, after throwing away his tools, and shutting up his shop, was still an expert shoemaker; so it is with our wise man, he is a good artist in every kind of work, he is also a king. Do not you see that all the world laughs at you; when you appear in the streets, the waggish boys run after you and pull you by the beard³⁶; if 135 you do not disperse them with your staff, you will soon be surrounded by whole crouds, and bawl and fret yourself to death, most mighty king of kings. To be short; while your majesty continues to frequent the farthing-bath³⁷, in company only of impertinent Crispinus³⁸; and my agreeable friends are good-natured enough to overlook my follies, while I in my turn willingly bear with theirs; I am infinitely happier in my private station than you with all your mock royalty.

ANNOTATIONS.

Stoics adorn their wise man with all the great virtues, &c. The poet, to heighten the ridicule, introduces him also as an expert shoemaker. This is inexpressibly satirical and lively.

³³ Chrysippus. He was a disciple of Zeno, and the first who explained and illustrated his doctrine; on which account he was, by some of the ignorant Stoics, thought to be the author of that sect. Hence Horace here calls him *pater Chrysippus*.

³⁴ Hermogenes. Hermogenes Tigellius, one of the musicians at the court of Augustus, whom some have confounded with Tigellius Sardus. But this must be a

mistake, for it is plain that Hermogenes was alive at this very time, whereas Tigellius Sardus was dead.

³⁵ Alfenus. Alfenus Varus, a shoemaker of Cremona, who growing out of conceit with his employment, quitted it, and came to Rome; where attending the lectures of Servius Sulpicius, a celebrated professor of law, he made so great a proficiency in that science, that he soon came to be esteemed one of the ablest lawyers of his time, and his name often occurs in the Pandects. He was afterward advanced to the highest honors of the empire; for we find him consul in the year of the city 755.

³⁶ And

The KEY.

FRIENDSHIP, and the pleasures thence arising, are considered by all as some of the most valuable blessings of life. As the present imperfect state of human nature exposes us to numberless hardships and anxieties, that would, for the most part, render our lot very uncomfortable, were they not somehow lessened and allayed; so we find that the beneficent parent of nature, by forming us capable of friend-

Et sutor bonus, & solus formosus, & est rex; 125
Cur optas quod habes? Non nōsti quid pater (inquit)

Chrysippus dicat: Sapiens crepidas sibi nunquam
Nec soleas fecit; sutor tamen est sapiens. Quò*?
Ut, quamvis tacet Hermogenes, cantor tamen atque 129

Optimus est modulator; ut Alfenus vafer, omni
Abjecto instrumento artis, clausaque tabernâ,
Sutor † erat; sapiens operis sic optimus omnis
Est opifex, sic rex solus ‡. Vellunt || tibi barbam
Lascivi pueri; quos tu nisi ** fuste coërces,
Urgeris turbâ circum te stante, miserque 135

Rumperis, & latras, magnorum maxime regum.
Ne longum faciam; dum tu quadrante lavatum
Rex ibis, neque te quisquam stipator, ineptum
Præter Crispinum, sectabitur; & mihi dulces
Ignoscent, si quid peccayero †† stultus, amici, 140
Inque vicem illorum patiar delicta libenter;
Privatusque magis vivam te rege beatus.

maxime magnorum regum. Ne faciam longum; dum tu, ô rex, ibis lavatum quadrante, neque quisquam stipator sectabitur te præter ineptum Crispinum; & ego si stultus peccayero quid, dulces amici ignoscent mihi, ego que invicem libenter patiar delicta illorum; privatusque (etiam si privatus) vivam magis beatus te rege.

* Quî, Benth. † Tonfor, Id. ‡ Est opifex solus, sic rex, Id.
|| Vellent, Id. ** ni, Id. †† peccâ o, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

36 *And pull you by the beard.* The sect of Stoics were held in the greatest contempt at Rome, and in the streets usually followed by crowds of children, who diverted themselves at their expence.

37 *Farting-bath.* As the public baths at Rome were built mostly for the common people, they afforded but very indifferent accommodation. People of fashion had always private baths of their own. The

Stoics, as they were a sect very much despised, and men commonly of an inferior rank, frequented these public baths, where the ordinary rate of payment was the *quadrans*, the lowest species of coined money in use at Rome.

38 *Crispinus.* The same of whom mention is made at the end of the first Satire. He was a Stoic philosopher, and had put all the precepts of their sect into verse.

The KEY.

friendship and mutual affection, has provided a sufficient antidote against them. How often, when oppressed with care and trouble, do we find relief in unbosoming ourselves to a friend? He seems to take our burden, and ease us of the load. Yet so far is he from suffering any thing by this kind of sympathy, that, on the contrary, he takes pleasure in it, and thinks it adds to his own happiness, that by thus taking part in the griefs and concerns of his friend, he can give any ease

The KEY.

ease to a person who is so dear to him. It may therefore, with the greatest reason, be said, that a true friend is the staff of life; and he that hath found such a one, hath found a treasure. None seems to have been more sensible of this than *Horace*; witness the Satire now before us, in which the duties and mutual forbearances of friendship are painted with that strength and delicacy, that we are at a loss which to admire most; his perfect knowledge of what was fit and laudable, or that honesty of heart which led him to practise it himself, and recommend it so strongly to others. Several commentators have conjectured, that this Satire was written on purpose to defend *Virgil* against the railleries of the court of *Augustus*, where he was accused as bashful, clownish, and unfit for the world. This conjecture is the more probable, as we meet with several lines in it that agree perfectly with the character which all antiquity hath given us of that poet. If this was his real design, as we have great reason to believe it was, we must acknowledge, that nothing could have been more happily executed; for he has exposed the malicious humor of these courtiers in such a manner, as must excite the indignation of every honest mind, and beget the highest detestation of a practice so contrary to common sense and decency. In pursuing this point, *Horace* is insensibly led to censure the opinion of the Stoics, that allowed no distinction in crimes, but maintained that all ought to be punished with the same severity. This he shews to be not only iniquitous and unjust, but contrary to the common sense and feeling of

S A T I R E IV.

Poets are falsely accused of slander: *Horace*, in imitation of the wise institution of his father, thinks vices are best pointed out by examples.

EUpolis, Cratinus, Aristophanes¹, and the other poets, writers of the ancient comedy²; if any one deserved to be marked out as a knave, a robber, adulterer, murderer, or as infamous on any account whatever, were usually very free in exposing him. This

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¹ *Eupolis, Cratinus, Aristophanes.* These were the three poets who distinguished themselves chiefly in the ancient comedy. They lived much about the same time, and were very jealous of one another. This emula-

tion contributed not a little to make each excel so much in his own way. For a desire of pre-eminence is the greatest spur to industry, and sets all the faculties of the soul on work, till it attains its end.

² *Ancient*

of mankind, whose customs and practice universally contradict it. Men never thought of enacting laws, and annexing penalties, till the fear of violence and injustice drove them to it; and as they found themselves liable to be oppressed in different degrees, so they thought it mostly concerned them to guard against the greater instances of oppression; therefore, in proportion as actions were more hurtful, they endeavoured to restrain them by severer penalties. This was what reason and experience taught them; and the universal concurrence of mankind in this first method of establishing themselves into societies, shews it to have been the voice of unbiassed, uncorrupt nature. It was no wonder, therefore, if a set of men, who gloried in running counter to the universal sense and feeling of mankind, should meet with the highest contempt from all, and be made a constant theme of raillery. *Horace* paints this in such a lively manner, that the reader is apt to imagine he sees them walking along the streets, and can scarce hold his countenance at the ridiculous figure they make.

It is impossible to determine the precise time when this *Satire* was written. We only know, from some circumstances in it, that it is later than the preceding; for there *Tigellius* is spoken of as just then dead; whereas, from what is said of him here, he must have been dead for some time.

S A T I R A IV.

Poëtas falsè maledicos dici ostendit: se, paternâ institutione assuetum, vitia quæque exemplis notare.

O R D O.

EUpolis, atque Cratinus, Aristophanesque poëtæ,
Atque alii, quorum comœdia prisca virorum est;
Si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus, aut* fur,
Quod mœchus foret, aut sicarius, aut alioqui
Famosus, multâ cum libertate notabant.

*P*oëta Eupolis, atque
Cratinus, Aristophanesque, atque alii,
quorum virorum prisca
comœdia est; si quis
erat dignus describi,
quod foret malus, aut

5

fur, quod mœchus, aut sicarius, aut alioqui famosus, notabant eum cum multâ libertate.

* ac, Bentl.

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² *Ancient comedy.* Comedy, according to the different times in which it flourished in Greece, was distinguished into three kinds; the old, the middle, and the new. The first was a representation of characters drawn from real life, in which neither the sub-

ject nor names of the actors were feigned. This is the account *Horace* himself here gives of it, that it was intended chiefly as a curb against vice; that, by exposing bad characters freely, and without reserve, they might be rendered odious and detestable.

The

- this also was Lucilius's ³ great talent, who copied closely the Greek writers, differing only in his versification; a man of pleasant humor and keen raillery ⁴, but unhappy in the composition of his verse; for it was here that his greatest defect lay. He would often dictate two hundred verses in a breath, boasting of it as something very extraordinary. Even when he run muddy ⁵, you might meet with some things in him worth notice: he was full of words, and averse to the labor of writing; I mean of writing correctly; for as to writing a great deal, I make no account of it. Crispinus ⁶ challenges me with great forwardness.
- 35 Call, says he, for writing-tables; let an hour, place, and overseers be appointed; that it may appear who writes most. The Gods have done well in enduing me with a modest and humble spirit, that inclines me to speak but little and seldom. Do you, Crispinus, imitate, as much as you please, the blacksmith's bellows ⁷, that never cease blowing till the iron is softened by the fire. Happy Fannius ⁸, who without opposition carried his statue and works to Cæsar's library; when few or none can bear to read my writings, which I am even myself afraid to recite in public ⁹, because this way of writing seldom pleases, as there are so
- 25 many whose actions deserve censure. Single out any man from amongst the croud; he is surely tortured either with avarice, or cruel ambition. One runs mad after married women; another burns with unnatural desires: this man is dazzled with the glitter of wealth;

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The middle comedy was that in which the names only were feigned, but the characters real. At last, the new took place, in which both characters and names were left entirely to the poet's fancy. It was in this period that the Greek comedy was brought to its greatest perfection by Menander.

³ Lucilius. A Roman knight, born in the year of the city 605. He is commonly spoken of as the inventor of satire among the Latins. Ennius and Pacuvius indeed had written some things in this way before him; but he, by the new turn he gave it, made it quite another poem, and regulated it according to the taste of the old comedy among the Greeks, which he copied close; with this only difference, that instead of Iambic verse, he made choice of hexameters.

⁴ Keen raillery. *Emunctæ naris*. For by the form of the nose, the ancients often expressed a man's peculiar genius and turn. Thus *narus aduncus* signified one much given to raillery; a sneerer. *Emunctæ naris*, one whose railleries were cut-

ting, yet at the same time delicate and agreeable.

⁵ When he run muddy. Horace here draws Lucilius's character as a poet, and compares him to a river, which hurries along with it a great deal of clay and mud. The stream, though for the most part polluted, yet is in some places pure and untainted. His great unhappiness was being over-hasty in his compositions, that he would not allow himself the time and thought necessary to correct and work them up to perfection.

⁶ Crispinus. We have already spoken of Crispinus in our remarks upon the first Satire. Horace introduces him here to shew how contemptible a talent that was, of writing many verses in a little time, since even Crispinus, one of the meanest of poets, could boast of it. *Minimo me provocat*. Some think we ought to understand *digiti pretio*. Dacier prefers the first, and says it is a metaphor taken from the lute, where the challenger, in confidence of

Hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hosce secutus,
Mutatis tantum pedibus numerisque; facetus,
Emunctæ naris, durus componere versus;
Nam fuit hoc vitiosus. In horâ sæpe ducentos,
Ut magnum, versus dictabat stans pede in uno. 10
Cum fluere lutulentus, erat quod tollere velles:
Garrulus, atque piger scribendi ferre laborem;
Scribendi recte; nam ut multum, nil moror. Ecce
Crispinus minimo * me provocat. Accipe, si vis,
Accipiam † tabulas; detur nobis locus, hora; 15
Custodes; videamus uter plus scribere possit.
Di benè fecerunt, inopis me quodque pusilli
Finxerunt animi, raro & perpauca loquentis ‡.
At tu conclusas hircinis follibus auras;

Usque laborantes dum ferrum molliat || ignis, 20
Ut mavis, imitare. Beatus Fannius, ultrò
Delatis capsis & imagine; cum mea nemo
Scripta legat, vulgo recitare timentis, ob hanc
rem,

Quod sunt quos genus hoc minime juvat, utpote
plures

Culpari dignos. Quem vis mediâ erue**turba; 25
Aut ob avaritiam ††, aut miserâ ambitione laborat.
Hic nuptarum insanit amoribus; hic puerorum:

ferrum. Beatus Fannius, delatis ultrò capsis & imagine; cum nemo legat scripta mea (mei), timentis recitare vulgo, ob hanc rem, quod sunt quos hoc genus scribendi minime juvat, utpote (nempe) plures dignos culpari. Erue quem vis mediâ turbâ; laborat aut ob avaritiam, aut miserâ ambitione. Hic insanit amoribus nuptarum; hic puerorum:

Lucilius pendet omnis hinc, secutus hosce, pedibus numerisque tantum mutatis; poeta facetus, emunctæ naris, durus tamen componere versus; nam fuit vitiosus hoc. Sæpe dictabat ducentos versus in horâ stans in uno pede, ut quid magnum. Cum fluere lutulentus, erat quod velles tollere: garrulus erat, atque piger ferre laborem scribendi; scribendi, inquam, recte; nam ut multum, nil moror. Ecce Crispinus provocat me minimo. Accipe, inquit, si vis, accipe tabulas jam; detur nobis locus, hora, custodes; videamus uter possit scribere plus. Di fecerunt benè, quod finxerunt me animi inopis pusillique, loquentis raro & perpauca. At tu imitare, ut mavis, auras conclusas follibus hircinis, laborantes usque dum ignis molliat

* nummo, Bentl. † Accipe jam, Id. ‡ loquentem, Id. || emolliat, Id.
** elige, Id. †† ab avaritiâ, Id.

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his superiority, commonly held up his little finger.

7 *The blacksmith's bellows.* This comparison is not only smart, but just. The works of such men require little labour, but, at the same time, they have nothing solid or durable. It also admirably well expresses the pride and conceitedness of those miserable scribblers, who are always blown up with vanity, a set of mere popguns charged with wind.

8 *Happy Fannius.* Fannius Quadratus, a wretched poetaster of those times. The greatest recompence a poet could expect, was to see his works generally approved of, and consecrated, along with his statue, in the public library, raised by Augustus on mount Palatine. This honor Fannius had

procured himself by his address and intrigues; probably confidence and presumption had a great share in it. There is in this passage a fine and delicate raillery, which is not discernible at first sight.

9 *To recite in public.* For so the word *recitare*, in the original, signifies. This was commonly done before a meeting of select friends; by whose remarks they hoped to correct and improve the piece. The younger Pliny B. vii. Ep. 17. gives a particular account of his own practice this way. "I omit (says he) no way or method that may seem proper for correction. And, first, I take a strict view of what I have written, and consider thoroughly of the whole piece. In the next place, I read it over to two or three friends, and

- wealth; Albius is passionately fond of Corinthian brass¹⁰. The merchant extends his commerce from the rising sun¹¹, to that which warms the region of the night; and hurries from danger to danger, like a cloud of dust tossed by a whirlwind; anxious not to lose ought of what he has gained, and desirous if possible to increase it. These are all declared enemies to poetry and poets. A poet, say they, is a dangerous creature¹², beware how you approach him; if he can but excite a little laughter, though at the expence of his best friend, he values not; and then whatever he once scribbles upon paper, he is restless till it is known to all the boys and old women about the town. But pray now, sir, hear what I have to say in my own defence. First,
- 40 I except myself out of the number of those, whom I acknowledge for poets: for it is not enough to make a line running upon feet; nor can those who, like me, write in a style approaching nearly to prose, lay any claim to the title of poet. Honor, with this illustrious name, the man who has a genius, who has a heaven-born soul, and mouth fitted to speak great things.
- 45 It is for this reason that many have made it a question¹³, whether comedy was a true poem; because neither subject nor style admit of that strength of genius and force of expression necessary in poetry; and its language differs from that of ordinary conversation in nothing but measure and feet.

But, say you, a provoked father storms at his dissolute son, because, madly fond of a common courtesan, he refuses to marry a lady with a great fortune; and disgraces himself by running drunk about the streets in the day-time with lighted torches.

It

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“ Soon after send it to others for the benefit of their observations. If I am in any doubt concerning their criticisms, I take in the assistance of one or two besides myself, to judge and debate the matter. Last of all, I recite before a great number; and this is the time that I furnish myself with the severest emendations.”

¹⁰ Albius is passionately fond of Corinthian brass. *Stupet Albius ære*, i. e. He is fond of statues made of Corinthian brass.

¹¹ The merchant extends, &c. *Hic mutat mercēs*. Virgil uses the same form of expression. Thus, *Ecl. iv.*

— *Nec Pontica pinus*

Mutabit mercēs.

And in his *Georgics*,

— *Quamvis Milesia magna*
Vellera mutantur.

Where *Servius* remarks, that this way of speaking was taken from the ancient manner of commerce, in which all traffic was carried on by exchange.

¹² A poet is a dangerous creature. *Fenum habet in cornu*. This is a metaphorical expression, taken from the custom of peasants, who usually bound some hay upon the horns of such of their cattle as were given to pushing, to warn passengers to be upon their guard.

¹³ It is for this reason that many have made it a question, &c. These are the same of whom *Cicero* speaks in his *Book De Oratore*. *Itaque video visum esse nonnullis, Platonis & Demosthenis elocutionem, esse absit à versu, tamen quod incitatus feratur, & clarissimis verborum luminibus utatur, potius poema putandum, quam comicorum poetarum, apud quos nihil est aliud quotidiani dis-*

simile

Hunc capit argenti splendor; stupet Albius ære.
Hic mutat merces surgente à sole, ad eum quo
Vespertina tepet regio; quin per mala præceps 30
Fertur, uti pulvis collectus turbine; ne quid
Summâ deperdat metuens, aut ampliet ut rem.
Omnes hi metuunt versus, odere poëtas *.
Fœnum habet in cornu, longè fuge; dummodò
risum

Excutiat sibi; non hic cuiquam parcat amico; 35
Et quodcunque semel chartis ille verit, omnes
Gestiet à furno redeuntē scire lacuque
Et pueros & anus. Agedum, pauca accipe contrā.
Primū ego me illorum, dederim quibus esse
poëtas †,

Excerptam numero: neque enim concludere versum 39
Dixeris esse satīs; neque si quis scribat, uti nos,
Sermoni propiora, putes hunc esse poëtam.
Ingenium cui sit, cui mens diviniō, atque os
Magna sonaturum, des nominis hujus honorem.
Idcirco quidam comœdia, necne, poëma 45
Esset, quæsiwere; quod acer spiritus ac vis
Nec verbis nec rebus inest; nisi quod pede certo
Differt sermoni sermo ‡ merus. At pater ardens
Sævit, quod meretrice nepos insanit amicā
Filius, uxorem grandī cum dote recuset; 50
Ebrius & (magnum quod dedecus) ambulet ante
Noctem cum facibus. Numquid Pomponius istis

splendor argenti capit
hunc; Albius stupet
ære. Hic mutat merces
à surgente sole, ad eum
solem quo vespertina
regio tepet; quin fertur
præceps per mala, uti
pulvis collectus turbine;
metuens ne quid deper-
dat summā, aut ut am-
pliet rem. Hi omnes me-
tuunt versus, odere po-
ëtās. Habet, inquit,
fœnum in cornu, longè
fuge; hic, dummodò ex-
cutiat risum sibi, non
parcat cuiquam amico;
& quodcunque semel
ille verit chartis, gestiet
omnes & pueros & anus
redeuntē à furno lacu-
que scire. Agedum, ac-
cipe pauca contrā. Pri-
mū ego excerptam me
numero illorum, quibus
dederim esse poëtās: ne-
que enim dixeris sa-
tis esse concludere versum;
neque si quis, uti nos,
scribat propiora sermoni,
putes hunc esse poëtam.
Des honorem hujus no-
minis illi, cui sit inge-
nium, cui mens divini-
or, atque os sonatu-
rum magna. Idcirco
quidam quæsiwere, an comœdia esset poëma, necne; quod si spiritus acer ac vis nec inest verbis
nec rebus; quodque sermo merus non differt sermoni nisi certo pede. At pater ardens sævit,
quid nepos filius insanit meretrice amicā, quod recuset uxorem cum grandī dote; & (quod
magnum dedecus) ebrius ambulet ante noctem cum facibus. Numquid Pomponius

* poëtam, Bentl.

† poëtis, Id.

‡ sermo est, Id.

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smile sermonis, nisi quod versiculi sunt. "It is
"for this reason, I imagine, some are of
"opinion, that the style of Plato and De-
"mosthenes, though wanting in the mea-
"sure of verse, yet, as it is very elevat-
"ed, full of force, and set off with the
"utmost magnificence of expression, has a
"juster title to be styled poetry, than the
"language of comedy, which differs
"from ordinary conversation in nothing
"but its being formed into verse." This,
however, is directly contrary to the opi-

nion of Plato and Aristotle, who acknow-
ledged poetry properly only in the epic,
tragedy and comedy, and what consisted
chiefly of fiction and imitation. Horace
here leaves the matter undecided: the
dispute seems, at best, to be only about a
word; and I can see no reason why we
may not admit of satire and comedy as
different species of poetry, though the style
be low, and approaching nearly to prose;
as well as we allow of different kinds of
orators.

It is so; but what then? Were Pomponius's father alive ¹⁴, would he address his son in softer language? It is not therefore enough to write verses of good and well chosen words; which, if but a
 55 little displaced, shew nothing more than what any angry father would say after the same manner as he in the comedy. If you divest the verses which I now write, or those which were of old written by Lucilius, of certain quantities and measures, and change the order of the words, putting that first which stands
 60 last; you will not find the dismembered fragments of a poet, in like manner as in these lines ¹⁵;

— When discord dire
 Had broke th' eternal bolts and gates of war.

But enough of this at present; at another time ¹⁶ I shall examine, whether comedy be a true poem: my design now is to inquire, what reason you can have to dislike this way of writing
 65 in satires. Sulcius and Caprius ¹⁷ those fierce accusers, hoarse with pleadings, walk through the streets encumbered with indictments; the mighty terror of all thieves: but the man who lives innocently and with pure hands, despises both. Suppose that you are equally obnoxious to the law as Cælius and Birrius,
 70 the noted highwaymen; I am neither Caprius nor Sulcius. Why do you stand in fear of me? My writings are not to be met with on booksellers stalls, nor are they pasted up on posts ¹⁸ in the streets, to be thumbed by the rabble and Hermogenes Tigellius. I recite them only to friends, and even that with reluctance; not every where, or before all indifferently. There are many, who
 75 read their compositions in the forum, or public baths; because places that are vaulted re-echo sweetly to the voice. They vainly please themselves with this, never reflecting whether the recital be seasonable, or what good manners and a sense of decency may require.

But,

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¹⁴ Were Pomponius's father, &c. Horace had observed, that sometimes in comedy an angry father speaks with a force and vehemence that raises the style considerably, and gives it the appearance of poetry. But this, he answers, makes nothing in favor of those for whose sake it is alledged, it being no more than what often happens in real life. Any provoked father would express himself after the same manner as he in the comedy, which, as it did not come up to Horace's idea of poetry, he will not allow to be ranked under that name. A writer of comedy, indeed, is not a Pindar, or a Virgil, yet is he nevertheless, in his own way, a poet.

¹⁵ In like manner as in these lines, &c. The lines here quoted are taken from Ennius's Annals, which were intended as an heroic poem; and, it must be owned, are well chosen to make good his assertion, that he only ought to be honored with the name of poet, who has a mouth fitted to speak great things. Satire, indeed, has nothing of the majesty of heroic poetry, yet still it is a poem, though of quite another kind, and that requires a very different style.

¹⁶ At another time. Probably Horace intended to have handled this question more fully in his Art of Poetry, of which he had already formed the plan; but as that work is come down to us imperfect, we are at a loss

Audiret leviora, pater si viveret? Ergo
Non satis est puris versum perscribere verbis;
Quem si dissolvas, quivis stomachetur eodem 55
Quo personatus pacto pater. His ego quæ nunc,
Olim quæ scripsit Lucilius, eripias si
Tempora certa modosque, & quod prius ordine
verbum est

Posterior facias, præponens ultima primis;
Non, ut si solvas, *Postquam discordia tetra* 60
Belli ferratos postes portasque refregit:
Invenias etiam disiecti membra poetæ.

Hactenus hæc; alias, justum sit necne poema:
Nunc illud tantum quæram, meritone tibi sit
Suspectum genus hoc scribendi. Sulcius acer 65
Ambulat & Caprius, rauci malè, cumque libellis;
Magnus uterque timor latronibus: at benè si quis
Et puris vivat * manibus, contemnat utrumque.
Ut sis tu similis Cœli Byrrique † latronum; 69
Non ego sim Capri ‡ neque Sulci. Cur metuas me?
Nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos,
Queis manus insudet vulgi Hermogenisque Tigelli.
Non recito cuiquam || nisi amicis, idque coactus;
Non ubivis, coramve quibuscumque. In medio qui
Scripta foro recitent, sunt multi, quique lavantes;
Suave locus voci resonat conclusus. Inanes 76
Hoc juvat, haud illud quærentes, num sine sensu,
Tempore num faciant alieno. Lædere gaudes,

Byrrique; non ego sim similis Capri neque Sulci. Cur metuas me? Nulla taberna neque pila habeat meos libellos, queis manus vulgi Hermogenisque Tigelli insudet. Non recito cuiquam nisi amicis, idque cum coactus sum; non ubivis, coramve quibuscumque. Multi sunt, qui recitent scripta in medio foro, quique recitent lavantes; ubi locus conclusus resonat suave voci. Hoc juvat illos inanes, haud quærentes illud, num faciant sine sensu, num (faciant) tempore alieno.

* vivat puris, Bentl. † Birrique, Id. ‡ Caprii, Id. || Nec recitem quicquam, Id.

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to pronounce positively on his opinion. He indeed here seems to favor mostly those who exclude satire and comedy from the title of poetry; but his manner of dismissing the subject, leaves room to suspect that he was not wholly of that side.

17 *Sulcius and Caprius.* Two celebrated informers, who constantly walked the streets, carrying upon their arms the libels and edicts they had drawn out against those whom they intended to prosecute.

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18 *On booksellers stalls, or passed up on posts.* Booksellers usually had their shops under the piazzas of some public edifice, and commonly passed up any thing newly published upon the pillars before their doors, to draw the attention of the multitude. Hence we find *pila* and *taberna* so often joined together. *Hermogenes Tigellius*, the same mentioned in the preceding Satire.

D

19 He

But, say you, poets take pleasure in mischief, and are urged to write by a malicious bent. On what do you ground this reproach? Which of my companions ever accused me of this fault? He who reviles his absent friend¹⁹; who does not stand up in his defence, when defamed by another; who greedily catches the laughter of the company, and affects the reputation of a wit; who impudently maintains falsehoods, and betrays the secrets intrusted to him: this is the dangerous man; this, Romans, is the man whom you ought to shun

You may often see twelve people²⁰ at supper upon three several beds; one of whom always endeavours to make merry at the expence of the rest, and spares none but the master of the feast²¹; nor, indeed, can he escape in the issue, when wine begins to open the heart. Yet you, who profess so great a hatred to worthless men, look upon this as one of a pleasant facetious humor: whereas, if I rally Rufillus²² for being perfumed, or Gorgonius because nasty, I am straight thought satirical and ill-natured.

When by chance any mention is made before you of the thefts of Petilius Capitolinus²³, you defend him according to your wonted custom. Capitolinus, say you, is one of my best friends, we have lived together from our childhood, he has done me a thousand good offices, and I am overjoyed that he is permitted to live unmolested in the city; though I cannot but wonder²⁴, how he got so happily clear of that affair. This is too the dangerous poison, this is the dark and deadly venom; which I faithfully promise, as far as I can promise any thing concerning myself, shall be far from my writings, and yet farther from my heart. If sometimes I speak with freedom and pleasantry, this liberty ought not to be denied me. It was after this manner that the best of fathers taught me to shun vice, pointing out its enormity by living examples. When he recommended frugality and good oeconomy, and advised me to live contented with what he had provided for me: "Do not you see, said he, the
" misery

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¹⁹ *He who reviles his absent friend.* After having taken notice of the chief objection made against the writers of satire, that of hurting characters; he proceeds, in these verses, to give a description of the dangerous man whose company was to be shunned: *To speak evil of the absent, and of those with whom we are in friendship.* This passage contains one of the finest precepts for civil life.

²⁰ *You may often see twelve people, &c.* There were commonly three beds at a ta-

ble, and on each bed three persons. When the guests were numerous, they placed four, five, and sometimes more upon a bed.

²¹ *Master of the feast.* *Præter eam qui præbet aquam.* *Præbere aquam*, among the ancients, was the same as to give an entertainment; for the master of the feast furnished his guests not only with water for their hands, but also to bathe in.

²² *Whereas, if I rally Rufillus.* *Postillos Rufillus olet, Gorgonius hircum.* This line is taken

Inquis,* & hoc studio pravus facis. Unde petitem
Hoc in me jadis? Est auctor quis denique eorum⁸⁰
Vixi cum quibus? Absentem qui rodit amicum;
Qui non defendit, alio culpante; solutos
Qui captat risus hominum, famamque dicacis;
Fingere qui non visa potest, commissa tacere
Qui nequit: hic niger est; hunc tu, Romane,
caveto.

85

Sæpè tribus lectis videas cœnare quaternos;
E quibus unus avet † quavis aspergere cunctos,
Præter eum qui præbet aquam; post hunc quo-
que potus,

Condita cum verax aperit præcordia Liber.

Hic tibi comis, & urbanus, liberque videtur ⁹⁰

Infesto nigris: ego, si risi, quod ineptus

Pastillos Rufillus olet, Gorgonius ‡ hircum;

Lividus & mordax videor tibi. Mentio si qua

De Capitolini furtis injecta Petilli

Te coram fuerit; defendas; ut tuus est mos. ⁹⁵

Me Capitolinus convictore usus amicoque

A puero est, causaque meâ permulta rogatus

Fecit, & incolumis lætor quod vivit in urbe;

Sed tamen admiror, quo pacto judicium illud

Fugerit. Hic nigræ succus loliginis, hæc est ¹⁰⁰

Ærugo mera; quod vitium procul abfore chartis,

Atque animo prius, ut si quid promittere de me

Possum aliud, verè promitto: Liberius si

Dixero quid, si fortè jocosius, hoc mihi juris ¹⁰⁴

Cum veniâ dabis. Insuevit pater optimus hoc me,

Ut fugerem exemplis vitiorum quæque notando.

Cum me hortaretur, parcè, frugaliter, atque

Viverem uti contentus eo quod mi ipse parâisset:

Inquis tu, gaudes læde-
re, & pravus facis hoc
studio. Unde petitem est
hoc quod in me jadis?
Quis denique eorum cum
quibus vixi est auctor
hujus opprobrii? Qui
redit absentem amicum;
qui non defendit eum,
alio culpante; qui cap-
tat solutos risus hominum;
famamque dicacis; qui
potest fingere non visa,
qui nequit tacere com-
missa: hic est niger; O
Romane, caveto tu hunc.
Sæpè videas quaternos
cœnare tribus lectis; &
quibus unus avet asper-
gere quavis ratione
cunctos, præter eum qui
præbet aquam; post po-
tus, cum verax Liber a-
perit condita præcordia,
aspergit hunc quoque.
Hic videtur tibi infesto
nigris, comis, & urba-
nus, liberque: ego, si risi,
quod ineptus Rufillus o-
let pastillos, quod Gor-
gonius olet hircum, vi-
deor tibi lividus & mor-
dax. Si qua mentio in-
jecta fuerit coram te de
furtis Petilli Capitolini;
defendas, ut est mos tuus.
Capitolinus usus me
convictore amicoque à
puero, rogatusque fecit
permulta meâ causâ, &
lætor quod vivit inco-
lumis in urbe; sed ta-
men admiror, quo pacto

fugerit illud judicium. Hic est succus nigræ loliginis, hæc est mera ærugo; quod vitium verè
promitto, ut si possum promittere quid aliud de me, abfore procul chartis, atque prius animo. Si
dixero quid liberius, si fortè jocosius, dabis hoc juris mihi cum veniâ. Pater optimus insuevit me
ad hoc, notando quæque vitiorum exemplis ut fugerem. Cum hortaretur me uti viverem
parcè, frugaliter, atque contentus eo quod ipse mihi parâisset:

* Inquit, Bentl.

† amet, Id.

‡ Gorgonius, Id.

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taken from his second Satire, and proba-
bly he had been much censured for it.

²³ *Capitolinus*. *Capitolinus* was a surname
common to several families at Rome.
This *Petilius* had probably been governor
of some province, where he had practised

great extortion, and, after the expiration
of his proconsulate, been publicly pro-
secuted and acquitted.

²⁴ *Though I cannot but wonder*. This is the
most deadly way of wounding the reputa-
tion of our friend, which, while it seems

"misery to which the son of Albius and indigent Barus²⁵ have re-
 110"duced themselves? a remarkable lesson to deter young men
 "from wasting their paternal estates." When he counselled me
 against the love of profligate women: "Beware, said he, of the
 "example of Sectanus²⁶." When he would dissuade me from
 gallantry with married women, and press me to seek only after law-
 ful pleasures: "You see how Trebonius has lost his reputation,
 115"ever since his criminal intrigues were discovered. The philoso-
 "phers²⁷, added the good man, will explain the reasons, why
 "some things are to be sought after and others to be avoided:
 "it is enough for a man of my condition, to observe the train
 "of culture used by our ancestors, and keep your life and
 "character clear from reproach, while you stand in need of a
 120"director: when age shall have ripened your judgment as
 "well as bodily strength, you will then be your own master,
 "and be able to walk without a guide." It was thus that
 when a child he formed me to virtue by his precepts; and
 when he advised me to any thing commendable, always enforced
 his advice by an example, and set before me an instance of
 some senator of distinguished worth: if he dissuaded me from
 any thing base; "Can you doubt, would he say, whether this
 "be dishonorable and pernicious? when this and the other
 125"person you know labors under so bad a character." As the
 death of an acquaintance often alarms the sick²⁸, and obliges
 them to temperance and caution; so the miseries which other
 men bring upon themselves by debauchery, often beget in
 tender minds a horror of vice. By this wise institution have
 I been preserved from those greater faults, which in the end
 130prove fatal; some indeed I may have²⁹, but they are of an
 inferior kind, and such as a good-natured friend will easily
 forgive. Yea, I am apt to think, that even these have been con-
 siderably lessened by time, reflection, and the remonstrances of
 friends.

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to vindicate him, artfully insinuates that there was but too much in what was laid to his charge. It is a practice which Horace names with horror, and faithfully promises never to give into.

²⁵ The son of Albius and indigent Barus. Cruquius, Douza, and Theodorus Marcilius, are of opinion, that by the son of Albius is here meant Tibullus. It must be owned, the character agrees to him perfectly; for that poet was so expensive in his way of living, that, though he died at the age of twenty-four, he had quite ruined his estate. But it is impossible that our poet's father could have pointed him out as an instance

of prodigality to his son, who must have been at least twenty-three years old when Tibullus was born. Barus is mentioned again in the sixth and seventh Satires. He was a young man, of a profuse temper, who valued himself much on his beauty.

²⁶ Sectanus. One of much the same humor with Sallust, entirely abandoned to courtizans.—Trebonius had been surprised in adultery, and, in all probability, very roughly handled.

²⁷ The philosophers. Sapiens. For it belongs properly to them to explain the reasons of things, and shew why one action is honest, and another base. The poet's fa-

Nonne vides, Albî ut malè vivat filius, utque *
Barrus † inops ? magnum documentum, ne patri-
am rem

110

Perdere quis velit. A turpi meretricis amore
Cùm deterreret : Scetani ‡ dissimilis sis.

Ne sequerer mœchas, concessâ cùm venere uti
Possem : Deprensi non bella est fama Treboni,
Aiebat. Sapiens, vitatu quidque petitu

115

Sit melius, causas reddet tibi : mi satis est, si
Traditum ab antiquis morem servare, tuamque,
Dum custodis eges, vitam famamque tueri
Incolumem possim || : simul ac duraverit ætas

Membra animumque tuum, nabis sine cortice,
Sic me

120

Formabat puerum dictis ; & sive jubebat
Ut facerem quid ; Habes auctorem quo facias hoc,
Unum ex iudicibus selectis objiciebat :

Sive vetabat ; An hoc inhonestum & inutile factu
Necne sit, addubites, flagret rumore malo cùm

125

Hic atque ille ? Avidos vicinum funus ut ægros
Exanimat, mortisque metu sibi parcere cogit ;

Sic teneros animos aliena opprobria sæpè
Absterrent vitiis. Ex hoc ego sanus ab illis,

Perniciem quæcunque ferunt ; mediocribus, & queis
Ignoscas, vitiis teneor. Fortassis & istinc

131

Largiter abstulerit longa ætas, liber amicus,
Consilium proprium. Neque enim, cùm lectulus,

aut me

ægros, cogitque eos parcere sibi metu mortis ; sic aliena opprobria sæpè absterrent teneros animos vitiis. Ex hoc ego sanus sum ab illis vitiis, quæcunque ferunt perniciem ; teneor vitiis mediocribus, & queis ignoscas. Fortassis longa ætas, liber amicus, consilium proprium largiter abstulerit & (etiam) istinc. Neque enim

* ut qui, Benth.

† Panis, Id.

‡ Scetani, Id.

|| possum, Id.

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ther, of but mean rank, could not be supposed deeply skilled in these matters. It was enough that he knew how to train up his son according to the institution of his ancestors, to teach him plain honesty, and preserve his reputation from stain and reproach. As he grew up, he would be able to manage himself. *Nabis sine cortice* ; a metaphor taken from swimming, in which learners, in their first attempts, made use of pieces of cork to bear them up.

28 As the death of an acquaintance often alarms the sick. This comparison is extremely beautiful : As a sick man becomes more manageable upon the hearing of the

death of a friend, occasioned by his own obstinacy ; so a young man seeing others plunge themselves into misery by their own vice and folly, is careful to avoid the same gulf.

29 Some indeed I may have. There is no question but Horace gives a true account of himself in these lines. He intended this as a representation of his real character ; and accordingly we meet with much the same description of him in his sixth Satire.

Atqui si vitiis mediocribus, ac nea paucis
Mendosa est natura, alioqui recta, velut si
Egregis inperfos reprændas cortore na uos

friends. For whether I am in bed, or walk in the portico³⁰, I am not wanting to myself. This, say I, is the wisest conduct; 135 by doing this I shall make myself a better man, and more agreeable to my friends: this sure was very unbecoming; shall I ever foolishly run again into the like error? Thus I employ myself when alone; and, at leisure-hours, amuse myself with writing it down. This is one of those lesser faults I mentioned; 140 which if you will not forgive, I'll call to my assistance the whole tribe of poets (and our number is very considerable); and, like the Jews³¹ when they make proselytes, compel you to join our party.

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"If my faults are only of a lesser kind, and few in number; so that I resemble those, who, in a fine face, may have some slight irregularity, which scarce sensibly diminishes its beauty." And even these, as he here tells us, he endeavours to wear out of his nature as much as possible, by reflection, and the admonitions of friends.

³⁰ *Walk in the portico.* The portico were structures of great beauty and magnificence, annexed to public buildings, both for ornament and use. Sometimes they served for the assemblies of the senate, but more generally for the pleasure of walking and riding; in the shade in summer, and in

THE KEY.

IT appears from the 131st verse of this Satire, that it was written while *Horace* was yet young; a circumstance that does him no little honor: for it must be acknowledged, we have very few pieces that come up to it; whether we consider the irresistible force of his reasoning, or the spirit and vivacity wherewith they are set off. *Horace* had taken satire for a part of his province, and probably published several things in that way. As his principal design was to ridicule vice, and, if possible, put it out of countenance, he had touched upon some of those that were most prevalent; and, to give his satire the greater weight, had named the persons most remarkable for them. This drew upon him a great deal of censure; and he was accused as acting rather from ill-nature and a malicious bent, than with any design to reform the age. *Horace*, upon this, undertakes his own defence, and endeavours to justify a way of writing which he was naturally very fond of. It must be owned, he has acquitted himself admirably; nor can any one, who impartially weighs the reasons he alleges, forbear to acquiesce in his judgment. Satire is a very proper instrument wherewith to reform the world; and experience teaches us, that men, when they cannot be reasoned out of their follies, will yet very often be laughed out of them. What seems most liable to exception in *Horace's* way of writing, is his naming of particular persons: I will not venture to pronounce positively in a matter that has so much divided the opinions of critics. *Horace's* example, who was

SAT. IV. QUINTI HORATII FLACCI. 55

Porticus excepit, defum mihi. Rectius hoc est ;
Hoc faciens vivam melius ; sic dulcis amicis 135
Occurram : hoc quidem non bellè ; numquid ego
illi

Imprudens olim faciam simile ? Hæc ego mecum
Compressis agito labris ; ubi quid datur otî,
Illudo chartis. Hoc est mediocribus illis
Ex vitiis unum ; cui si concedere nolis *, 140
Multa poëtarum veniat † manus, auxilio quæ
Sit mihi (nam multò plures sumus) ; ac veluti te
Judæi, cogemus in hanc concedere turbam.

*defum mihi, cùm lectu-
lus, aut porticus excepit
me. Hoc (reputo me-
cum) est rectius; faciens
hoc vivam melius; sic
occurram dulcis amicis;
hoc quidem non est bellè;
numquid ego imprudens
faciam olim simile illi?
Ego agito hæc mecum
compressis labris; ubi
quid otii datur, illudo
chartis. Hoc unum est
ex illis mediocribus vi-
tiis; cui si nolis conce-
dere, multa manus poëtarum veniat, quæ sit auxilio mihi (nam multò plures sumus); ac veluti
Judæi, cogemus te concedere in hanc turbam.*

* noles, *Bentl.*

† veniet, *Id.*

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in the winter in the dry; like the present
piazas in Italy.

31 *And, like the Jews.* It is well
known with what zeal the *Jews* sought
after proselytes, *Horace* was well ac-
quainted with this their humor; for *Rome*

swarmed with *Jews* at that time. Upon
this is founded the pleasant turn with
which the poet concludes his Satire. He
imagined he could not better revenge him-
self upon the enemies of poetry, than by
forcing them to become poets themselves.

The KEY.

was so great a master in the conduct of life, goes very far to justify
it: yet, as there are very few whose moderation we can trust so far
as that of our poet, and yet fewer who have his genius and delicacy;
too great a liberty this way might be of dangerous consequence.
Horace justifies himself, in particular, by the example of *Lucilius*,
his predecessor, who allowed himself in much greater freedoms this
way, and filled his satires with all the salt and keenness of the old
comedy. He then proceeds to describe who was properly the dan-
gerous man; and, by the definition which he gives of him, shews
that himself was very far removed from that character; that what
was laid to his charge as a crime, came greatly short of the common
practice of the world; where, under the guise of friendship, they
often secretly stabbed the man whose cause they seemingly under-
took to defend. He very naturally concludes the whole with a
kind of episode, upon the manner after which a kind and prudent
father taught him to profit even by the errors of others; and artfully
introduces this, so as to make a principal part of his vindication:
for, as observing the inconveniences others had run themselves into,
by yielding too freely to their natural bent, had, in a great measure,
preserved him from falling into the like follies; so, by exposing those
examples which had furnished him lessons of behaviour, to the obser-
vation of others, he was in hopes they might receive the like benefit.

SATIRE V.

He pleasantly describes his journey from Rome to Brundisium.

LEaving Rome I put up at a small inn in Aricia¹, accompanied by Heliodorus the rhetorician², the most knowing by far of all the Greeks. From thence we came to the Forum Appii³, which we found crowded with sailors and surly innkeepers. We took two days to this jaunt⁴, which more vigorous travellers usually accomplish in one. The Appian Way⁵ is most commodious for those who travel a slow pace. As the water of this place was extremely bad, I declared war against my stomach⁶; and waited with great impatience for my companions who had forgot themselves at supper. By this time night began to involve
 10 the earth in shades, and diffuse through the sky the shining stars: when a scuffle arising between our slaves and the mariners, occasioned an intolerable clamor. Bring the barge hither, says one: What, says another, you have taken in three hundred already; Oho! stop, it is enough. What in wrangling for their fare, what in making fast the mule, a whole hour was lost. Frogs and
 15 teasing gnats spoil my rest. The seamen and passengers, warmed by the bad wine they had drunk, fell a-singing by turns⁷ the praises of their absent mistresses. At length the passengers, unable to hold out any longer, fell asleep; which the lazy seaman perceiving untied the mule to send her a-grazing, and by means of the cord making fast the boat to the point of a rock, lays himself quietly
 20 down, and snores supine. It was now day, when we perceived that the barge stood still; upon which one of the passengers, a surly fellow, leaped on shore, and cudgelled the mule and barge-man most soundly: yet after all it was ten of the clock before

We

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¹ *Aricia*. The same that is now called *Rizza*. It was then a small town about twenty miles from Rome upon the *Appian Way*. *Hospitio medico*, a small inn, in opposition to the *magna Roma*, of the preceding verse.

² *Heliodorus the rhetorician*. Horace was very fond of the conversation of the Greek rhetoricians, as being a great admirer of their language.

³ *Forum Appii*. A town of *Latium*, belonging to the *Volsci*, between *Aricia* and *Ferentia*, at the distance of about forty-six miles from Rome. It was in the neighbourhood of the lake called *Palus*

Pemptina Cauponibus. See the remarks on Satire first.

⁴ *We took two days to this jaunt*. *Hoc iter ignavi divisiſimus*. *Dividere iter*, to divide a journey, is to take two days to that which might be accomplished in one. *Altius præcincti*, better girded, that is, more diligent travellers; for they usually girded their robe high, in proportion to the expedition they intended to make in their journey.

⁵ *The Appian Way, &c.* This led from Rome to Brundisium, and was most commodious for slow travellers, as being well provided with inns and public-houses. It was

was

S A T I R A V.

Iter suum ab urbe Româ Brundisium usque facete describit.

EGressum magnâ me excepit Aricia Româ
Hospitio modico; rhetor comes Heliodorus,
Græcorum longè doctissimus. Inde Forum Appi,
Differtum nautis cauponibus atque malignis.
Hoc iter ignavi divisimus, altius ac nos 5
Præcinctis unum. Minus est gravis Appia tardis.
Hic ego propter aquam, quod erat deterrima*, ven-
Indico bellum; cœnantes haud animo æquo [tri
Expectans comites. Jam nox inducere terris
Umbras, & cœlo diffundere signa parabat: 10

Tum pueri nautis, pueris convicia nautæ
Ingerere. Huc appelle: trecentos inseris; ohe,
Jam satis est. Dum æs exigitur, dum mula ligatur,
Tota abit hora, Mali culices ranæque palustres
Avertunt somnos. Absentem † cantat amicam 15
Multâ prolutus vappâ nauta, atque viator
Certatim. Tandem fessus dormire viator
Incipit; ac missæ pastum retinacula mulæ
Nauta piger saxo religat, stertitque supinus.
Jamque dies aderat, cum nil || procedere lintrem 20
Sentimus; donèc cerebrosus profilit unus,
Ac mulæ nautæque caput lumbosque saligno
Fuste dolat: quartâ vix demum exponimur horâ.

æs exigitur, dum mula ligatur, tota hora abit. Culices mali ranæque palustres avertunt somnos. Nauta prolutus multâ vappâ, atque viator cantat certatim amicam absentem. Tandem viator fessus incipit dormire; ac nauta piger religat saxo retinacula mulæ missæ pastum, stertitque supinus. Jamque dies aderat, cum sentimus lintrem nil procedere; donèc unus cerebrosus profilit, ac dolat saligno fuste caput lumbosque mulæ nautæque: vix demum exponimur quartâ horâ.

* teterrima, Bentl. † ut, Id. || Nil cum, Id.

A N N O T A T I O N S.

was the first of the public highways paved by the Romans, and begun by Appius, who carried it from the *Porta Capena* to *Capua*. As the republic increased in grandeur and wealth, it was extended through Italy to the borders of the *Ionian* sea.

6 I declared war against my stomach. *Ventri indico bellum*; that is, he determined to abstain from supper; for the water was bad, and he was prohibited from drinking of wine on account of the malady of his eyes, which tormented him much about this time, as we shall afterwards see.

7 Fell a-singing by turns. Horace had an admirable talent of painting things according to nature and truth. The reader can scarce forbear fancying himself in the boat with him. Dr. Bentley remarks, that, according to some editions, it is in the original, *Absentem ut cantat amicam*. In which case the *ut*, omitted in the common editions must here signify the same as *dum*; and the sense of the passage be thus: *Dum cantat nauta, & viator amicas; tandem viator somno opprimitur*. Both *Plautus* and *Terence* use the same manner of speech.

8 It

O R D O.

Aricia excepit me egressum magnâ Româ hospitio modico; rhetor Heliodorus, doctissimus longè Græcorum, erat comes. Inde Forum Appi, differtum nautis atque malignis cauponibus, nos excepit. Ignavi divisimus hoc iter, unum tantum viatoribus altius præcinctis ac nos. Via Appia minus gravis est tardis. Hic ego indico bellum ventri propter aquam, quod erat deterrima; expectans haud an mo æquo comites cœnantes. Jam nox parabat inducere umbras terris, & diffundere signa cœlo: tum pueri cœperunt ingerere convicia nautis, nautæ vicissim pueris. Appelle huc: inseris trecentos; ohe, jam satis est. Dum

we got out of the boat ⁸. We washed our hands and face in the fountain of Feronia ⁹; and having dined made a slow journey of about three miles to Anxur, situated upon white rocks ¹⁰ that may be seen at a great distance. There we expected to meet with dear Mæcenas and Cocceius ¹¹ in their way to Brundisium, whither they were going on a commission of great importance; as the properest persons in the world to settle differences among friends.

30 Here I was obliged to anoint my eyes with eye-salve ¹²: meantime Mæcenas and Cocceius arrived, accompanied by Fonteius Capito ¹³, a most charming companion, and an intimate friend of Antony. Next day we arrived at Fundi ¹⁴ where Aufidius Luscus was prætor, which we left highly diverted with the vanity of that

35 pitiful scrivener, who strutted about in his prætexta, adorned with the latus clavus, and caused to be carried before him a censor with burning coals. At length we came to Formia ¹⁵, where Muræna ¹⁶ invited us to lie at his house, and Capito gave us a supper. Next day we were perfectly happy; being met at Sinuessa ¹⁷

40 by Plotius, Varius ¹⁸, and Virgil, three of the most candid men alive, to whom I am in the strongest manner attached. It is impossible to express our joy on this occasion; nor shall I, while in my senses, ever think any blessing equal to that of an agreeable true friend. We lodged that night at a little village near the bridge

of

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⁸ It was ten of the clock before we got out of the boat. The Romans computed the hours from sun-rising, allowing twelve to the day, and the like number to the night, which were longer or shorter, according to the different seasons of the year. It is plain, therefore, that at the time of the equinox, when the sun rises at six o'clock, their fourth hour must have answered to our ten. *Quarta vix demum exponitur hora.*

⁹ We washed our hands and face in the fountain of Feronia. It was usual among the Romans to wash before they dined. But we are to consider this here as a religious act, for fountains were by the ancients esteemed sacred. Feronia was the name of the place at which Horace had landed, where Juno was worshipped under the same name, and had a temple and grove, at the entrance of which was a fountain.

¹⁰ Anxur, situated upon white rocks. About three miles from Feronia was a city of the Volsci, named Terracina. Formerly it had been called Anxur, from Jupiter, who was here adored under the name of Jupiter Anxur, i. e. Intonsus, with a long beard. It was situated in a barren rocky soil, as its very name Terracina imports.

¹¹ Cocceius, a celebrated lawyer, very much in favour both with Antony and Au-

gustus; and grandfather of the emperor Cocceius Nerva. He was consul in the year of the city 718.

¹² Eye-salve. In the original *collyria*; being a composition of distilled waters, and several other medicines, for the eyes.

¹³ Fonteius Capito. Probably the father of him who was consul two years before the death of Augustus. He was here of the party of Antony, and Mæcenas on the side of Augustus. Cocceius was by way of an arbitrator between them, to settle their differences. *Homofactus ad unguem*, a complete man, every way accomplished.

¹⁴ Fundi. A town on the Appian Way, about ten miles from Terracina. Aufidius Luscus, who had been a scribe, being advanced to the prætorship of this city, exposed himself by his vanity to the ridicule of all strangers, before whom he affected to appear with all the ornaments of his dignity, and caused to be carried before him the same ensigns as were allowed the magistrates of Rome. For a particular account of the robes here mentioned, the reader may consult Kennet's chapter upon the habit of the Romans. It is sufficient to observe here, that the *prætexta* was a gown, whose edges were bordered round with purple. It seems originally to have

Ora manusque tuâ lavimus *, Feronia, lymphâ;
 Millia tum pransi tria repimus, atque subimus 25
 Impositum saxi latè candentibus Anxur.
 Huc venturus erat Mæcenâs optimus atque
 Cocceius, missi magnis de rebus uterque
 Legati; averfos soliti componere amicos.
 Hic oculis ego nigra meis collyria lippus 30
 Illinere: interea Mæcenâs advenit, atque
 Cocceius, Capitoque simul Fonteius, ad unguem
 Factus homo, Antonî, non ut magis alter, amicus.

Fundos Aufidio Lusco prætorè libenter
 Linquimus, insani ridentes præmia scribæ, 35
 Prætextam, & latum clavum, prunæque batillum.
 In Mamurrarum lassî deinde urbe manemus,
 Murænâ præbente domum, Capitone culinam.

Postera lux oritur multò gratissima: namque
 Plotius, & Varius Sinuessæ, Virgiliusque 40
 Occurrunt; animæ, quales neque candidiores
 Terra tulit, neque queis me sit divinctior alter.
 O qui complexus, & gaudia quanta fuerunt!
 Nil ego contulerim jucundo sanus amico.

urbe Mamurrarum, Murænâ præbente domum, Capitone culinam. Lux postera oritur gratissima multò; namque Plotius, & Varius, Virgiliusque, occurrunt Sinuessæ; animæ, quales neque terra tulit candidiores, neque queis (quibus) alter sit divinctior me. O qui fuerunt complexus, & quanta gaudia! ego sanus (dum sanus fuero) nil contulerim jucundo amico.

* lavimur, Bentl.

ANNOTATIONS.

have been appropriated to the magistrates, but was afterwards bestowed on the young men. As to the *clavi*, critics are much divided about them: some make them flow-ers interwoven in the cloth; others, the buttons by which the tunic was held together.

Rubénus fancies they were purple lines or streaks coming along the middle of the garment, and afterwards improved to golden and embroidered lines of the same nature. But the most probable opinion seems to be that of *Dacier*, who makes the *clavi* no more than purple galleons, with which they bordered the forepart of the tunic on both sides, in the place where it came together.

The broad galleons made the *lati clavi*, and the narrow the *angusti clavi*. The censor of burning coals was carried before emperors, and those possessed of sovereign authority.

16 Muræna. This *Muræna* was brother to *Licinia* the wife of *Mæcenâs*. He was afterwards condemned to death for engaging in a conspiracy against *Augustus*.

17 Sinuessæ. A city upon the sea-coast, about 17 miles from *Formia*. It had its name from the gulf in which it was situated. *Sinus Senticus*.

18 Plotius, Varius. Two celebrated poets of that time. The first had also the name of *Tucca*, *Plotius Tucca*. It is well known that *Virgil* had so great a confidence in their judgment, as to entrust them with the reviewing and publication of the

Feronia, lavimus ora manusque tuâ lymphâ; tum pransi repimus tria millia, atque subimus Anxur impositum saxi candentibus latè. Mæcenâs optimus atque Cocceius erat venturus huc, uterque missi legati de rebus magnis; nam soliti (erant) componere averfos amicos. Hic ego lippus coactus fui illinere nigra collyria meis oculis: interea Mæcenâs advenit, atque Cocceius, simulque Fonteius Capito, homo factus ad unguem, ita amicus Antonî, ut non alter magis. Linquimus libenter Fundos Aufidio Lusco prætorè, ridentes præmia insani scribæ, prætextam, & latum clavum, batillumque prunæ. Deinde lassî manemus in

Lux postera oritur gratissima multò; namque Plotius, & Varius, Virgiliusque, occurrunt Sinuessæ; animæ, quales neque terra tulit candidiores, neque queis (quibus) alter sit divinctior me. O qui fuerunt complexus, & quanta gaudia! ego sanus (dum sanus fuero) nil contulerim jucundo amico.

45 of Campania¹⁹; and the commissaries²⁰ supplied us with salt and wood, according to custom. Our mules were next day eased early of their burdens at Capua²¹. Mæcenas went to play at tennis, Virgil and myself to take a nap; for this diversion is hurtful to tender eyes, and a bad digestion. Hence we were carried to a
50 seat of Cocceius, situated beyond the inns of Caudium²², where we found plenty of every thing. Now, my Muse, I invoke your aid; and inspire me to relate the ever-memorable encounter between Sarmentus²³ the buffoon and Messius Cicertus²³; and from what race descended these illustrious combatants who entered the lists. Messius derived his pedigree from the renowned Oscians²⁴; Sar-
55 mentus a fugitive slave whose mistress still lives: sprung from such ancestors these noble opponents met in fierce combat. Then thus Sarmentus: I tell you, sir, that you have the look of a wild horse. We all burst out a-laughing: when Messius unmoved: Sir, I receive your challenge; and shakes his head. O, says Sarmentus, what a dangerous fellow here would be, were not your horn lopped off, when thus dismantled you threaten so
60 hard? (For you must know that the left side of his bristly front was disfigured by an ugly scar.) Having rallied unmercifully his unhappy face, and the infamous disease of his country²⁵, he at last begged of him to dance the part of Polyphemus²⁶; assuring him, that he needed neither mask nor tragic buskins to acquit himself well. To all this Cicerrus answered with great keenness:
65 How now, sirrah, have you consecrated your chain²⁷ as yet to the Household-gods? remember that your being a scribe does not one jot lessen your mistress's authority, who may still exercise the discipline of the whip at pleasure. But how came you, Mr.
spark,

ANNOTATIONS.

¹⁹ *Bridge of Campania.* This bridge, according to some, was upon the *Vulturnus*; others place it upon a small river running through the territories of the *Falerii*.

²⁰ *Commissaries. Parochi.* By the *Lex Julia de Provinciis*, it was provided, that the towns through which a *Roman* magistrate passed, in any commission relating to public affairs, should supply him and his retinue with salt, wood, lodgings, and other conveniences; and officers were appointed, called here *Parochi*, i. e. *Prebiteres*, whose business it was to see that these articles were duly performed. These commissaries had the title of *Magistri Pagorum*.

²¹ *Capua.* The capital city of *Campania*, situated upon the *Vulturnus*. It was the seat of pleasure and luxury; and is called by *Cicero*, another *Rome*.

²² *Inns of Caudium.* *Caudium* was a small village, twenty miles distant from *Capua*, near to which were several public inns for the accommodation of travellers.

²³ *Sarmentus, Cicerrus.* Two buffoons belonging to the court of *Augustus*. *Sarmentus* is the same to whom *Plutarch* speaks in the life of *Antony*, where he says, that he was one of *Cæsar's* minions. *Cicerrus* is nowhere else mentioned.

²⁴ *Oscians.* The people inhabiting the maritime cities of *Campania*, more especially the *Capuans*, infamous for all manner of debauchery. It is well known, that here the warlike troops of *Hannibal* were educated, inasmuch that it proved to him what *Carthage* had been to the *Romans*.

Proxima Campano ponti quæ villula tectum 45
Præbuit; & parochi, quæ debent, ligna saleque.
Hinc muli Capuæ clitellas tempore ponunt.
Lusum it Mæcenas; dormitum ego Virgiliusque;
Namque pilâ lippis inimicum & ludere crudis:

Hinc nos Coccei recipit plenissima villa, 50
Quæ super est Caudî cauponas. Nunc mihi paucis
Sarmenti scurræ pugnam Mæsi que Cicerri *,
Musa, velim memores; & quo patre natus uterque
Contulerit lites. Mæsi clarum genus Ofci;
Sarmenti domina exstat: ab his majoribus orti 55
Ad pugnam venere. Prior Sarmentus: Equi te
Esse feri similem dico. Ridemus: & ipse
Mæsius, Accipio; caput & movet: O, tua cornu
Ni foret exsecto frons, inquit, quid aceres, cum
Sic mutilus minitaris †? At illi fœda cicatrix 60
Setosam lævi frontem turpaverat oris.
Campanum in morbum, in faciem permulta jocatus;
Pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa, rogabat;
Nil illi larvâ aut tragicis opus esse cothurnis.
Multa Cicerrus ‡ ad hæc: Donasset jamne ca-
tenam

Ex voto Laribus, quærebat: scriba quod esset,
Deterius nihilo || dominæ jus esse: Rogabat

tas, ni foret exsecto cornu, quid faceres, cum mutilatus sic minitari? At fœda cicatrix turpaverat illi setosam frontem lævi oris. Jocatus permulta in Campanum morbum, in faciem, rogabat, uti saltaret pastorem Cyclopa; nil opus esse illi larvâ, aut tragicis cothurnis. Cicerrus retorfit multa ad hæc: quærebat, donassetne jam catenam Laribus ex voto: jus dominæ nihilo deterius esse, quod esset scriba. Rogabat

* Cicirri, Benti. † miniteris, Id. ‡ Cicirrus, Id. || nihilo deterius, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

25 *Infamous disease of his country.* Commentators are much divided as to the meaning of this passage: some think it hints at the venereal disease; but this is doubtless a mistake, since physicians have fixed the first appearance of this disease in Europe to these latter times. I am rather apt to think, it refers to the debaucheries and disorderly pleasures the Capuans were so much given to.

26 *Dance the part of Polyphemus.* One of the Cyclops, whose eye was thrust out by Ulysses, in revenge for his devouring some of his companions. As Mæsius had a large scar upon his forehead, somewhat resembling the eye above-mentioned, and was

otherwise of remarkable stature; Sarmentus merrily tells him, that he might dance the rout of the Cyclops, without mask or buskins; for that his natural figure would make him easily pass for Polyphemus. The Latins used the phrase, *Saltare Cyclopa Glaucum*, for representing in a dance the adventures of Glaucus, &c.

27 *Have you consecrated your chain?* When a slave was made free, or any artisan gave over business, it was the custom to consecrate the instruments they had used in their trade to some Deity. Cicerrus therefore to reproach Sarmentus with his slavery, puts this question to him.

spark, to run for it ²⁸? a pound of bread a day is amply sufficient to support your lank fabric. Thus we were agreeably diverted all supper-time.

Hence we rode directly to Beneventum ²⁹; where our officious host, by his over-care in roasting some lean thrushes, was almost scorched to death. For the stove by ill luck falling down, the catching flame in a moment spread itself through the kitchen, and had almost gained the top of the house. Then you might see the hungry guests and frightened servants striving with equal care to save their supper, and extinguish the flames. Hence we discovered the well-known mountains of Apulia, scorched by the raging west-north-west wind ³⁰; and which we could never have passed over, had we not been hospitably received at a farm near Trivicum ³¹, where we were much incommoded by the smoke of some moist branches full of green leaves, that were thrown upon the fire. Here I kept awake most part of the night in expectation of a deceitful young wench: at length sleep seizes me full of amorous thoughts, and entertains my imagination with pleasant dreams. Next day we travelled four and twenty miles in post-chaises ³², and came to a small town, which it is not possible to describe in verse ³³; but may be easily distinguished by its peculiar marks: here water every where else so common is sold by the pail; but the bread is excellent; infomuch that the frugal traveller provides himself here; that of Canusium ³⁴ being full of stones, and the water equally scarce; (Canusium, a city first built by Diomedes.) Here Varius left us not without tears shed on both sides. Hence we came to Rubi ³⁵, heartily fatigued with our long journey, which had been rendered yet more incommodious by the rain. Next day we came to Bari ³⁶ abounding in the finest of fish; the weather was considerably better, but the roads grew worse. Hence we took our way to Gnatia ³⁷, where the lymphatic inhabitants gave

ANNOTATIONS.

²⁸ How came you to run for it? He reproaches him with deserting his mistress, who almost starved him, and yet the allowance of a slave was sufficient for his thin carcase. This allowance was, by a law of the twelve tables, a pound of bread a day.

²⁹ Beneventum. A city twenty-eight miles from Capua, in the territories of the Hirpini, first built by Diomedes. It was called of old Maleventum; but the Romans settling a colony in it, changed its name to Beneventum.

³⁰ West-north-west wind. Atabalus. The same that in Ode iii. Book I. he calls Iapyx.

³¹ Trivicum. Cluverius speaks of a town, named Trevicum, of great antiquity, in the territories of the Hirpini, and about twenty-eight miles from Beneventum.

³² Post-chaises. These were furnished them by the commissaries above-mentioned, at the expence of the provinces.

³³ Which it is not possible to describe in verse. Horace is here lost in travelling over the mountains of his native country; and we are forced to have recourse to uncertain conjecture. Interpreters imagine that the poet here means Equus Tuticus, or Equestatium, which was upon the Appian Way.

Denique, cur unquam fugisset; cui satis una
Farris libra foret, gracili sic, tamque pufillo.
Prorsus jucundè cœnam produximus * illam. 70

Tendimus hinc rectà Beneventum; ubi sedulus
hospes

Penè arsit, macros dum turdos versat in igne †.

Nam vaga per veterem dilapso flamma culinam
Vulcano, summum properabat lambere tectum.

Convivas avidos cœnam servosque timentes 75

Tum rapere, atque omnes restinguere velle vi-
deres.

Incipit ex illo montes Apulia notos

Ostentare mihi, quos torret Atabulus; & quos

Nunquam erêpsimus, nisi nos vicina Trivici

Villa recepisset, lacrymoso non sine fumo, 80

Udos cum foliis ramos urente camino.

Hic ego mendacem stultissimus usque puellam

Ad mediam noctem expecto: somnus tamen aufert

Intentum veneri; tum immundo somnia visu

Nocturnam vestem maculant, ventremque supi-
num. 85

Quatuor hinc rapimur viginti & millia rhedis,

Mansuri oppidulo, quod versu dicere non est;

Signis perfacile est: venit vilissima rerum

Hic aqua; sed parvis longè pulcherrimus, ultrò

Callidus ut soleat humeris portare viator; 90

Nam Canusî lapidosus, aquæ non ditior urna;

Qui locus à forti Diomede est conditus olim.

Flentibus hinc † Varius discedit mœstus amicis.

Inde Rubos fessi pervenimus, utpote longum

Carpentes iter, & factum corruptius imbri. 95

Postera tempestas melior, via pejor, ad usque

Bari mœnia piscosi. Dehinc || Gnatia lymphis

rerum hic venit; sed panis longè pulcherrimus est, ut callidus viator soleat ultrò portare humeris; nam lapidosus est Canusî, urna aquæ non est ditior; qui locus olim conditus est à forti Diomede. Varius discedit hinc mœstus à flentibus amicis. Inde fessi pervenimus Rubos, utpote carpentes longum iter, & factum corruptius imbri. Tempestas postera melior, via pejor, usque ad mœnia Bari piscosi. Dehinc Gnatia extructa iratis lymphis

denique, cur ille unquam fugisset; cui sic gracili, tamque pufillo, una libra farris satis foret. Produximus illam cœnam prorsus jucundè. Hinc tendimus rectà Beneventum; ubi sedulus hospes penè arsit, dum versat macros turdos in igne. Nam Vulcano dilapso, flamma vaga per veterem culinam, properabat lambere summum tectum. Tum videres convivas avidos servosque timentes rapere cœnam, atque omnes velle restinguere. Ex illo loco Apulia incipit ostentare mihi notos montes, quos Atabulus torret; & quos nunquam erêpsimus, nisi villa Trivicina recepisset nos, non sine lacrymoso fumo, camino urente ramos udos cum foliis. Hic ego stultissimus expecto usque ad mediam noctem puellam mendacem: somnus tamen aufert me intentum veneri; tum somnia immundo visu maculant nocturnam vestem, ventremque supinum. Hinc rapimur viginti & quatuor millia, mansuri oppidulo, quod non est (licet) dicere versu; perfacile tamen est dicere signis: aqua vilissima

* produximus, Bentl. † Penè, macros, arsit, turdos dum versat in igni, Id.

† hic, Id. || dein, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

34 Canusium. Formerly one of the most considerable cities in Italy, now almost sunk to nothing. It stood upon the river *Aufidus*, three miles from the famous *Cannæ*. It was first built by *Diomedes*, who, after the *Trojan* war landing in *Apulia*, subdued the inhabitants, and built several cities

35 Rubi. A small town in *Apulia*, 20 miles distant from *Canusium*.

36 Bari. A city of *Apulia*, upon the sea-coast, 20 miles from *Rubi*.

37 Gnatia. Half-way between *Bari* and *Brundisium*. It was also upon the sea-coast.

Hence

gave occasion to a great deal of mirth and laughter; by endeavouring to persuade us, that the incense burnt of itself in the porch of their temple without fire. Let superstitious Jews give credit to such fables, I am of a different humor. For I have learnt³⁹ that the Gods lead a peaceful undisturbed life; nor, if any thing wonderful happens in nature, are we to imagine that the indignant Gods interpose from their lofty mansions. At Brundisium⁴⁰ we ended our long journey; and here also I conclude my tedious recital.

ANNOTATIONS:

Hence Horace says of it, *iratis extructa lymphis*. This phrase further denotes the superstition of the inhabitants; and, in this view, *Gnatia lymphis iratis extructa* is the same as if he had said *Gnatia lymphatica*. The *Lymphatici*, among the ancients, were enthusiasts, addicted to miracles and wonder-working. The miracle Horace here mentions is also taken notice of by Pliny, in the second Book of his Natural History.

³⁸ Let superstitious Jews, &c. *Credat Judæus Apella*. The word *Apella* has very much divided interpreters. Scaliger, and others, maintain, that it was a proper name common to a great many Jews at Rome. Some again think it rather a compound word, for *sine pelle*, circumcised. Dacier is of opinion, that Horace had in his eye the miracle of Elias who made fire to descend from heaven, and

The KEY.

IN this Satire, Horace gives us an account of his journey to Brundisium, in company with Mæcenas, Cocceius, and Capito. The civil differences between Antony and Augustus at this time run high; the former had laid siege to Brundisium. This journey was undertaken to settle matters, and bring them to an agreement. It was here that the treaty of peace was signed, called the treaty of Brundisium; in which Octavia, the sister of Augustus, was promised in marriage to Antony. This, according to Dacier, was in the 713th year of the city, and 26th of the poet's Age, who here imitates

SATIRE VI.

True nobility is to be estimated from virtue and uprightness of manners. He describes his great happiness in a private station.

IT is not your way, Mæcenas, because descended from one of the most illustrious of the Lydian princes, that settled in Tuscany;

Iratis extructa dedit risusque jocosque;
 Dum flammâ sine, thura liquefcere limine sacro
 Persuadere cupit. Credat Judæus Apella, 100
 Non ego. Namque Deos didici securum agere
 ævum:

Nec, si quid miri faciat natura, Deos id
 Tristes ex alto cœli demittere tecto.

Brundisium longæ finis chartæque viæque est.
longæ chartæque viæque.

*dedit risus jocosque; dum
 cupit persuadere, thura
 liquefcere limine sacro
 sine flammâ. Judæus
 Apella credat, non ego.
 Namque didici Deos a-
 gere securum ævum: ne-
 que, si natura faciat quid
 miri, Deos tristes id de-
 mittere ex alto tecto cœ-
 li. Brundisium finis est*

A N N O T A T I O N S.

and consume the sacrifice. The Jews, dence, and left the government of the
 who regarded these miracles as undoubted world to chance.
 proofs of the truth of their religion, were ⁴⁰ Brundisium. A city of Calabria. Ho-
 accounted by the heathens a credulous race calls it the end of a long journey, as
 and superstitious people. being 370 miles distant from Rome. This

³⁹ For I have learnt. Horace was a fol-
 lower of Epicurus, who denied a Provi-

he finished, however, in 15 days.

The KEY.

particularly the third Satire of *Lucilius*; in which he describes a
 journey to *Capua*, and thence to the Straits of *Sicily*. This is
 generally allowed to be one of the best performances of our poet,
 and a perfect model for narration. Some indeed have found
 fault with the description of the contest between *Sarmentus* and
Cicerrus; and can find nothing of that pleasantry and mirth in it
 which *Horace* speaks of: but this, probably, is owing to their not
 entering into the poet's design, and confounding, as *Dacier* expresses
 it, the ridiculous with the agreeable. Whoever wants a more
 particular defence, may consult his remarks upon this passage.

S A T I R E VI.

*Vera nobilitas virtute Et morum honestate metienda est; suam
 conditionem in vitâ privatâ felicissimam esse ostendit.*

NON quia, Mæcenas, Lydorum quidquid
 Etruscos
 incoluit fines, nemo generosior est te;

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E

OR D O.
O Mæcenas, non
 quia nemo Lydo-
 rum, quidquid incoluit
 fines Etruscos, generosior
 est

cany¹; and that your ancestors, both by the father's and mother's side, have had the command of mighty armies; it is not (I say) your way, like the greater part of the nobility, to regard
 5 with a sneer men of low birth²; for instance, me the son of a slave made free: on the contrary, you think it of no moment from whom any one is descended, provided he be an honest worthy man³; and rightly judge, that before the reign of ignoble Tullius⁴, there have been often men of obscure birth distinguished
 10 by their probity, and whose merits have recommended them to the highest employments: that, on the other hand, Lævinus, though of the race of Valerius, who obliged haughty Tarquin to fly his throne and kingdom, has never lived in any esteem, even with the people themselves, whose humor you are no stranger to; who
 15 often bestow honors upon men the least deserving, who blindly follow common fame, and are struck with the titles and the images of a long train of ancestors carried in procession. How then ought we to judge, whose sentiments differ so widely from the vulgar? For it is beyond dispute⁵, that the people following their own bent would prefer a Lævinus to Decius⁶, a man of mean descent;
 20 and that Appius the censor would reject me, whatever virtues I could boast of, unless descended of a father that was a freeman; and indeed would in this do right, since I could not rest in my own skin. But men, in excuse⁷ for their vanity, tell us, that glory holds equally attached to her splendid chariot the ignoble and the lofty. Say then, Tullius⁸, what have you gained by re-

fuming

ANNOTATIONS.

¹ *Lydian princes, &c.* It was an ancient tradition, that the *Tuscans* were descended from the *Lydians*, a colony of whom had settled in that country. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, however, opposeth that opinion, and assures us, that they were natives of the place, having nothing common with other nations, either in their language or customs. Whatever reason the historian might have had for determining so positively in this matter, most of the poets in the *Augustan* age seem to have gone into the common tradition; for, besides what *Horace* says here and in his *Odes*, we find both *Virgil* and *Propertius* speaking of the *Tuscans* as descended of the *Lydians*. Thus, *Virgil* calls the *Tiber* the *Lydian river*; and *Propertius*, Book III. *Mœnas eques Etrusco de sanguine regum.*

² *To regard with a sneer men of low birth.* The praise which *Horace* here gives his patron is of the most delicate kind, and serves to raise in us the highest idea of his natural good sense and temper. None but truly great minds continue the same under all changes of fortune. As they look upon birth, riches, and honors, to be merely ex-

ternal, and what no way constitute the man; so they think true merit never the less valuable, for being destitute of these outward advantages. *Suspendere aliquem naso adunco*, was the same among the *Romans*, as what we mean by *looking at a man with contempt, with a sneer*; for, in this case, we are apt to toss up the head, and use a certain contortion of the nose. It is in this sense that *Persius*, speaking of our poet, says,

Callidus excusso populum suspendere naso.

³ *Honest worthy man.* *Ingenuus*, the word used in the original, is often taken for one that is free, and born of parents that were free, as afterwards in this same Satire. But here, *Horace's* reasoning requires it to be taken in the sense in which I have explained it.

⁴ *The reign of ignoble Tullius.* *Horace* proves here, by several examples, that true merit does not consist in birth; that often men of obscure descent distinguish themselves by their worth, and are advanced to the highest honors: such, for example, was *Servius Tullius*, whose virtue raised him to be king of *Rome*, though his mother was no more than a slave. Hence *Horace* calls his govern-

Nec quòd avus tibi maternus fuit atque paternus,
 Olim qui magnis legionibus imperitârint *;
 Ut plerique solent, naso suspendis adunco
 Ignotos, ut me libertino patre natum :
 Cùm referre negas quali sit quisque parente
 Natus, dum ingenuus ; persuades hoc tibi verè,
 Ante potestatem Tullî atque ignobile regnum,
 Multos sæpè viros nullis majoribus ortos
 Et vixisse probos, amplis & honoribus auctos :
 Contrà, Lævinum Valerî genus, undè Superbus
 Tarquinius regno pulsus fuit †, unius assis
 Non unquam pretio pluris licuisse, notante
 Judice, quem nôsti ‡, populo ; qui stultus honores
 Sæpè dat indignis, & famæ servit ineptus ;
 Qui stupet in titulis & imaginibus. Quid oportet
 Nos ** facere, à vulgo longè †† latèque remotos ?
 Namque esto, populus Lævino mallet honorem
 Quàm Decio mandare novo ; censorque †† mo-
 veret

Appius, ingenuo si non essem patre natus ;
 Vel meritò, quoniam in propriâ non pelle quiessem.
 Sed fulgente trahit constrictos gloria curru
 Non minùs ignotos generosis. Quò tibi, Tulli |||,

facere, longè latèque remotos à vulgo ? Namque esto, certum, populus mallet mandare honorem Lævino quàm Decio novo ; censorque Appius moveret me, si non essem natus patre ingenuo ; vel (equidem) meritò, quia non quiessem in propriâ pelle. Sed gloria trahit constrictos fulgente suo curru ignotos non minùs generosis. Quò tibi est, Tulli,

* imperitarent, *Bentl.* † fugit, *Id.* ‡ quo nôsti, *Id.* ** Vos, *Id.* †† longèque, *Id.* †† cenforne, *Id.* ||| Tulli, *Id.*

A N N O T A T I O N S.

government ignobile regnum. That, on the contrary, men of the first rank, when they degenerate from their ancestors, lose the advantages of their birth, and are held in no esteem. Thus *Lævinus*, though descended of *Valerius Poplicola*, who helped to dethrone *Tarquin*, yet, as he possessed none of the great virtues of his ancestors, never lived in any degree of reputation.

5 For it is beyond dispute. This passage is attended with no small difficulty; but as it would be tedious to recount the different opinions, and the reasons urged to support them, I shall refer the reader to *Torrentius*, *Dacier*, and *Sanadon*, who have treated largely of it. It is sufficient for me to observe, that I have chosen to follow *Dacier's* judgment, as agreeing best with the whole train of *Horace's* reasoning. *Lævinus*, says he, has never lived in any esteem with the people, notwithstanding their natural bias to birth and pomp, which goes so far with them, that they

would rather bestow honors upon a man who had nothing but his nobility to recommend him, that upon one of the greatest worth, if ignobly born.

6 *Decius*. The first of his family who had been consul ; one of the greatest love to his country, who devoted himself to its service, in a battle against the *Latins*, in the year of the city 417. His son followed his example 40 years afterwards. *Appius Claudius* was censor in the year 443, and remarkably rigid in the execution of his office.

7 But men in excuse, &c. *Horace* in the foregoing verse had observed, that *Appius* justly rejected him on account of his birth. Here he mentions the excuses that men offer in their own behalf. Glory has the same charms for the poor as the rich ; why then may not they be allowed to aspire after it ?

8 Say then, *Tullus*. He here remarks

- suming the laticlave which you had been obliged to quit, and
 25 becoming a tribune? Envy has increased, which you might
 have escaped in a private station. For when any man is mad
 enough to conceal half his leg⁹ in black buskins, and adorn his
 breast with the laticlave, people naturally ask, What man is this?
 who was his father? Thus when any one is haunted with the
 30 same disease as Barrus, and wants of all things to pass for a
 pretty fellow; go where he will, he raises among the young girls
 a curiosity to dissect him from head to foot: they pass sentence
 upon his face, his leg, his foot, his teeth, his hair; in a word,
 nothing escapes them: in like manner, when a citizen pretends
 35 to take upon him the care of the city, the empire, Italy, and the
 temples of the Gods; this sets all the world upon inquiring
 into his birth and family, whether he is not born of a mother
 that had been a slave. Dare you, the son of a Syrus¹⁰, Deme-
 trius, or Dionysius, sentence citizens to be thrown from the
 40 Tarpeian rock, or to be delivered up to cruel Cadmus¹¹? But my
 colleague Novius¹² (say you) is a step behind me; he is only what
 my father was. And for this reason you, no doubt, fancy your-
 self a Paulus, or a Messala. Novius, were the Forum crowded
 with two hundred drays, and three funerals, with all their pom-
 pous train, could exalt his throat above the horns and trum-
 pets¹³, and drown the tumult in his thundering voice; and
 this must be acknowledged no small degree of merit.
- 45 Now I return to myself the son of a freedman, whom all the
 world derides, because the son of a freedman: now, Mæcenas,
 chiefly because I am admitted to your table¹⁴; formerly, be-
 cause as tribune¹⁵ I had the command of a Roman legion.

But

A N N O T A T I O N S.

the troubles and inconveniences that at-
 tend the pursuits of ambition. This *Tul-*
lius was a man of low birth, and abandoned
 morals, whom *Cæsar* had obliged to quit
 the laticlave for siding with *Pompey*. After
Cæsar's death, he resumed the laticlave,
 and got himself made tribune of the people.

9 To conceal half his leg. *Nigris medium*
impediit cruris pellibus. For the senators wore
 shoes of a black color, that reached up to
 the middle of the leg. *Rubenius*, however,
 thinks it only meant of four black straps,
 which, he says, fastened the senators' shoes,
 and were tied pretty high on the leg.

10 *Daræyou*, the son of *Syrus*, &c. These
 are all names of slaves. *Horace*, in this,
 reproaches *Tullius* with his mean birth.
 A Roman might naturally ask, How could
 the son of a slave presume to take upon
 the government of freemen, and sen-
 tence them to punishment?

11 *Tarpeian rock, Cadmus*. Criminals, at
Rome, were often sentenced to be thrown
 from the *Tarpeian rock*. This was some-
 times done by a decree of the senate,
 sometimes by order of the tribunes. *Cad-*
mus was a lictor, one of those who carried
 the ax and fasces before the consul, whose
 office it was to punish criminals.

12 *Novius*. There were two of this name,
 brothers. He, here spoken of, was proba-
 bly tribune at the same time with *Tullius*.

13 *Above the horns and trumpets*. The fu-
 nerals of the Romans were always preceded
 by trumpets and flutes. The trumpets
 were used in the funerals of men, and the
 flutes in those of children. This whole
 passage is of the most cutting raillery, as if
Novius had had no other merit than what
 consisted in the strength of his lungs, and
 the Romans had advanced to the tribuneship

a man

Sumere depositum clavum, fierique tribunum? 25
Invidia accrevit, privato quæ minor esset.

Nam ut quisque infans nigris medium impediit
crus

Pellibus, & latum demisit pectore clavum,
Audit continuò; Quis homo hic est *? quo patre
natus?

Ut si qui ægrotet quo morbo Barrus, haberi 30

Et † cupiat formosus; eat quacunque, puellis

Injiciat curam quærendi singula; quali

Sit facie, surâ quali, pede, dente, capillo:

Sic qui promittit cives, urbem sibi curæ,

Imperium fore, & Italiam, & delubra Deorum; 34

Quo patre sit natus, num ignotâ matre inhonestus,

Omnes mortales curare & quærere cogit.

Tunc Syri, Damæ, aut Dionysii filius, audes

Dejicere è saxo cives, aut tradere Cadmo?

At Novius collega gradu post me sedet uno; 40

Namque est ille, pater quod erat meus. Hoc
tibi Paulus,

Et Messala videris? At hic, si plaustra ducenta,

Concurrentque foro tria funera, magna sonabit

Cornua quod vincatque tubas; saltem tenet hoc
nos.

Nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum, 45

Quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum:

Nunc, quia, Mæcenas, tibi sum † convictor; at olim,

Quòd mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.

plaustra, triaque funera concurrent foro, hic sonabit magna quod vincat cornua tubasque: hoc saltem tenet nos. Nunc redeo ad me natum libertino patre, quem natum libertino patre omnes rodunt: nunc, Mæcenas, quia sum convictor tibi; at olim, quòd legio Romana pareret mihi tribuno.

* aut, Bentl.

† Ut, Id.

‡ sum tibi, Mæcenas, Id.

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a man who was only fit to be a public crier.

14 *Admitted to your table.* Dacier, upon this passage, cites a fragment of a letter written by Augustus to Mæcenas, which does great honor to our poet. *Antè ipse sufficere scribendis literis amicorum. Nunc occupatissimus & infirmus, Horatium nostrum te cupio adducere; veniet igitur ab istâ parasitica mensâ ad banc regiam, & nos in epistolis scribendis adjuvabit.* "Hitherto I have been able myself to write letters to my friends: but now, oppressed with business, and under a decay of health, I beg you will send me Horace. He must quit that parasitical table of yours for a royal one, and assist me in writing my letters."

He gives us also the fragment of a letter written by Augustus to Horace himself, upon his refusing the office of secretary, which he had been pressed to accept of. *Sume tibi aliquid juris apud me, tanquam si convictor mihi fueris. Rectè enim & non temerè feceris; quoniam id usus mihi esse tecum volui, si per valetudinem tuam fieri posset.* "In every thing use the same freedom with me, as if you were partner of my table; nor fancy that I will take it in the least amiss; for you know very well that I incline you should live with me in this manner, if so be your health will permit."

15 *Tribune.* He had been military tribune under Brutus at the battle of Philippi.

E 3

16 *Quing*

But these two are widely different ; for however justly I might have been envied the honor of commanding a legion, I cannot
 50 with the same justice be envied my place in your friendship ; who grant that happiness only to merit, and are not swayed by importunity or ambition. The pleasure of your friendship was not owing to any good fortune of mine ¹⁶ ; for chance had no hand in it : my best friend Virgil, and after him Varius, spoke
 55 well of me to you. When I came into your presence, I spoke but little and with a broken voice (for respect and a natural fearfulness held me under restraint) ; I did not pretend that I was descended of an illustrious race, or rode round my paternal inheritance upon a horse of Saturum ¹⁷, but told you ingenu-
 60 ously what I was. You answered in few words, according to your custom ; I retired ; and after nine months you send for me again, and desire me to be of the number of your friends. This I esteemed a great honor, that I was thought deserving of your regard, who are so nice a judge of merit, and value men not for their birth, but for honesty and an unswayed life.
 65 If my behaviour is without reproach ; if I can be charged with but few faults and those of a less offensive kind, like a well-proportioned body, which, notwithstanding some slight blots, does not fail to please ; if I am free from the reproach of avarice, baseness, and all infamous commerce ¹⁸ ; if, in fine (to say thus
 70 much in my own praise) I am honest, inoffensive, and beloved by my friends : I owe all this to my father's care ; who, though possessed only of a small farm, would not send me to Flavius's ¹⁹ school ; whither the sons of several great centurions went, carrying on their arms their counters and tables, with the computation of the interest any sum would yield to the day of the
 75 Ides ²⁰ : but had the spirit to carry me himself to Rome, that I might be instructed in those arts, in which senators and knights trained up their children ; so that any one, who amidst so great a people had beheld my habit, and the slaves that followed me, would have concluded that so great an expence must have been
 80 furnished out of the inheritance of a long train of ancestors. My father

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¹⁶ *Owing to any good fortune of mine.* This sentiment is noble and modest, and tends equally to the honor of the patron and poet. Great men ought never to be guided by chance and caprice in their friendships ; they should have a quick eye to discern merit, and, wherever they meet with it, encourage it by their protection. It was not owing to fortune, that Horace was first made acquainted with *Mæcenas* ; he was recommended by some friends, who gave

his true character ; which *Mæcenas* found so worthy of his notice, that he had, ever afterwards, the greatest tenderness for him.

¹⁷ *Horse of Saturum.* A city upon the borders of the *Volsci* in Old Latium, near which there was a morass, named *Palus Satura*, famous for fine horses.

¹⁸ *Infamous Commerce.* *Mala Lustra.* *Lustra* signifies properly the dens or lurking-places of beasts, *à luto*. Hence it was transferred

Diffimile hoc illi est; quia non, ut forsit honorem
Jure mihi invidet quivis, ita te quoque ami-
cum;

Præsertim cautum dignos assumere, pravâ
Ambitione procul. Felicem dicere non hoc
Me possum *, casu quod te fortitus amicum;
Nulla etenim mihi † te fors obtulit: optimus olim
Virgilius, post hunc Varius, dixere quid essem. 55

Ut veni coram, singultim pauca locutus
(Infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari);
Non ego me claro natum patre, non ego circum
Me Satureiano vectari rura caballo, 59

Sed quod eram, narro. Respondes, ut tuus est mos,
Pauca; abeo; & revocas nono post mense, jubesque
Esse in amicorum numero. Magnum hoc ego ducō,
Quod placui tibi, qui turpi secernis honestum,
Non patre præclaro, sed vitâ & pectore puro.

Atqui si vitiis mediocribus ac mea paucis 65
Mendosa est natura, alioqui recta (velut si
Egregio inspersos reprêndas corpore nævos);
Si neque avaritiam, neque sordes, ac ‡ mala lustra
Objiciet verè quisquam mihi; purus, & insons
(Ut me collaudem) si & vivo carus amicis: 70

Causa fuit pater his; qui macro pauper agello
Noluit in Flavî ludum me mittere; magni
Quo pueri magnis è centurionibus orti,
Lævo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto,
Ibant octonis referentes Idibus æra: 75

Sed puerum est ausus Romam portare, docendum
Artes, quas doceat quivis eques atque senator
Semet prognatos; vestem, servosque sequentes
In magno ut populo si quis vidisset, avitâ
Ex re præberi sumptus mihi crederet illos. 80

Hoc dissimile est illi; quia ut (quamvis) quivis forsit jure invidet honorem mihi, non ita te quoque amicum; cautum assumere præsertim dignos, pravâ ambitione procul pulsâ. Non possum dicere me felicem esse ob hoc, quod fortitus sum te amicum casu; etenim nulla fors obtulit te mihi; olim optimus Virgilius, post hunc Varius, dixere quid essem. Ut veni coram, locutus sum pauca singultim (namque infans pudor prohibebat profari plura); ego non narro me natum claro patre, ego non narro me vectari circum rura caballo Satureiano, sed narro quod eram. Respondes pauca, ut mos tuus est; abeo; & revocas post nono mense, jubesque me esse in numero amicorum. Ego ducō hoc magnum, quod placui tibi, qui secernis honestum à turpi, non præclaro patre, sed puro pectore & vitâ. Atqui si mea natura mendosa est vitiis mediocribus & paucis, alioqui recta (velut si reprêndas nævos inspersos egregio corpore); si neque quisquam objiciet verè avaritiam mihi, neque sordes, ac mala lustra; si (ut collaudem me) vi-

vo purus, & insons, & carus amicis: pater fuit causa his; qui pauper macro agello noluit mittere me in ludum Flavii; quod magni pueri orti è magnis centurionibus ibant, suspensi loculos tabulamque lævo lacerto, & referentes æra octonis Idibus: sed ausus est portare me puerum Romam, docendum artes, quas quivis eques atque senator doceat prognatos semet; adeo ut si quis in magno populo vidisset vestem, servosque sequentes, crederet sumptus illos præberi mihi ex avitâ re.

* possunt, Bentl.

† tibi me, Id.

‡ aut, Id.

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ferred to express places of bad repute, they being for the most part under ground.

19 *Flavius*. This *Flavius* was master of a school at *Venusia*, where he taught to read, write, and cast accounts.

20 *To the day of the Ides*. Horace, in this passage, points out the avarice of some of the great men of his time, who taught their children chiefly accounts, and would not allow them so much as a servant to attend

E 4

them

father himself was a watchful guardian over all my actions, and kept a strict eye upon my teachers. In fine, he preserved me chaste (the chief honor of virtue), and guarded me not only from base actions, but even from suspicion and reproach. In
 85 thus expending his all upon my education, he was under no concern lest it should be objected to him afterwards as his fault, if I had no better fortune than to become a crier, or collector ²¹ of the customs, as he himself was; nor could I have complained of it as owing to him. It is for this very reason that he now deserves the greater praise, and that I find myself under stronger obligations to make acknowledgment. I can never, while in my senses, forget the respect due to such
 90 a father; nor excuse myself after the manner of some, who tell you that it is not to be imputed to them as a fault, that they are not descended of illustrious parents. My sentiments and language differ widely from those. For did nature permit us to
 95 recal the past age from a certain period, and choose every one at pleasure parents to his taste and fancy: I, contented with my own, would reject such as had been dignified with the fasces and chairs of state: this vulgar minds may count madness; but you, Mæcenas, will doubtless allow it prudence in me,
 100 to refuse a burden I am not taught to bear. Were it so, I must be continually studying how to increase my estate, and enlarge the number of my acquaintances: attendants are to be sought after, that I may not appear abroad or ride out into the country alone: servants and horses must be subsisted; coaches be bought ²²:
 105 whereas in my present estate I may, when the fancy takes me, ride, even to Tarentum, upon my little mule; wounded behind by my wallet, and having his sides galled by the unskilful rider. None will reproach me with the meanness, wherewith you, Tullius, are charged, when, though prætor, you travel the Tiburtine road followed by no more than five servants, some carrying your wine-vessels, others furniture for your bed-chamber. It is thus that I live more at my ease than you, and a thousand others of senatorian rank. I walk alone, wherever my humor leads me; and ask the price of herbs and barley: to-
 wards

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them to school. *Ostionis referentes Idibus ara.* This is differently interpreted, some making it refer to the monthly payment of schoolmasters, which they suppose was upon the Ides. But as the poet is here censuring the avarice of those centurions, I am better pleased with *Dacier's* explanation, who makes *referre ara Idibus*, the same as *revoare computationem summae ad Idus*; "To calculate the interest of any sum from the Calends to the Ides." For money was lent by the month, and such

usurers as wanted double profit, lent their money for half the month, that is, till the day of the Ides. The Ides are here called *ostionæ*, because they happened just eight days after the Nones. *Centurio* was the captain of a century, or company of a hundred men. The *magni centuriones*, here spoken of, are thought to be the same as the captains of the first companies of the legions, properly called *primipili*, whose authority was almost equal to that of military tribunes.

SAT. VI. QUINTI HORATII FLACCI 73

Ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnes
Circum doctores aderat. Quid multa? pudicum
(Qui primus virtutis honos) servavit ab omni
Non solum facto, verum opprobrio quoque turpi:
Nec timuit sibi ne vitio quis verteret olim, 85
Si præco parvas, aut (ut fuit ipse) coactor
Mercedes sequerer; neque ego essem questus. Ob
hoc * nunc

Laus illi debetur, & à me gratia major.
Nil me poeniteat sanum patris hujus; eoque
Non, ut magna dolo factum negat esse suo pars, 90
Quod non ingenuos habeat clarosque parentes,
Sic me defendam. Longè mea discrepat istis
Et vox & ratio. Nam si natura juberet
A certis annis ævum remeare peractum, 94
Atque alios legere ad fastum quoscunque parentes
Optaret sibi quisque: meis contentus, honestos
Fascibus & sellis nollem mihi sumere; demens
Judicio vulgi, sanus fortasse tuo; quod
Nollem onus, haud unquam solitus, portare mo-
lestum.

Nam mihi continuo major quærenda foret res, 100
Atque salutandi plures: ducendus & unus
Et comes alter, uti ne solus rursus peregrève
Exirem: plures calones atque caballi
Pascendi; ducenda petorrita: nunc mihi curto
Ire licet mulo, vel, si libet, usque Tarentum; 105
Mantica cui lumbos onere ulceret, atque eques
armos.

Objiciet nemo sordes mihi, quas tibi, Tulli †,
Cum Tiburte viâ prætorem quinque sequuntur
Te pueri, lasanum portantes ænophorumque.
Hoc ego commodius quàm tu, præclare senator, 110
Multis atque aliis vivo. Quacunque libido est,
Incedo solus: percunctor quanti olus ac far:

ball. pascendi sunt; petorrita (sunt) ducenda: nunc si libet, licet mihi ire, vel usque Tarentum, curto mulo; cui mantica ulceret lumbos onere, atque eques (ulceret) armos. Nemo objiciet mihi sordes, quas objiciunt tibi, Tulli, cum quinque pueri, portantes lasanum ænophorumque, sequuntur te prætorem Tiburte viâ. Hoc ego commodius vivo quàm tu, ô præclare senator, atque multis aliis. Incedo solus, quacunque libido est (fert): percunctor quanti olus ac far veneant;

* ad hæc, Bentl.

† Tilli, Id.

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21 Crier, or collector. Si præco parvas. Præco was properly a crier employed in proclaiming public sales and auctions, and coactor a collector of the customs. When Horace's father carried his son to Rome, to educate him, he sold his little farm at

Venusium, and bought an office in the customs. This is what the author of Horace's Life calls exactionum coactor. Parvas mercedes are therefore the profits of that employment, which could not be very considerable.

22 Coaches

Ipse aderat mihi custos incorruptissimus circum omnes doctores. Quid multa? servavit me pudicum non solum ab omni facto, verum quoque ab omni opprobrio turpi (qui primus honos est virtutis): nec timuit ne quis olim vitio verteret sibi, si ego præco, aut coactor (ut ipse fuit) sequerer parvas mercedes; neque ego questus essem. Ob hoc laus nunc debetur illi, & major gratia à me. Nil poeniteat me sanum (existentem) hujus patris; eoque non sic me defendam, ut magna pars quæ negat factum esse suo dolo, quod non habeat ingenuos clarosque parentes. Mea & vox & ratio longè discrepat istis. Nam si natura juberet ævum peractum remeare à certis annis, atque quisque optaret legere sibi quoscunque alios parentes ad fastum: ego, contentus meis, nollem sumere mihi parentes honestos fascibus & sellis; demens equidem judicio vulgi, sanus fortasse tuo; quod, haud unquam solitus, nollem portare onus molestum. Nam major res continuo quærenda foret mihi, atque plures salutandi: unus & alter comes ducendus est, uti ne solus exirem rursus peregrève: plures calones atque ca-

wards night I wander round the forum²³, and circus crouded with sharpers²⁴: sometimes I listen to the fortune-tellers: when
 115 tired, I return home to my dish of pulse, beans, and pancakes²⁵. Supper is served up by three slaves; on my sideboard of marble are a bottle and two cups; next these a bason, bottle with water, and cup for libations²⁶, all Campanian ware. I then go to sleep; free from any anxiety that I must appear early next day
 120 before the statue of Marfyas²⁷, whose threatening air speaks his aversion at the younger Novius. I rise at ten o'clock, dress, and wander about: if not in the humour to walk, I amuse myself with reading or writing²⁸. When tired of this, I anoint myself with oil, not such as I have taken by stealth from the lamps²⁹
 125 like nasty Natta. But when the sun by his scorching beams reminds me that it is the proper time for bathing³⁰, I retire from the raging heat of the dog-star. After dining moderately, enough to prevent hunger till night, I continue the rest of the day at home, and pass the time as fancy directs. This is the
 130 life of men free from wretched ambition. It is thus that I live contented with my lot, and happier far³¹, than if my uncle, father or grandfather had borne the office of quæstor.

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²² *Coaches be bought.* *Ducenda.* *Petorritum* was a kind of chariot with four wheels. Some derive them from the Greeks, others from the Gauls. *Mulo curto*, probably a mule from whom the tail is cut. Mules were in less esteem than horses, and seldom or never used by gentlemen. *Cicero* rallies *Petus* upon this head in the 18th Epistle of his 9th Book. *Potes mulo isto, quem tibi reliquum dicis esse, quum cantherium comedisti, Romam perveni:* "You may be
 23 carried to Rome upon the mule you have
 24 remaining, since you have eaten up
 25 your horse."

²³ *Forum.* This towards night was filled with idle people, who came hither to walk and amuse themselves.

²⁴ *Circus crouded with sharpers.* *Fallacem circum.* The great circus between the *Palatine* and *Aventine* Hills. He gives it the epithet *fallax*, because it was a place of rendezvous for conjurers, interpreters of dreams, and such-like impostors.

²⁵ *Pancakes.* *Laganum* was a kind of cake made of flower, oil, and honey.

²⁶ *Bason, and cup for libations.* *Adstat ecbinus vilis, cum paterâ guttus.* *Ecbinus* was a bason wherein to wash the hands. *Guttus* a little bottle with a narrow neck, whence

the water issued out into the bason by drops. *Fabius Pistor* explains this in his 16th Book. *Aquam manibus pedibusque dato: polubrum sinistrâ manu teneo, dextrâ vasum cum aquâ.* *Patera* here signifies a cup for libations; the tables of the ancients were never without this. *Virgil.*

Paterâ libamus & auro.

²⁷ *Marfyas.* In the Roman forum, near to the rostra, was the statue of *Marfyas*. Here the judges, pleaders, and parties assembled. This *Marfyas* having challenged *Apollo* to a trial of skill upon the flute, was overcome and flea'd alive by the conqueror. The statue had one hand raised up. *Horace* wittily supposes this threatening posture represented by the statue, to shew his aversion to *Novius*.

²⁸ *Reading or writing.* *Aut ego lecto, aut scripto.* *Lecto*, says *Dacier*, for *lectito*, *scripto* for *scriptito*. Some think they are ablatives. *Cicero*, in one of his Epistles, describes his way of life much of the same kind. *Lib. ix. Ep. 20. Ubi salutatio defluxit, literis me involvo, aut scribo, aut lego. Veniunt etiam qui me audiunt quasi doctum hominem; quia sum paulo quàm ipsi doctior.* *Inde corpori omne tempus datur.* "When the
 29 croud of company is dispersed, I betake
 30 myself

Fallacem circum, vespertinumque pererro
 Sæpè forum: affisto divinis: inde domum me
 Ad porri & ciceris refero laganique catinum. 115
 Cæna ministratur pueris tribus; & lapis albus
 Pocula cum cyatho duo sustinet; adstat echinus
 Vilis, cum paterâ guttus, Campana supellex.
 Deinde eo dormitum; non sollicitus mihi quòd cras
 Surgendum sit manè, obeundus Marfya, qui se 120
 Vultum ferre negat Noviorum posse minoris.
 Ad quartam jaceo; post hanc vagor, aut ego lecto,
 Aut scripto, quod me tacitum juvet. Ungor olivo,
 Non quo fraudatis immundus Natta lucernis.
 Ast ubi me fessum sol acrior ire lavatum 125
 Admonuit, fugio rabiosi tempora signi*.
 Pransus non avidè, quantum interpellet inani
 Ventre diem durare, domesticus otior. Hæc est
 Vita solutorum miserâ ambitione gravique.
 His me consolor, victurum suaviùs, ac si 130
 Quæstor avus, pater atque meus patruusq; fuissent†.

pererro sæpè fallacem
 circum, vespertinumque
 forum: affisto divinis:
 inde domum refero me
 ad catinum porri, &
 ciceris laganique. Cæna
 ministratur pueristibus;
 & lapis albus sustinet
 duo pocula cum cyatho;
 vilis echinus adstat, gut-
 tus cum paterâ, supellex
 Campana. Deinde eo
 dormitum; non sollicitus
 quòd surgendum sit mihi
 cras manè, obeundus
 Marfya, qui negat se
 posse ferre vultum mi-
 noris Noviorum. Jaceo
 ad quartam (horam);
 post hanc vagor, aut ego
 lecto, aut scripto, quod
 me tacitum juvet. Un-
 gor olivo, non quo im-
 mundus Natta fraudatis
 lucernis. Ast ubi sol
 acrior admonuit me fessum

sum ire lavatum, fugio tempora rabiosi signi. Pransus non avidè, quantum interpellet durare diem inani ventre, otior domesticus. Hæc est vita solutorum miserâ gravique ambitione. Consolor me his, victurum suaviùs, ac si meus avus, pater patruusque fuissent quæstor.

* campum lusumque trigonem, Bentr.

† fuisset, Id.

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"myself to study, and am employed in
 "either reading or writing. Many come
 "to hear me as a man of learning; be-
 "cause forsooth I know a little more than
 "themselves. The rest of the day is ta-
 "ken up in diversion and the necessary
 "care of the body."

²⁹ Taken by stealth from the lamps. This
 is one of the bitterest strokes of satire,
 and opens to us a new species of avarice.
 Natta was a surname of one of the branches
 of the family of the Pinarj.

³⁰ Time for bathing, Dacier thinks that
 this ought not to be understood of any par-
 ticular time of the day, but of the season
 during the great heats. But this is with-
 out foundation; Horace is describing here
 his ordinary course of life through the day.
 We ought therefore to explain this of the
 hour of bathing; and what follows in the
 same line, may be supposed to determine
 the season in which bathing was most used.
 Some commentators indeed have adopted
 another reading:

Fugio campum lusumque trigonem.

But this is too remote from the text to be
 admitted.

³¹ And happier far. This is the con-
 clusion of the whole, and what he has
 all along been endeavouring to establish.
 Though the son of a freedman, yet his
 way of life, free and unconstrained, gave
 him greatly the advantage over those
 whose greatness and riches was little else
 than a burden. What a beautiful con-
 trast have we here? On the one side a
 picture of high life, tumultuous and
 full of anxiety, where ambition draws
 them like so many slaves chained to the
 chariot of Fortune; on the other, the
 calm and settled condition of a private
 life, where one enjoys an undisturbed
 tranquillity; pleasures without alloy, and
 where he may indulge himself in all
 innocent amusements, without fear of
 censure.

The

The KEY.

OF all the writings of antiquity, there are none that afford us better, or more useful instructions, than those of *Horace*. We there learn to rate things not by appearance or show, but according to their real value. Vulgar minds are apt to be taken with pomp and mere outside: a splendid equipage, numerous attendants, power and birth, at once raise their admiration; they never inquire farther, or weigh the real qualities of the persons to whom these belong. On the contrary, a man who is destitute of these advantages, whatever his merit may be in other respects, they make no account of. But *Horace* demonstrates, in this Satire, that nobility and true greatness does not consist in these outward appendages, but is to be estimated from a man's personal qualifications. Men of low birth and private stations are often happier, and more deserving of praise, than those of the most illustrious rank: and such as are good judges

SATIRE VII.

A description of the squabble between *Rupilius*, surnamed the King, and *Persius*.

I Believe there is not a blind stroller or barber about town, but has heard in what manner the mongrel *Persius*¹ retorted the venom and spleen thrown out against him by the outlaw *Rupilius*², surnamed the King. This *Persius*, a man considerably rich, carried on a great trade at *Clazomene*³, where he had also
5 a troublesome suit with the King; one of an obstinate stubborn temper, and in stiffness rather an over-match for the outlaw himself; insupportably vain and presumptuous, and of such cutting raillery, as to out-run even *Barrus* and *Sifenna*⁴.

But to return to the King. After all methods taken to make
10 up the breach had failed (for thus it is in all cases where differences happen, the more courage the contending parties have, the more obstinate and irreconcilable they prove. The difference

ANNOTATIONS.

¹ The mongrel *Persius*. *Hybrida Persius*. In *Etruria*, strangers, such as were not natives of the country, were called *Umbri*. Instead of *Umbri*, they came to use *Imber* and *Iber*. Hence *Ibris*, or *Ibrida*, was translated to signify a mongrel by birth, whose father or mother was a foreigner. Such was this *Persius*, who had an *Italian*

to his mother, and a *Greek* to his father.

² The outlaw *Rupilius*. *P. Rupilius Rex*, a native of *Præneste*, who being proscribed by *Augustus* during the triumvirate, retired to the army of *Brutus*.

³ *Clazomene*. A city of *Asia Minor*, of great traffic, and very considerable in the flourishing state of *Greece*.

⁴ *Barrus*

The KEY.

judges of merit, never fail to pay them that respect which is their due. This he shews in his own case, whose obscure descent, however rallied by false wits, did not lessen the value *Mæcenæ* had for him: his innocence and unblamable life had first gained him his friendship; and these, without any other helps, were sufficient to preserve it. From this he takes occasion to speak of his own education, and the care his father took to train him up to virtue. The gratitude he expresses here, and elsewhere in his writings, to this best of fathers, does more honor to our poet than the friendship of *Mæcenæ*, or even that of *Augustus*; and gives his readers the highest idea of his filial piety and tendernefs.

It is not easy to fix the date of this piece, there being no foundation whereon to ground a probable conjecture. *Dacier* is apt to think, from the 55th verse, that it must have been after the death of *Virgil*: upon which supposition he was at least 47 years old. *Sanadon* seems to be of the same judgment.

S A T I R A VII.

Rixam Rupilii, cognomento Regis, cum Græculo quodam Persio describit.

PROscripti Regis Rupili pus atque venenum
Hybrida quo pacto sit Persius ultus, opinor
Omnibus & lippis notum & tonsoribus esse.
Persius hic permagna negotia dives habebat
Clazomenis, etiam lites cum Rege molestas; 5
Durus homo, atque odio qui possit vincere Regem;
Confidens tumidusque, adeo sermonis amari,
Sisennas, Barros ut equis præcurreret albis.

Ad Regem redeo. Postquam nihil inter utrumque

Convenit (hoc etenim sunt omnes jure molesti, 10
Quo fortes, quibus adversum bellum incidit. Inter
Hæctora Priamiden, animosum atque inter Achillem

gem. Postquam nil convenit inter utrumque (etenim omnes quibus, adversum bellum incidit, sunt molesti hoc jure, quo fortes. Sic fuit ira capitalis inter Hæctora Priamiden, atque inter

OPinor notum esse omnibus & lippis & tonsoribus, quo pacto hybrida Persius ultus sit pus atque venenum Rupilii Regis proscripti. Hic Persius dives habebat permagna negotia Clazomenis, etiam molestas lites cum Rege; homo durus, atque qui odio possit vincere Regem; confidens tumidusque, & adeo amari sermonis, ut præcurreret Sisennas Barrosque equis albis. Redeo ad Re-

A N N O T A T I O N S.

4 *Barros and Sisenna.* These were the two most celebrated ralliers in Rome. *Barros* has been spoken of already. *Dacier* fancies that *Sisenna* is the same as *Cornelius Sisenna*, of whom mention is made in *Dion*, who tells the following story of him:

That being reproached in senate with the infamous behaviour of his wife, he answered, That he had espoused her by the advice of *Augustus*; meaning, that *Augustus* had obliged him to espouse her, that he might have the freer commerce with her.

ference between Hector son of Priam, and undaunted Achilles⁵, could be only terminated by death; for no other reason, but that they were both of distinguished valour. If two of an indolent
 15 turn fall out; or if men of unequal courage encounter, such as were Diomedes and Glaucus the Lycian; the weakest of them begs for peace, and is glad to make up the quarrel by offering presents); I say, after all healing methods had failed, our two combatants enter the lists, Brutus the prætor being at that time in Asia; and never were the two famous gladiators Bithus and
 20 Bacchius⁶ better matched. Eager to bring their cause to a hearing they present themselves before the bar, each a spectacle of great mirth and diversion to all that were present.

Perfius opens the cause; the whole court rings with peals of laughter; he extols Brutus and the assembly. Brutus he said was as the sun to Asia, and his attendants so many propitious
 25 stars, the King excepted: him he compared to the dog-star, that constellation hated by laborers: thus he flowed impetuous like a torrent⁷ swelled by winter-snows, whither the woodman seldom brings his ax. To this impetuous cutting raillery Rupilius opposes the bitter invectives of the vine-dressers⁸; himself an expert and invincible combatant, to whom the traveller had been
 30 often forced to yield, and take refuge in abusive language, calling him with a strong voice cuckold. But the Grecian at last, thoroughly roasted by the keen reproaches of the Italian, unable to bear it any longer, vehemently cried out: O! Brutus, I adjure you by the immortal Gods; you the hereditary foe of kings⁹, whose it is to dispatch them, why do not you rid us also of this
 35 King? It is, trust me, a work for you only to accomplish¹⁰.

ANNOTATIONS.

her. *Equis præcurreret albis.* For white horses were esteemed the swiftest; hence this proverb, importing to get the better of any one.

⁵ *Hector and Achilles.* The comparison is very pleasant. Horace designed by it to give an air of seriousness and importance to this mighty combat. It is only death that can terminate the differences between great men, such as *Hector* and *Achilles*, *Perfius* and *Rupilius*. But if two of a lower class engage, one of them gives up. The combat between *Glaucus* and *Diomedes* is described at large in the sixth Book of the *Iliad*.

⁶ *Bithus and Bacchius.* This includes a hidden stroke of satire. The two famous gladiators, says he, *Bithus* and *Bacchius*, were never more equally matched. Here the ridicule falls upon *Rupilius*, who, imagining that he was a person of consequence, thought himself highly injured by being thus set upon the same footing with his adversary.

⁷ *Flowed impetuous like a torrent.* This is the same comparison he makes use of when speaking of *Pindar*, Ode ii. Book IV.

*Monte decurrens velut amnis, imbres
 Quem super notas aluere ripas,
 Fervet, immensusque ruit profundo
 Pindarus ore.*

But in matters of irony, the more noble the comparisons, the more they expose the ridicule of the thing. *Fertur quòd rara securis*; because the torrent has already carried away all the trees. So interpreters generally explain it. But *Dacier* thinks this unworthy of *Horace*, and fancies we should take it thus: "Whither the wood-man seldom comes with his ax, out of fear of being carried away by the torrent."

⁸ *Invectives of the vine-dressers.* *Convinca expressa arbusso.* *Dacier* explains this of the vine called *arbusivum*. And this, he observes, *Horace* prefers to any other, because the

Ira fuit capitalis, ut ultima divideret mors ;
 Non aliam ob causam, nisi quod virtus in utroque
 Summa fuit. Duo si discordia vexet * inertes ; 15
 Aut si disparibus bellum incidat, ut Diomed
 Cum Lycio Glaucō ; discedat pigrior ultrō
 Muneribus missis) ; Bruto prætorē tenente
 Ditem Asiā, Rupili & Persi par pugnat ; uti non
 Compositus † melius cum Bitho Bacchius. In
 jus 20

Acres procurrunt, magnum spectaculum uterque.
 Persius exponit causam ; ridetur ab omni
 Conventu ; laudat Brutum, laudatque cohortem.
 Solem Asiæ Brutum appellat, stellasque salubres
 Appellat comites, excepto Rege : Canem illum, 25
 Invisum agricolis fidus, venisse : ruebat
 Flumen ut hibernum, fertur quod rara securis.

Tum Prænestinus falso multumque ‡ fluenti
 Expressa arbus to regerit convicia ; durus
 Vindemiator & invictus, cui sæpè viator 30
 Cessisset, magnā compellans voce cucullum.

At Græcus, postquam est Italo perfusus aceto,
 Persius exclamat : Per magnos, Brute, Deos te
 Oro, qui reges consuēris § tollere, cur non
 Hunc Regem jugulas ? Operum hoc, mihi crede,
 tuorum est. 35

durus & invictus vindemiator, cui viator sæpè cessisset, compellans cucullum magnā voce. At Persius Græcus, postquam perfusus est Italo aceto, exclamat : O Brute, qui consuēris tollere reges, oro te per magnos Deos, cur non jugulas hunc Regem ? Hoc, crede mihi, tuorum operum est.

* verſet, Bentl. † compoſiti, Id. ‡ multūque, Id. § consuēſti, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

the grape-gatherers commonly got up into the middle of these trees, whence they were espied by travellers, upon which a fierce contest usually began. Horace says of *Rupilius*, that he was so expert in these kinds of engagements, as always to compel those who entered the lists with him to yield, and have recourse to abusive language, the usual refuge in such defeats.

¶ You the hereditary foe of kings. Brutus had only slain *Cæsar*, but *Junius Brutus*, one of his ancestors, had driven *Tarquin* out of *Rome*. Thus it was hereditary in that family to abolish tyranny, and expel tyrants. *Dacier* conjectures from this, that this Satire was written before *Horace* had made his peace with *Augustus* ; for it is not likely he would afterwards have spoken in this manner of the death of *Cæsar*. *Sanadon* joins with him in this

sentiment, and fancies it was not made public till twenty years after the poet's death.

¶ It is, trust me, &c. *Cicero*, in a letter to *Brutus*, speaks in the same style, Book II. Ep. v. *Quamobrem te obsecro hisdem precibus quibus senatus populusque Romanus, ut in perpetuum rempublicam dominatu regis liberes ; ut principiis consentiant exitus. Tuum est hoc munus, tuæ pariter, à te hoc civitas, vel omnes potius gentes, non expectant solum, sed etiam postulant.* " I therefore entreat you, in
 " conjunction with the senate and people
 " of *Rome*, that you will free the republic
 " for ever from the government of a ty-
 " rant, and happily finish what you have
 " so well begun. This is a work reserved
 " for you. It is what the city, yea, and
 " all the empire, not only expect, but
 " even rely upon you for."

The

The KEY.

WHILE *Horace* was military tribune in the army of *Brutus*, there was in the same camp one *Rupilius Rex*, who, jealous of his fortune, often reproached him with his birth. Our poet, to be revenged of his insolence, takes occasion to describe here a contest that happened one day between him and *Persius*, a merchant that traded to *Asia*, before *Brutus*. He affects a serious and solemn air in the relation, and heightens it with several comparisons drawn from great transactions, which throws a ridicule over the whole, inexpressibly fine

SATIRE VIII.

He introduces *Priapus*, overseer of the gardens, complaining against *Canidia* and *Sagana*, and describing their secret practices and enchantments.

ONCE I was no more^{*} than the trunk of an old fig-tree, an useless log; when the artificer, uncertain whether he should turn me into a bench or a *Priapus*, fixed at last upon a God. Upon this I straightway became a God, the great terror of birds and thieves: for thieves dread the staff in my right hand; and the birds, scared by my crown of reeds, venture not to come near these newly-planted gardens². Formerly³ dead bodies, thrown out of obscure vaults, were carried hither by fellow-slaves upon a hackney-bier. This was a common burying-place for the vilest of the populace, *Pantolabus* the buffoon, and *Nomentanus*⁴ the rake. The pillar at the entrance⁵ marked out for it a thousand foot in front, and three hundred in length; that its

ANNOTATIONS.

^{*} Once I was no more. The manner in which *Horace* begins this Satire, and the expressions he makes use of, have all a turn of wit and pleasantry. The fig-tree was unfit to be formed into any piece of work, because of its brittleness. The poet is very ingenious in explaining the hesitation of the workman how to employ this useless trunk, that he might give a more humorous turn to the origin of this mock-divinity, and shew what mighty feats this fig-tree log was enabled to perform by means of its new figure. In a word, the whole description is very diverting; he must have a club in his hand to drive away the thieves, and a reed fixed

in his head to frighten the birds. His divinity was not sufficient without these defensive ornaments.

² Newly-planted gardens. *Ostavius*, willing to correct the unwholesomeness of the air about the *Esquilian Hills*, obtained liberty of the senate and people of *Rome*, to grant a part of it to *Mæcenas*, who there built a magnificent house, and adjoining gardens. This *Horace* calls *novos hortos*. *Propertius*, in like manner, in his Elegy, *Disce quid Esquilias*, made, we may suppose, much about the same time, calls them *novos agros*.

³ Formerly. *Angustis ejecta cadavera cel- sis*. The meaning is thus: *In hunc locum*

The KEY.

fine and cutting. Critics remark, that this is probably one of his first essays: they pretend to discover this from the piece itself, which, though full of a youthful vivacity and humor, is yet less interesting than his other writings; and even, in the few verses it consists of, a great many negligences and escapes are to be observed.

We have already spoken of the date of it in the remarks: *Sanadon* fixes it to the year of the city 712, a little before the battle of *Philippi*.

S A T I R A VIII.

Priapum Deum, custodem hortorum, inducit querentem de Canidiâ & Saganâ veneficis, & quæ ab illis in occulto fierent describentem.

OLIM truncus eram ficulnus; inutile lignum;
Cum faber; incertus scamnum faceretne
Priapum; [que
Maluit esse Deum: Deus inde ego; furum avium-
Maxima formido: nam fures dextra coercet,
Obscænoque ruber porrectus ab inguine palus; 5
Ast importunas volucres in vertice arundo
Terret fixa; vetatque novis confidere in hortis:
Huc prius angustis ejecta cadavera cellis
Conservus vili portanda locabat in arcâ.
Hoc miseræ plebi stabat commune sepulchrum; 10
Pantolabo scurræ; Nomentanoque nepoti.
Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum
Hic dabat; hæredes monumentum ne sequeretur.

O R D O.

OLIM eram truncus
ficulnus; lignum
inutile; cum faber,
incertus ne faceret me
scamnum aut Priapum,
maluit esse Deum.
Inde ego Deus extiti,
maxima formido furum
aviumque: nam dextra,
palusque ruber
porrectus ab obscæno
inguine, coercet fures;
ast arundo fixa in vertice
terret importunas
volucres, vetatque confidere
in novis hortis.
Prius conservus locabat
huc cadavera e-

jecta angustis cellis, portanda in vili arcâ. Hoc stabat commune sepulchrum miseræ plebi; Pantolabo scurræ, Nomentanoque nepoti. Hic cippus dabat mille pedes in fronte, & trecentos in agrum, ne monumentum sequeretur hæredes.

A N N O T A T I O N S.

certo pretio constituto dabant servi portanda suorum conservorum cadavera, ex angustis ipsorum casulis educta, & in paupere feretro composita.

4 *Pantolabus, Nomentanus.* This stroke of satire is very severe. The two persons here mentioned were both alive; but as they had wasted their estates by their debaucheries, *Horace*, by a kind of foresight, fixes their sepulchres in this common

burying-place for the lowest of the populace.

5 *The pillar at the entrance.* It was the common practice, in setting apart land for any use, to erect a pillar, and mark upon it the length and breadth granted. They also added this: *H. M. H. N. S. Ille monumentum hæredes non sequitur.* As is evident from many ancient inscriptions.

its bounds thus known, the next heir may claim no part of it.

- But now the air of the Esquiline hills, no longer noxious, admits
 15 of dwelling-houses and healthful walks; and ground, lately de-
 formed and white with the bones of dead bodies, is changed into
 beautiful gardens. Though for my part ⁶ the birds and thieves,
 wont to hover round this place, are not half so troublesome as
 those pestilent dealers in sorcery, who seek by their enchantments
 20 to disturb the minds of men: nor is it in my power to drive them
 away; or hinder them, as soon as the moon exposes her shining
 face⁷, from gathering bones and poisonous herbs. I saw the other
 night Canidia, her black robe tucked up, her feet bare, and
 25 hair dishevelled; with her was old Sagana⁸, both howling
 dreadfully. A hideous paleness had spread itself over their counte-
 nance. They fell a-digging⁹ the earth with their nails; and hav-
 ing tore in pieces with their teeth a black lamb, and poured the
 blood into the ditch, they invoked the Manes, those infernal spirits
 that were to give answers to their questions. There were also
 30 two images¹⁰, one of wool, the other of wax: that of wool
 was the larger, and employed in tormenting the other. The
 waxen image stood in a suppliant posture, like a slave just ready
 to perish ignominiously. The one invoked Hecate¹¹, the other
 35 Tisiphone. The place, in the mean time, was filled with ser-
 pents and infernal dogs; the moon blushing, and disdaining to
 be a witness of these abominations, hid herself behind the
 tombs. If I lye in one article¹², may I be all over defiled with
 crow's dung; may Julius, soft Pedatia, and pilfering Voranus¹³,
 40 piss upon me. But to what purpose should I mention every parti-
 cular? how the ghosts and Sagana replied alternately in a mourn-
 ful shrill tone; how they hid by stealth in the earth the beard of
 a wolf,

ANNOTATIONS.

⁶ *Though for my part.* This is connected with what goes before; for *cum* refers to *nunc licet Esquilis habitare salubribus*. This I have endeavoured to observe in the translation.

⁷ *Shining face.* The moon presided over enchantments, and was believed to be most favorable when she was in her full. Hence our poet's *decorum os*; for at that time the moon may be said to be adorned with all her beauty.

⁸ *Canidia, Sagana.* These were two famous dealers in enchantments. Their manner of proceeding is fully delineated in the Ode, *At o Deorum*; where mention is made at large of both these. They were probably two sisters, of whom the latter was eldest.

⁹ *They fell a-digging.* Horace, in what follows, gives an account of some of their proceedings in their sorceries. They first made a magic ditch, into which they pour-

ed blood, and invoked the *Manes*. This is imitated from the 11th Book of the *Odyssey*, where *Ulysses* offers a sacrifice to call up the ghost of *Tiresias*. There is this difference, however, that here the earth is digged with their nails, and the victim tore with their teeth.

¹⁰ *Two images.* The image of wool represented the person they were willing should survive the other represented by that of wax. It is for this reason, that the images were made of different materials, that their fates might be different.

¹¹ *Hecate.* The same with *Diana*. She was always invoked by the sorceresses. Thus in the fore-mentioned Ode v. Book V.

O rebus meis

Non infideles arbitra,

Nox, & Diana, quæ silentium regis,

Aræana cum sunt sacra.

“ O Night

Nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus, atque
 Aggere in aprico spatari; quod * modò tristes
 15 Albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum.
 Cum mihi non tantum furesque feræque, suetæ
 Hunc vexare locum, curæ sunt atque labori,
 Quantum carminibus quæ versant atque venenis
 20 Humanos animos: has nullo perdere possum
 Nec prohibere modo, simul ac vaga luna decorum
 Protulit os, quin ossa legant herbasque nocentes.

Vidi egomet nigrâ succinctam vadere pallâ
 Canidiam, pedibus nudis, passoque capillo,
 Cum Saganâ majore ululantem. Pallor utrasque † 25
 Fecerat horrendas aspectu. Scalpere terram
 Unguibus, & pullam divellere mordicis agnam
 Cœperunt. Cruor in fossam confusus ‡, ut inde
 Manes elicerent, animas responsa daturas.
 Lanea & effigies erat, altera cerea: major
 Lanea, quæ pœnis comperceret inferiorem.
 Cerea suppliciter stabat, servilibus utque ||
 Jam peritura modis. Hecaten vocat altera, sævam
 Altera Tisiphonem. Serpentes atque videres
 30 Infernas errare canes; lunamque rubentem,
 Ne foret his testis, post magna latere sepulchra.
 Mentior at si quid, merdis caput inquiner albis
 Corvorum; atque in me veniant ** mictum atque
 cacatum

Julius, & fragilis Pedatia, furque Voranus.
 Singula quid memorem? quo pacto alterna lo-
 quentes
 40 Umbræ cum Saganâ resonarent †† triste & acu-
 tum;

Utque lupi barbam, variæ cum dente colubræ,
 Abdiderint furtim terris; and imagine cereâ

altera Tisiphonem. Videres serpentes atque infernas canes errare; lunamque rubentem latere post magna sepulchra, ne foret testis his. At si quid mentior, inquiner quod ad caput albis merdis corvorum; atque Julius, & fragilis Pedatia, furque Voranus, veniant mictum atque cacatum in me. Quid memorem singula? quo pacto umbræ cum Saganâ loquentes alterna resonarent triste & acutum; utque abdiderint furtim terris barbam lupi, cum dente variæ colubræ; & ut largior ignis arserit imagine cereâ; & ut

Nunc licet habitare Esquilis salubribus, atque spatari in aggere aprico; quod modò tristes spectabant agrum informem albis ossibus. Cum furesque feræque, suetæ vexare hunc locum, non tantum curæ sunt atque labori mihi, quantum mulieresque versant humanos animos carminibus atque venenis: has, simul ac vaga luna protulit decorum os, nullo modo possum perdere, nec prohibere, quin legant ossa herbasque nocentes. Ego met vidi Canidiam succinctam nigrâ pallâ, vadere pedibus nudis, capilloque passo, ululantem cum majore Saganâ. Pallor fecerat utrasque horrendas aspectu. Cœperunt scalpere terram unguibus, & divellere mordicis pullam agnam. Cruor confusus est in fossam, ut inde elicerent Manes, animas daturas responsa. Erat & (etiam) lanea effigies, & altera cerea: lanea major, quæ comperceret inferiorem pœnis. Cerea stabat suppliciter, utque jam peritura servilibus modis. Altera vocat sævam Hecaten,

* quâ, Bentl. † utramque, Id. ‡ cum fusus, Id. || ut quæ, Id. ** Veniat, Id. †† resonârint, Id.

A N N O T A T I O N S.

"O Night and Diana, faithful witnesses of my proceedings, who preside over silence, while we are celebrating these secret mysteries." *Tisiphone*, one of the Furies. Her coming was marked by the serpents, that of *Hecate* by the dogs.

¹² If I lie in one article. This assemblage of ideas in *Priapus* is not without its propriety. These were accidents he was well accustomed to. Birds often perched upon

his head, and shewed but little respect to his divinity. Hence *Tibullus* says to him,

*Abegimusque voce sæpè, cum tibi
 Senexve corvus, impigerve graculus
 Sacrum feriret ore corneo caput.*

¹³ *Julius, Pedatia, Voranus.* *Julius* is altogether unknown. *Voranus* is thought to have been the freedman of *Quintus Lutatius Catulus*. *Pedatius* was a Roman knight remarkable

a wolf, and the tooth of a speckled snake; how the image of wax
 45 appeared all in flames; and how, full of indignation at what I
 saw, I revenged myself by a fart, loud as the bursting of a bladder? Thunderstruck ¹⁴ they ran towards the city: you would
 have almost burst to see Canidia drop her teeth, Sagana her false
 hair ¹⁵, and both in confusion hurry off, leaving behind their
 50 poisonous herbs, and enchanted bracelets.

ANNOTATIONS.

remarkable for his effeminacy and softness; to reproach him with which, *Horace* here gives his name a female turn, calling him *Pedatia*. This piece of satire is the more pleasant, as it seems to come in by accident, and not design.

¹⁴ *Thunderstruck they ran towards the city.* It is impossible to imagine a more ridiculous representation than what is here given, whether we consider the merry revenge taken by *Priapus*, or the diverting sight of the

The KEY.

HORACE is peculiarly happy in the management of his subjects; and whether he exposes the vices of single persons, or a whole people, never fails to make them appear in the most ridiculous light. Superstition is here the object of his satire. This he handles not philosophically, with a grave and serious air; but in a way of pleasantry and humor. And one may venture to say, that this ironical way of treating idolatry and sorcery, will do more to drive these wild conceits out of the world, than the finest collection of deep reasonings and learned discourses. *Socrates*, the father of philosophy, practised this method with good success; and often, when debates and arguments were insufficient, found raillery a sovereign remedy.
 The

SATIRE IX.

He describes the impertinence and importunity of one he accidentally met with in his walks.

I WAS walking the other day in the sacred way¹, according to custom, musing on I do not know what trifles, and wholly immersed in these: when one known to me only by name runs up; and seizing me by the hand, How goes it, my dearest friend?
 Pretty

ANNOTATIONS.

¹ *Sacred way.* This was that by which; the Capitol, and was the most noted of all the triumphal processions, they ascended to the streets in *Rome*.

a Hor

Largior arferit ignis; & ut non testis inultus
 Horruerim voces Furiarum & facta duarum?
 Nam, displosa sonat quantum vesica, pepedi
 Diffusa nate ficus, At illæ currere in urbem:
 Canidiæ dentes, altum Saganæ caliendrum
 Excidere, atque herbas, atque incantata lacertis
 Vincula, cum magno risuque jocoque videres.

45 | ego testis non inultus
 | horruerim voces Furia-
 | rum & facta duarum?
 | Nam ego ficus pepedi
 | diffusa nate, quantum
 | vesica displosa sonat.
 | At illæ cœperunt
 | currere in urbem: cum
 | magno risu jocoque
 | videres dentes Cani-
 | diae.

diae, & altum caliendrum Saganæ excidere, atque herbas, atque vincula incantata lacertis.

ANNOTATIONS,

the two forcereffes. These expert practi- | by a fart, and run towards the city, leaving
 tioners in the infernal art, accustomed to | all their magical trinkets behind them.
 demons and furies, and whatever the ima- | 15 *Falſe hair. Caliendrum.* An ornament
 gination can conceive as horrible and dread- | for women's heads; a kind of false hair
 ful, are here almost frightened to distraction | in common use even at that time.

The KEY.

The truth is, the only way to extirpate folly, is to shew the true
 ridicule of it. However we may be sometimes^s deceived by false
 appearances, yet when what is really ridiculous appears in its proper
 colors, every one must hate and despise it. *Lucian* is a remarkable
 instance of this, whose humorous representation of the heathen Gods
 is thought to have contributed more than any thing to the ruin of
 paganism.

Critics are not agreed as to the time of its composition. They
 find, however, that it was before B. ii. S. i, from the mention made
 of *Pantolabus* in both; and before B. v. O. v. from what is said of
Canidia.

SATIRA IX.

*Describit cujusdam, in quem fortè inciderat, importunam &
 pertinacem garrulitatem.*

IBAM* fortè viâ sacrâ, sicut meus est mos,
 Nescio quid meditans nugarum, totus in illis:
 Accurrit quidam notus mihi nomine tantum;
 Arreptâque manu, Quid agis, dulcissime rerum?
 mine accurrit; manuque arreptâ, Quid agis, dulcissime rerum?

O R D O.

IBAM fortè sacrâ
 viâ, sicut mos
 meus est, meditans ne-
 scio quid nugarum,
 totus in illis: quidam
 notus mihi tantum no-

* ut, *Bentl.*

F 3

Inquam,

- 5 Pretty well for the present, said I, and wholly at your service. As he continued to follow me, I turned upon him; Have you any thing further with me²? Sir, said he, I should be fond of your acquaintance; I am a man of letters. So much the better, replied I, my esteem for you will be the greater. Impatient to get rid of him, sometimes I walked fast, then stood still, and affected to whisper in my servant's ear; the sweat all the while running from me in drops. O happy Bolanus³, said I within myself, that can with so much ease repel these attacks! He talked of every thing that came in his way, sometimes of the extent of Rome, sometimes of the beauty of the streets; but all this time I answered him nothing. You are in pain, says he, to get rid of me; I see it clearly; but it is all in vain; I am determined to stick close by you, and follow you wherever you go. It is quite needless, replied I, that you should be carried so much out of your way; I go to see a friend, an entire stranger to you, who lives at a great distance from hence on the other side the Tiber, near Cæsar's gardens⁴. I have nothing upon my hands at present, said he, and hate to be idle; I will therefore bear you company. At this I hung my ears⁵, like an ass over-burdened, and meditating mischief. He runs on with his impertinence: If I understand myself right, neither Viscus⁶, nor Varius will have more of your friendship than I: for who can write more verses or in a shorter time? who dance with a better grace? and as to singing,
- 25 I outdo even Hermogenes himself. Here I had an opportunity to put in a word. Have you a mother, or any relations, who may be concerned for your welfare? Not one, replied he; I have buried all. Happy said I, softly to myself! I then alone remain; dispatch me: for now the fatal moment is come, foretold me when a boy by an old Sabine forcerefs. After shaking the magic
- 30 urn⁷; The child, said she, shall not perish either by poison, or the enemy's sword; neither cholic, cough, nor gout shall shorten

A N N O T A T I O N S.

² Have you any thing further with me? *Num quid vis?* This was the usual address to one when his company was unseasonable, and what they wanted to be rid of. Thus, in the *Eunuch* of Terence, Act II. Scene III. *Cherea* speaking to *Archidemides*, whom he wanted to be gone:

Dum hæc dicit, abiit bora. Rogo num quid velis? Rectè, inquit; abeo.

"While he was speaking these few words, a whole hour passed. I asked, whether he had any thing further with me? Nothing," said he; I am a-going." On which *Donatus* remarks: *Abiturus, ne id durè facerent, Num quid vis? dicebant his, quibuscum consti-*

tissent. "At leaving any person, that they might not do it rudely, they usually asked, "Have you any thing further with me?"

³ *Bolanus*. Commentators tell us, that this *Bolanus* was a plain simple forward man, who could not bear impertinence, and always broke from it without ceremony. *Horace*, though naturally passionate, was yet of a more mannerly behaviour. Though he wished for *Bolanus*'s bluntness, yet he was of so good a temper, that he could not resolve to say any thing harsh to this impertinent.

⁴ *Cæsar's gardens*. The gardens which, if we may credit *Suetonius*, were left by *Julius Cæsar* to the Roman people, who, besides, gave

Suaviter, ut nunc est, inquam, & cupio omnia
quæ vis.

Cùm affectaretur; Num quid vis? occupo. At ille,
Nôris nos, inquit; docti sumus. Hic ego, Pluris
Hoc, inquam, mihi eris. Miserè discedere quærens,
Ire modò ociùs, interdum consistere, in aurem
Dicere nescio quid puero; cùm sudor ad imos
Manaret talos. O te, Bolane, cerebri
Felicem, aiebam tacitus! Cùm quidlibet ille
Garriret, vicos, urbem laudaret; ut illi
Nil respondebam; Miserè cupis, inquit, abire;
Jamdudum video; sed nil agis; usque tenebo;
Persequar*: hinc quò nunc iter est tibi? Nil opus
est te

Circumagi; quendam volo visere, non tibi notum;
Trans Tiberim longè cubat is, prope Cæsaris hortos.
Nil habeo quod agam, & non sum piger; usque
sequar te.

Demitto aurículas, ut iniquæ mentis asellus,
Cùm gravius dorso subiit onus. Incipit ille:
Si benè me novi, non Viscum pluris amicum,
Non Varium facies: nam quis me scribere plures
Aut citiùs possit versus? quis membra movere
Molliùs? invideat quod & Hermogenes, ego canto.

Interpellandi locus hìc erat. Est tibi mater,
Cognati, queis te salvo est opus? Haud mihi quif-
quam;

Omnes composui. Felices! nunc ego resto;
Confice: namque instat fatum mihi triste, Sabella
Quod puero cecinit divinâ † motâ anus urnâ.
Hunc neque dira venena, nec hosticus auferet ensis,

Viscum, non Varium amicum pluris: nam quis possit scribere plures versus aut citiùs me? quis possit movere membra molliùs? ego canto, quod & Hermogenes invideat. Hìc erat locus interpellandi. Est tibi mater? aio; sunt tibi cognati, queis opus est te salvo? Haud quisquam mihi, respondebat; composui omnes. Ego tacitè, Felices sunt! nunc ego resto; confice: namque triste fatum instat, quod anus Sabella cecinit mihi puero motâ divinâ urnâ. Neque dira venena, nec hosticus ensis auferet hunc, nec dolor laterum,

* Prosequar, Bentl.

† mota divinâ, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

gave to every man, by his will, 300. se-
sterces.

5 I hung my ears, like an ass over-burdened,
&c. Demitto aurículas, a metaphor taken
from beasts, for the ears of men are im-
moveable. Asellus iniquæ mentis; an ass
over-burdened, who is contriving how to
shake off his load.

6 Viscus. Viscus Thurinus a poet, and a
great intimate of Horace and Virgil. He had
also a brother, who followed the same

studies. Horace speaks of them in the next
Satire.

7 After shaking the magic urn. Divinâ
motâ anus urnâ. Cruquius has proposed a dif-
ferent reading. Motâ divina anus urnâ;
which Bentley approves of, and inserts in his
text. The difficulty is, where to refer mo-
ta, whether to anus or urna. Dacier takes
the construction to be thus: Quod anus Sa-
bella mihi puero cecinit motâ divinâ urnâ. He

F 4

thinks

*Inquam, suaviter, ut
nunc est, & cupio om-
nia quæ vis. Cùm
affectaretur, occupo;
Num quid vis? At
inquit ille, Hoc volo,
ut nôris nos; sumus
docti. Hic ego inquam,
Hoc pluris mihi eris.
Miserè quærens disce-
dere, cœpi ire modò
ociùs, interdum con-
sistere, dicere nescio
quid in aurem puero;
cùm sudor manaret ad
imos talos. Aiebam
tacitus, O Bolane,
quàm invideo te fe-
licem cerebri! Cùm ille
garriret quidlibet,
laudaret vicos, urbem;
ut respondebam nil illi;
inquit, Cupis miserè
abire; video jamdu-
dum; sed agis nil; te-
nebo usque; persequar:
quò nunc iter est tibi
hinc? Tum ego: Nil
opus est te circumagi;
volo visere quendam,
non notum tibi; is cu-
bat longè trans Tibe-
rim, prope hortos Cæ-
saris. Habeo, inquit,
nil quod agam, & non
sum piger; sequar te
usque. Demitto auri-
culas, ut asellus ini-
quæ mentis, cùm gra-
vius onus subiit dorso.
Ille incipit: Si benè
novi me; non facies*

shorten his days; an eternal prattler shall do his business: and therefore, when he comes to be of age, he will do well to avoid all great talkers.

- 35 We were now come to the temple of Vesta, it being a little past ten of the clock; and by good luck it was much about the time he was obliged to appear in a cause wherein he had given bail⁸, or lose the suit. Sir, said he, if you have any value for me, do stop a few moments here, and let me have your help. Let me die, said I, if I am able to stand so long⁹, or understand one word of law: besides, I am in haste to go where I told you,
- 40 I am in doubt, replied he, whether I ought to abandon you, or my cause. Me undoubtedly, said I. Not at all, answered he; and began to march on. As it is in vain to contend with one stronger than one's self, I peaceably walked after him. He resuming the discourse; Pray on what terms do you stand with Mæcenas? Mæcenas, said I, is one of uncommon reach, and extremely nice in the choice of his friends¹⁰. You have managed your fortune there¹¹ with great address. Were I but introduced to him, you would find me a choice help¹², and one who could sit down contented with the second place¹³ in his favor: may I die, if you do not supplant all your rivals. Our manner of living there, replied I, is far different¹⁴ from what you fancy; for there is not a
- house

ANNOTATIONS.

thinks it more poetical and elegant, to give the epithet *divinâ* to the urn. The manner of divination by the urn was thus: They had a great number of letters and some entire words. These, after much shaking to mix them well together, were turned out; and what chance could collect from their arrangement, was held for the answer.

⁸ In a cause wherein he had given bail.

Et casu tunc respondere vadato. *Vadari aliquem*, is to oblige any one to give bail for his appearance in court on a certain day and hour. *Vadato* is therefore to be taken here actively. *Ei qui illum vadibus acceptis in jus vocaverat*: "To answer before him who had forced him to give bail for his appearance." *Vadatus*, the accuser, who requires bail. So *Livy*, Book III. Ch. 13. *Tot vadibus accusator vadatus est reum.* *Hic primus vades publicas dedit.* There was a difference between *vades* and *prædes*: *Vades* were properly in criminal cases, *prædes* in civil. But this distinction was not always nicely observed. *Horace* confounds them here. *Dacier*.

⁹ To stand so long. *Horace*, in this place, makes use of a number of law-terms. *Respondere, adesse, stare, rem relinquere.* The first means, to appear in court, and an-

swer to the indictment given in against him. The second was, to accompany any one, and enable him to defend his cause. The third marks the posture of the parties. *Horace* excuses himself from engaging in his cause, because of his infirm constitution, which would not allow him to stand for any time. He further adds, that he was an entire stranger to law-mattres; and therefore could be of no service to him in the world.

¹⁰ Extremely nice in the choice of his friends. *Paucorum hominum.* This is *Horace's* answer to *Mæcenas* *quomodo tecum?* He meant that he was one of difficult access, and not easy to be gained. *Thraso*, in *Terence*, says of the king of *Persia*,

— imo sic homo est
Per paucorum hominum.

¹¹ You have managed your fortune there, &c. *Dacier* explains this passage after a manner somewhat singular; he takes the meaning to be thus: You are the happiest fellow in the world to have so fortunately met with us; for by introducing me to *Mæcenas*, you will have the best second that can be, one who will soon make you triumph over all your rivals. And at the same time,

10

Nec laterum dolor, aut tussis, nec tarda podagra;
Garrulus hunc quando consumet cunque: loquaces,
Si sapiat, vitet, simul atque adoleverit ætas.

Ventum erat ad Vestæ, quartâ jam parte diei 35
Præteritâ; & casu tunc respondere vadato*
Debebat; quod ni fecisset; perdere litem.

Si me amas, inquit, paulum hinc ades, Inteream, si
Aut valeo stare, aut novi civilia jura:

Et propero quod scis. Dubius sum, quid faciam,
inquit; 40

Tene relinquam, an rem. Me sodes, Non faci-
ciam, ille;

Et præcedere cœpit. Ego, ut contendere durum est †
Cum victore, sequor. Mæcenas quomodo tecum?

Hinc repetit. Paucorum hominum, & mentis bene
sanæ.

Nemo dexteriori fortunâ est usus. Haberes 45
Magnum adiutorem, posset qui ferre secundas,
Hunc hominem velles si tradere: dispeream, ni
Summôsses omnes, Non isto vivimus ‡ illic,

repetit, Quomodo Mæcenas tecum? Ego: Paucorum est hominum, & mentis bene sanæ. Ille:
Nemo usus est fortunâ dexteriori. Si velles tradere hunc hominem, haberes magnum adiutorem, qui
posset ferre secundas: dispeream, ni summôsses omnes. Non vivimus, respondeo, illic isto,

* vadatus, Bentl.

† durum, Id.

‡ vivitur, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

to prevent his suspecting that a man of so great merit might supplant him, he assures him, that he will be contented to stand in the second degree of favor.

12 You would find me a choice help. *Magnum adiutorem.* Adjutor is a word borrowed from the theatre. It signifies properly one who aids the actors, either by his voice or signs; much the same as our prompters. Sueton. in his Book *De Illust. Gram.* speaking of *Crassius*, says, *Hic initio circa scenam versatus est, dum mimographos adjuvat.* *Phædrus* too uses it in the same sense, in the 5th Fable of his 5th Book.

13 Contented with the second place. *Posset qui ferre secundas, viz. partes.* This is a metaphor taken from comedians, among whom those who had the second place, although often better actors than they who had the first, yet always appeared as inferior to the others. This *Cicero* has fully explained, *Seç. 15.* against *Verres.* *Ac ne is quidem tantum contendet in dicendo, quantum potest, sed consulet laudi & existimationi tuæ; & ex eo quod ipse potest in dicendo aliquantum remittet, ut tu tamen aliquid esse videare.* *Uti in actoribus Græcis fieri videmus; sæpe illum qui*

est secundarum aut tertiarum partium, cum possit aliquanto clarius dicere quam ipse primarum, multum summittere, ut ille princeps quam maxime excellat. Sic faciet Allienus; tibi serviet, & tibi lenocinabitur; minus aliquanto contendet quam potest. "As for him he will not
" shew all the eloquence he is master of,
" but will have some regard to your re-
" putation and glory; and will not rise to
" the height he is capable of, that you may
" appear to the more advantage; as we see
" every day done by the actors of Greek
" pieces; those who have the second or
" third place, although often better actors
" than those who have the first, yet abate
" of what they can do, that the principal
" actor may appear to excel most. Just
" so will *Allenus* do. He will remit of his
" own talent, and regard chiefly your
" glory."—This impertinent tells *Horace*,
the better to secure him in his interest,
that, far from endeavouring to supplant
him, he will be contented with the second
place in *Mæcenas's* favor, and do all in his
power to establish him more firmly in his
good graces. *Dacier.*

14 Our manner of living is far different.

The

- house in Rome more remarkable for honesty, or less given to low
 50 jealousies and rivalships. It gives no umbrage to me, that another is richer, or more learned; every one is valued in proportion to his merit. You tell me what is surprising, and scarce credible. It is verily so, I assure you. This serves but the more to heighten my impatience of being introduced to him. You need only to
 55 desire it; with such talents you can scarce fail of success; though a little difficult¹⁵ upon the first approach, he is not quite inaccessible. Nothing shall be wanting on my part: I will endeavour to gain his domestics by presents; if denied admittance to-day, I will not be discouraged; I will lay hold on every proper opportunity; make up to him in the streets; walk with him. Such is
 60 the condition of human life, no considerable good can be obtained without a great deal of pain and trouble. While he was running on at this rate, Aristius Fuscus¹⁶ came up to us, my intimate friend, and one who perfectly knew the man. We stop. The usual questions, whence and where, are started, and answers returned. I then began to pull him by the sleeve¹⁷, and by nods
 65 and winks signified to him to release me. He only smiled at my hints, and maliciously pretended not to understand me; while I was ready to burst with rage. Well recollected, said I, you told me the other day you had some private concern to impart to me. I remember it, said he; but another time will do as well: this is a solemn day among the Jews¹⁸; sure you would not offer them
 70 so gross an affront as to talk of business. Poh! I am not very scrupulous. Nay, but I am; it is perhaps a weakness; but in this respect I am one of the multitude; so must beg your pardon, and defer it till another time. Has this day therefore risen so fatal

A N N O T A T I O N S.

The praise which Horace here gives to *Mæcenas*, is very happily introduced, and conducted with a wonderful simplicity. It does him the more honor, as it is a virtue of all others the most necessary to a firm and lasting friendship, and what unfortunately but very few are possessed of. *Mæcenas* seems to have been no less prudent in the management of his domestic affairs than in those of the state: at least, the poets of that age give us this idea of him.

¹⁵ *Though a little difficult, &c. Et est qui vinci possit.* Several explications have been given of this passage. Some take the meaning of it to be, "He is one who likes that his good graces should be gained by assiduity; and therefore is of difficult access at first." But Horace would never give us such an idea of his patron; it is

besides wholly contrary to the character we have of him in other parts of his works. The account of our poet's first becoming acquainted with him in the sixth Satire, shews that the matter was wholly otherwise. The way in which we have endeavored to render it, seems most simple and natural, and most agreeable to *Mæcenas's* character.

¹⁶ *Aristius Fuscus.* The same to whom he addresses the twenty-second Ode of the first Book, and the tenth Epistle of Book I. He was a grammarian, a man of great probability, and Horace's intimate friend.

¹⁷ *To pull him by the sleeve. Lentissima brachia.* Arms that yielded without resistance, that seemed not sensible to my touch. *Fuscus* affected this, to put Horace the more out of temper.

¹⁸ This

Quo tu rere modo; domus hac nec purior ulla est,
 Nec magis his aliena malis. Nil mî officit unquam,
 Ditiôr hic, aut est quia doctior; est locus uni- 51
 cuique suus. Magnum narras, vix credibile. Atqui
 Sic habet. Accendis quare cupiam magis illi
 Proximus esse. Velis tantummodò; quæ tua virtus,
 Expugnabis; & est qui vinci possit, eoque 55
 Difficiles aditus primos habet. Haud mihi deero:
 Muneribus servos corrumpam; non, hodiè si
 Exclusus fuero, desistam; tempora quæram;
 Occurram in triviis; deducam. Nil sine magno
 Vita labore dedit mortalibus. Hæc dum agit, ecce
 Fuscus Aristius occurrit, mihi carus, & illum 61
 Qui pulchrè nôsset. Consistimus. Unde venis? &
 Quò tendis? rogat, & respondet. Vellere cœpi,
 Et prênsare manu lentissima brachia, nutans,
 Distorquens oculos, ut me eriperet. Malè falsus 65
 Ridens dissimulare; meum jecur urere bilis.
 Certè nescio quid secretò velle loqui te
 Aiebas mecum. Memini benè; sed meliori
 Tempore dicam: hodiè tricesima sabbata; vin' tu*
 Curtis Judæis oppedere? Nulla mihi, inquam, 70
 Religio est. At mî; sum paulò infirmior; unus
 Multorum; ignosces; aliàs loquar. Huncce sole

spondet. Cœpi vellere, & prênsare lentissima brachia manu, nutans, distorquens oculos, ut eriperet me. Malè falsus ridens me dissimulare; dum bilis cœpit urere jecur meum. Certè nescio quid aiebas te velle loqui secretò mecum. Memini benè; sed dicam meliori tempore: hodiè tricesima sabbata; vin' tu oppedere curtis Judæis? Nulla mihi, inquam, religio est. At mihi; sum paulò infirmior; unus multorum; ignosces; aliàs loquar. Huncce sole

* vis, Benti.

ANNOTATIONS.

¹⁸ This is a solemn day among the Jews. Scaliger, in his learned work *De Emendatione Temporum*, about the end of the third Book, conjectures, that by *tricesima sabbata*, the expression used in the original, we are to understand the thirtieth day of the month, and which Horace here calls *sabbath*, because both Jews and Gentiles gave that name to all their feasts, and that the last day of the month was a solemn feast among the Jews, on account of the new moon, which they proclaimed by the sound of trumpets. This explication is rather ingenious than true; for allowing that *sabbath* often signifies a feast, it is hard to imagine that Horace would call the thirtieth of the month the thirtieth *sabbath*. Dacier proposes a conjecture much more probable, which

we shall here offer the reader. The Jews began their year with the month Tisri, which answers to our September, and the feast of the passover was celebrated on the 15th of Nisan, answering often to our April. From the beginning of September to the middle of April there are just thirty weeks. Hence Horace calls this feast *tricesima sabbata*, the thirtieth *sabbath*, because it happened on the thirtieth week from the beginning of the year. It continued for eight days, the two first and two last whereof were a solemn feast, on which it was not lawful to speak of business. Thus we may see the reason why Aristius Fuscus refuses to commune with Horace.

fatal to me, cried I? Barbarous Man, thus inhumanly to leave me a victim ready to be sacrificed. Happily for me his adversary
 75 just then met him; and laying hold upon him, Ha! villain, where now? And turning to me, Will you be so good, Sir, as stand witness¹⁹? I gave a nod of assent. Immediately he is hurried before the court: this raised a prodigious noise, and brought together a vast croud of people. Mean time I made off, thus happily delivered by Apollo²⁰.

ANNOTATIONS.

¹⁹ Stand witness. *Licet antestari* for *ante testari*. *Oppono auriculam*. When one agreed | to stand as witness, the form was to offer his ear to be touched.

The KEY.

A Poet, whose design is to ridicule vice, and drive folly out of the world, ought to be master of all characters, and capable to represent them in whatever light may be most for his purpose. Besides those vices which are hurtful to society, there are several other lesser species of impertinence, which often give trouble, and which it is the business chiefly of a man of wit to take to task. In this case we allow a freedom of raillery; and the more severe the satire, the more effectually it tends to remedy the evil. Wit and humor, when thus employed, are really beneficial to mankind: they tend to improve our sense, refine our manners, and promote good.

SATIRE X.

He justifies the censure he had passed upon Lucilius's writings, in his fourth Satire, and gives his reasons for it.

IT is granted I have said that Lucilius's verses¹ were rough and unequal: and who can be so blindly partial to Lucilius², as not to allow thus much? Yet in the same paper I have

ANNOTATIONS.

¹ I have said that Lucilius's verses. This he had done in the fourth Satire of this same Book. | *Cum flueret lutulentus, erat quod tollere vellet Nempe*. It is granted, it is owned that I have said so.

— *Durus componere versus*.
 And,

² Who can be so blindly partial to Lucilius.

Tam nigrum furrêxe mihi? Fugit improbus, ac me
Sub cultro linquit. Casu venit obvius illi
Adversarius; &, Quò tu, turpissime? magnâ
Exclamat* voce; &, Licet antestari? Ego verò
Oppono auriculam. Rapit in jus: clamor utrinque,
Undique concursus. Sic me servavit Apollo.

*furrêxe mihi tam ni-
grum? Improbis fugit,
ac linquit me sub cul-
tro. Casu adversarius
obvius venit illi; &
magnâ inclamat voce;
Quò tu, turpissime?
& mihi, Licet antes-
tari? Ego verò oppono*

*auriculam. Rapit illum in jus: clamor fit utrinque, concursus undique. Sic Apollo servavit
me.*

* Inclamat, *Bentl.*

ANNOTATIONS.

20 *Delivered by Apollo.* Apollo, in pub-
lic inscriptions, was styled *Servator*. Be-
sides, being the God of the poets, Horace
rather ascribes his deliverance to him.

THE KEY.

good breeding and politeness of every kind. *Horace*, in this Satire, gives us an example of a mannerly wit, and teaches us how it may be used in ridiculing and exposing folly. Impertinents have in all ages been accounted a nuisance to society; the set of them here attacked is but too numerous: never was wit more happily aimed, or with a keener edge. He who can read over this Satire, and afterwards give into the vice censured in it, may be deemed incorrigible indeed. The adventure, which forms the subject of this piece, is diverting enough of itself; but the exquisite humor with which it is represented, gives it a new face of ridicule.

It is altogether uncertain when this Satire was written:

SATIRA X.

*Hâc Satirâ respondet iis quos offenderat quartâ superiori, ubi
Lucilii versus reprehenderat, & reprehensionis suæ rationem
explicat.*

NEMPE incompósito dixi pede currere versus
Lucili: quis tam Lucili fautor ineptè est,
Ut non hoc fateatur? At idem, quòd fale multo

ORDO.

*NEMPE dixi
versus Lucili
currere incompósito pe-
de: quis tam ineptè
fautor est Lucilii, ut*

non fateatur hoc? At idem laudatur eâdem quartâ, quod defricuit urbem multo

ANNOTATIONS.

Lucili? Notwithstanding this formal decision of our poet, *Quintilian* has not scrupled to be of a contrary opinion, and augment the number of critics, whom *Horace* here accuses of a blind partiality. *Lucilius* had a great many partizans at *Rome*, who were so zealously devoted to him, as to run about the streets with whips under their gowns, and lash all who presumed to detract from what they thought his due.

3 The

have praised him, for diverting the town with raillery and pleasant humor. But in owning thus far, I must not be supposed to grant him at the same time all the other qualities of a great poet; for in that way of judging I might admire the Mimes of Laberius³ as so many finished poems. It is not therefore enough to raise the laughter of an audience; though it must be allowed even this is not without its share of praise: there must be a certain
 10 brevity in the style, that the sentences may run smooth, and not overcharge the ear with an useless load of words. Sometimes the speech must have an air of gravity, at other times it must be lively and full of spirit; sometimes personate the orator, at other times the poet; often it must affect the nice and concealed raillery of the gentleman. For, even on the most important subjects, what is said in a way of pleasantry and mirth almost
 15 always strikes more home than the gravest reasonings.

This was the distinguishing character of the writers of the old comedy, and in this chiefly they are to be imitated: but Hermogenes, that fine gentleman, disdains to read them, as does Demetrius⁴, the awkward copier of Calvus and Catullus⁵.

20 But, say you, Lucilius deserves a great share of praise, in so happily mixing Greek and Latin. Ignorant and mistaken men⁶! to fancy any thing wonderful and difficult, in what even Pitholeon of Rhodes⁷ was able to compass. But you still insist, that this mixture of both languages makes the style more agreeable and flowing; as Falernian wine when mixed with that of Chios⁸. Answer me, you who pretend to the character of a poet, were you
 25 to plead some very difficult cause, as that of Petillius⁹, while
 Pe-

ANNOTATIONS.

3 *The Mimes of Laberius.* The reason he here gives for his judgment is indisputable. If a work deserves the highest degree of praise, because pleasant and agreeable, we ought to grant this also to the *Mimes of Laberius*, which have more of pleasantry and mirth in them than the *Satires of Lucilius*: yet it would be thought ridiculous to style them *pulchra poemata*, finished poems. The *Mimes*, here spoken of, were in great esteem; *Cæsar* was so well pleased with them, that he advanced *Laberius* to the dignity of a Roman knight. But the too great freedoms he took, lost him at last the emperor's favor, who preferred before him *Publius Syrus* his rival.

4 *Demetrius.* So all commentators agree is meant by *simius iste*, which the poet expresses him by, because of his deformity both of body and mind. He was a comedian, and at the same time pretended to the

character of a critic. *Vatinius*, in a letter to *Cicero*, says of one *Catilius*: *Simius, non semissis homo, contra me arma tulit, & cum bello capsi.*

5 *Aukward copier of Calvus and Catullus.* *Calvus* and *Catullus* were the only poets for whom *Demetrius* and *Hermogenes* had any taste, because they wrote chiefly of love-matters. *Horace* means by this to reproach them for their effeminacy and infamous debaucheries. It is a happy imitation of that passage of *Cicero's Tusculan Questions*. *O poetam egregium! quanquam ab his cantoribus Euphorionis contemnitur;* "O admirable poet, although despised by those effeminate
 "men, who can endure no poetry but that
 "of *Euphorion*." *Horace* does not mean here to undervalue either *Calvus* or *Catullus*, as *Cicero* did not design to discredit *Euphorion*. They were all excellent in their way; but to relish no other performances is
 a sign

Urbem defricuit, chartâ laudatur eâdem.

Nec tamen hoc tribuens, dederim quoque cætera;
nam sic

Et Laberî mimos, ut pulchra poëmata, mirer.

Ergo non fatîs est risu diducere rictum

Auditoris; & est quædam tamen hîc quoque virtus:

Est brevitæ opus, ut currat sententia, neu se
Impediat verbis lassas onerantibus aures.

Et sermone opus est modò tristi, sæpè jocosò;

Defendente vicem modò rhetoris, atque poëtæ;

Interdum urbani parcentis viribus, atque

Extenuantis eas consultò. Ridiculum acri

Fortiùs & meliùs magnas plerumque secat res.

Illi, scripta quibus comœdia prisca viris est,

Hoc stabant, hoc sunt imitandi: quos neque pulcher

Hermogenes unquam legit, neque simius iste,

Nil præter Calvum & doctus cantare Catullum.

At magnum fecit, quòd verbis Græca Latinis

Miscuit. O seri studiorum! quine putetis

Difficile & mirum, Rhodio quod Pitheleonti

Contigit. At sermo linguâ concinnus utrâque

Suavior; ut Chio nota si commissa Falerni est.

Cùm versus facias, teipsum percontor, an, &
cùm,

Dura tibi peragenda rei sit causa Petillî,

magnum, quòd miscuit Græca verba verbis Latinis. O seri studiorum! quine putetis illud mirum
& difficile, quod contigit Pitheleonti Rhodio. At sermo concinnus utrâque linguâ suavior; ut si
nota Falerni commissa est Chio. Cùm facias versus, percontor teipsum, an, & cùm dura causa rei
Petillî peragenda sit tibi, scilicet tu oblitus.

sale. Nec tamen tri-
buens hoc, dederim
quoque cætera; nam

5 sic & mirer mimos

Laberii ut poëmata

pulchra. Ergo non

est satis diducere ri-

su rictum auditoris;

& tamen est quædam

virtus hîc quoque: est

10 opus brevitæ, ut sen-

tentia currat, neu im-

pediat se verbis one-

rantibus lassas aures.

Et opus est sermone

modò tristi, sæpè jo-

coso; modò defendente

vicem rhetoris, atque

15 poëtæ; interdum ur-

bani parcentis viribus,

atque extenuantis eas

consultò. Ridiculum

plerumque secat mag-

nas res fortiùs &

20 meliùs acri. Illi, qui-

bus viris comœdia

prisca scripta est, sta-

bant hoc, imitandi sunt

hoc: quos neque pul-

cher Hermogenes un-

quam legit, neque iste

25 simius, doctus cantare

nil præter Calvum &

Catullum. At Luci-

lius, dices, fecit

ANNOTATIONS.

a sign of a bad taste, and corrupt heart. This Calvus was the author of that well-known Epigram against Pompey:

Magnus quem metuunt omnes digito caput
uno

Scalpit. Quid credas hunc sibi velle virum? Horace praises Calvus and Catullus, as the poets who had succeeded best in verses of love and gallantry. The Romans, when they spoke of them, usually joined them together. Dacier.

6 Ignorant and mistaken men! O seri studiorum! Seri studiorum signifies properly those who begin not their studies till late. As they never arrive at any great degree of perfection, so the pains they are forced to be at, to master the easiest subjects, makes them apt to admire trifles, such as Greek mixed with Latin, in a work.

7 Pitheleon of Rhodes. A wretched epigrammatist, who prided himself in mixing

Greek and Latin in his epigrams. Bentley fancies that this Pitheleon is the same with Pitheleus, who made so free with Caesar's character in some defamatory verses. Anli Cæcinæ criminossissimo libro, & Pithelei carminibus maledicentissimis laceratam existimationem suam civili animo tulit. Suet. c. 75. But as Pitheleus is a word that cannot so well enter into hexameter verse, Horace changed it into Pitheleon. He is the same whom Macrobius, in his Saturnalia, calls Marcus Otacilius Pitheleus, because he was the freedman of Otacilius.

8 As Falernian wine when mixed with that of Chios. Falernian wine was rough and harsh in the mouth, so that they seldom used it without a mixture of Chian, which was of a sweet pleasant taste. This mixture was made at table, that every one might suit it to his own fancy.

9 Some very difficult cause, as that of Petillius.

Pedius Poplicola¹⁰ and Valerius Corvinus¹¹ harangued against him with all the force of rhetoric; would you forgetful of your country, parents, and the Roman name, amuse yourself in crouding your speech with foreign words, to the dishonour of your own
 30 language, like the inhabitants of Canusium¹²?

Once having taken it in my head, though born on this side the sea; to write Greek verses; Romulus¹³ appeared to me after midnight, when dreams are true¹⁴; and dissuaded me from the attempt in these words: To think of augmenting the troop of Greek poets is no wiser project, than if you should carry a
 35 load of wood to the forest. While Alpinus¹⁵ in a swelling style murders Memnon, and disturbs the muddy sources of the Rhine¹⁶, I amuse myself in these humble lays; which are not made to be recited publicly in the temple of Apollo, and dispute the prize before Tarpa¹⁷; nor to be acted over and over again upon the theatre.

40 You only, Fundanius¹⁸, of all men living, possess the happy talent of describing a cunning Davus and artful courtesan, contriving together to entrap a covetous old Chremes. Pollio¹⁹ sings the acts

ANNOTATIONS.

silius. This is the same *Petillius*, of whom he speaks in his fourth Satire, and who, as we have observed there, was accused of having stolen a crown of gold out of the Capitol. *Horace* calls his cause; *causa dura*; because there were strong presumptions against him; and it would be a difficult matter to bring him off.

¹⁰ *Pedius*. This is, without doubt, the son of that *Q. Pedius* whom *Julius Cæsar* made heir to the fourth part of his estate; and who was chosen consul with *Octavius*, in room of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*.

¹¹ *Corvinus*. *V. Messala Corvinus*, no less distinguished by his eloquence than by his noble birth. He was descended from the famed *Valerius Poplicola*. *Quintilian* gives the following judgment of him in the first Chapter of his 10th Book. *At Messala nitidus & candidus, & quodammodò præ se ferens in dicendo nobilitatem suam, viribus minor.* "The style of *Messala* is clear and correct; he speaks with a dignity answerable to his noble birth, but comes short of the strength and vigor of *Cicero*."

¹² *Like the inhabitants of Canusium*. *Canusium* had been built by *Diomedes*. *Horace* himself tells us so in his fifth Satire. Besides the original Greek inhabitants, there were a great many others from different parts of *Italy* that had settled in it, who spoke the *Latin* tongue. By this means their language was a mixture of *Greek* and *Latin*;

but so that they spoke neither the one nor the other of them right; as is always the case with strangers. *Virgil*, in like manner, calls the *Tyrians*, *bilingues*, *Æneid*. I. *Tyriosque bilingues*. Because their language was a mixture of *Phœnician* and *African*.

¹³ *Romulus*. It was fit he should appear rather than any other Deity, because he was chiefly interested that his descendants might not cultivate any other tongue to the neglect of their own. *Heinsius* remarks, that *Horace* had here probably in his eye a dream of *Ennius*, who, in the beginning of his *Annals*, says,

Vixus Homerus adesse poeta.

¹⁴ *When dreams are true*. *Apollonius*, in his *Philostratus*, tells us, that the interpreters of dreams made it their first question, when the vision happened? For if it was towards the morning, they conjectured, that the dream was true; because then the soul is disengaged from the vapours of wine and food. *Ovid* makes *Hero* thus write to *Leander*.

*Jamque sub Aurorâ, jam dormitante lucernâ,
 Tempore quo cerni somnia vera solent.*

"Before the rising of *Aurora*, my lamp yielding only a glimmering light, at the time when our dreams are true."

¹⁵ *Alpinus*. *Cruquius* fancies, that by *Alpinus* we are here to understand *Cornelius Gallus*. But it is not to be thought that *Horace* would have spoken so disrespectfully of

Scilicet oblitus patriæque, patrisque, Latine *
 Cum Pedius causas exfudet Poplicola atque
 Corvinus; patriis intermiscere petita
 Verba foris malis, Canusini more bilinguis? 30
 Atqui ego cum Græcos facerem, natus mare citra,
 Versiculos; vetuit me tali † voce Quirinus
 Post mediam noctem visus, cum somnia vera:
 In silvam non ligna feras insanius, ac si
 Magnas Græcorum malis implere catervas. 35

Turgidus Alpinus jugulat dum Memnona, dumq;
 Diffingit Rheni luteum caput, hæc ego ludo,
 Quæ nec ‡ in æde sonent certantia, iudice Tarpâ;
 Nec redeant iterum atque iterum spectanda theatris.
 Argutâ meretrice potes, Davoque Chremeta 40
 Eludente senem, comis garrere libellos,
 Unus vivorum, Fundani. Pollio regum
 Facta canit pede ter percussio. Fortè epos acer,

quæ nec sonent certantia in æde, Tarpâ iudice; nec redeant spectanda theatris iterum atque iterum. Tu, Fundani, unus vivorum, potes comis garrere libellos, argutâ meretrice Davoque eludente senem Chremeta. Pollio canit facta regum pede ter percussio. Varius acer ducit epos, ut fortè nemo. Camenæ

* Latini, Bentl.

† tali me, Id.

‡ neque, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

an excellent poet, the friend of Virgil, and at the same time of great authority in the state; for he was governor of Ægypt. *Alpinus* is the real name of a poet; he wrote a tragedy which he called *Memnon*, in imitation of the *Memnon* of Æschylus; but the whole was so bombast, extravagant, and injudicious, that *Horace* says, *Memnon* died by the hands of the poet, without waiting for the stroke from *Achilles*. *Memnon* was the son of *Aurora*, and king of *Æthiopia*, who, going to the assistance of the *Trojans*, was slain by *Achilles*.

16 *Disturbs the muddy sources of the Rhine.* *Alpinus*, not contented with writing tragedy, attempted also an heroic poem upon the *German war*. In this, he had given a description of the *Rhine*, but so wretched, that the river was hardly to be known. His tresses were stained with mud, and his waters troubled. This is the meaning of *diffingit luteum caput*.

17 *Tarpa.* *Metius Tarpa*, one of the five judges established to decide upon the merit of authors. The old scholiast gives the following account, which, no doubt, he had from some ancient tradition. *Metius Tarpa fuit iudex criticus, auditor assiduus poematum & poetarum, in æde Apollinis seu*

Musarum, quâ convenire poetæ solebant, suaque scripta recitare, quæ nisi à Tarpâ aut alio critico, qui numero erant quinque, probarentur, in scenam non deferbantur. “*Metius Tarpa*

“ was a celebrated critic, and constantly
 “ present at the recitals of the poets,
 “ which was commonly done in the temple of *Apollo* or the *Muses*, where poets
 “ met together, and read over their pieces
 “ before the five judges appointed for
 “ that purpose, which, unless approved by
 “ them, were not allowed to be acted in
 “ public.” *Vossius* conjectures, that these

five judges were established at *Rome*, in imitation of those at *Athens* and in *Sicily*, who examined such pieces as were to be produced on the theatre, and were the same in number.

18 *Fundanius.* He is known only by this elogium of *Horace*. This passage refers to the *Andria* of *Terence*, where *Chremes* is deceived by the artifices of *Davus*.

19 *Pollio.* A celebrated tragic poet. *Pede ter percussio.* In iambics, which consisted of only three measures, of two feet each.

20 *Varius.* Famed for epic poetry; he was one of those to whom the revival of the *Æneid* was committed.

21 *The*

acts of kings in lofty iambics. Varius²⁰ carries off the prize of epic poetry. The rural Nymphs²¹ smile upon Virgil, and
 45 have adorned him with all their charms. Satire attempted in vain by Varro Atacinus²², and some others, was that in which I found I could succeed best, yet always acknowledging myself much inferior to Lucilius, whom I own for the inventor of this species of poetry; nor would I upon any account dare to take from his head the garland which he wears with so much honor and applause.

50 But I have said that he flows with a muddy current, and that along with what is good in him there are many things to be rejected. Tell me, you who are so knowing, did you never yet meet with any thing to censure in the great Homer? Did courtly Lucilius change nothing in the tragedies of Attius²³?

Does he not take the freedom to laugh at some bad lines in En-
 55 nius²⁴; when, at the same time, he speaks of himself, as one not above those he censures? Why may not I also have the liberty, in reading over the writings of Lucilius, to examine whether it was owing to want of genius, or the harshness of the subjects, that his verses are so incorrect and unharmonious? As if any one could think it enough to join together six feet, and, satisfied

60 with this, pride himself in writing two hundred verses before supper, and as many after; like Cassius²⁵ the Tuscan, whose fertile genius, more rapid than an impetuous stream, produced so many books, that, as some reports, he perished in a conflagration of his own works.

It is granted, that Lucilius is a courtly and pleasant writer; it is
 65 granted, that he is more polished than the first author of this kind of verse unknown to the Greeks; yea, than all the tribe of poets that went before him: yet, had fate reserved him for the present age, he would have retrenched much of what he wrote;
 70 have spared nothing superfluous; and in writing would have often scratched his head, and gnawed his nails to the quick.

He who desires that his works should be read more than once with pleasure, must often turn the style²⁶; and, contented with a few

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²¹ *The rural Nymphs.* For Virgil at this time had writ only his Eclogues and Georgics.

²² *Varro Atacinus.* Whom we are to take care not to confound with *Terentius Varro*, who writes *De Re Rusticâ*. This here spoken of was of a place named *Atax*, in *Narbonnese Gaul*.

²³ *Attius.* A tragic poet, who came next after *Pacuvius*. We have some frag-

ments of his still remaining. He was also the author of some comedies.

²⁴ *Ennius.* Was one of the best Roman poets. He wrote annals in hexameter verse; also an heroic poem, in honor of *Scipio Africanus*.

²⁵ *Cassius.* He was of the number of those who conspired against *Cæsar*, and followed *Brutus*. After the death of *Brutus* he

Ut nemo, Varius ducit. Molle atque facetum
 Virgilio annuerunt gaudentes rure Camenæ.
 Hoc erat, experto frustra Varrone Atacino,
 Atque quibusdam aliis, melius quod scribere possem,
 Inventore minor; neque ego illi detrahere ausim
 Hærentem capiti multâ cum * laude coronam.

At dixi fluere hunc lutulentum, sæpè ferentem
 Plura quidem tollenda relinquendis. Age, quæso,
 Tu nihil in magno doctus reprêndis Homero?
 Nil comis tragici mutat Lucilius Atti?
 Non ridet versus Ennî gravitate minores;
 Cùm de se loquitur, non ut majore reprênsis?
 Quid vetat & nosmet, Lucilî scripta legentes,
 Quærere num illius, num rerum dura negârit
 Versiculos natura magis factos, & euntes
 Mollius? At si quis, pedibus quid claudere senis,
 Hoc tantùm contentus, amet scripsisse ducentos
 Ante cibum versus, totidem cœnatus; Etrusci
 Quale fuit Casî, rapido ferventius amni,
 Ingenium, caplis quem fama est esse librisque
 Ambustum propriis. Fuerit Lucilius, inquam,
 Comis & urbanus; fuerit limatior idem,
 Quàm rudis & Græcis intacti carminis auctor,
 Quàmque poëtarum seniorum turba: sed ille,
 Si foret hoc nostrum fato dilatus in ævum,
 Detereret sibi multa; recideret omne quod ultra
 Perfectum traheretur; & in versu faciendo
 Sæpè caput scaberet, vivos & roderet ungues.

Sæpè stylum vertas, iterùm quæ digna legi sint
 Scripturus; neque, te ut miretur turba, labores,
 Contentus paucis lectoribus. An tua demens

cilius fuerit, inquam, comis & urbanus; fuerit idem limatior, quàm auctor carminis rudis & intacti Græcis, quàmque turba seniorum poëtarum: sed ille, si foret dilatus fato in hoc nostrum ævum, detereret multa sibi; recideret omne quod traheretur ultra perfectum; & in faciendo versu sæpè scaberet caput, & roderet vivos ungues. Sæpè vertas stylum, scripturus quæ digna sint legi iterùm; neque labores, ut turba miretur te, immo contentus eris paucis lectoribus. An

* cum multâ, *Bentl.*

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he joined with *Pompey*, and at last offered himself to *Antony*, to whom he was of great service. He was all his life the declared enemy of *Augustus*. After the defeat of *Antony*, he retired to *Atbens*. *Augustus* gave *Varius* orders to go and put him to death. *Varius* obeyed, and after he had slain him, set fire to his books and papers, among which he was consumed.

²⁶ Must often turn the style. The ancients wrote upon tables covered with wax, and made use of an instrument called a style, pointed at the one end, and flat at the other; when what they had written did not please them, they blotted it out with the flat end of the instrument.

few choice readers, despise the empty applauses of the croud,
 75 Have you the foolish vanity to wish that your verses may be read
 in the public schools? My taste is of a very different kind:
 it is enough if the knights give their approbation; as said once
 the bold comedian *Arbuscula*²⁷, despising the mob, who had
 hissed her off the stage. Shall I be moved at what such an in-
 sect as *Pantilius*²⁸ says of me? Shall what *Demetrius* speaks of me
 in my absence, give me any disturbance? Is it in the power
 80 of pitiful *Fannius*, that assiduous parasite at the table of *Hermo-*
genes Tigellius, to hurt me? Let *Plotius*, and *Varius*, *Mæcenas*,
Virgil, and *Valgius*, *Fuscus*, and the good *Octavius*²⁹, with both
 the *Visci*, approve of these: without vanity³⁰, I mention also
 85 *Pollio*, *Messala*, and his brother, *Bibulus*, and *Servius*; to whom
 let be joined candid *Furnius*: let these, I say, with many others,
 men of great merit and my friends, whom out of prudence I
 avoid to mention, think well of my writings, it is all I ask:
 these are the men I am most concerned to please; and must
 own, that nothing could mortify me more, than to be disap-
 90 pointed. As for you, *Demetrius* and *Tigellius*, I leave you to
 lament and sigh amidst the circle of your female admirers³¹.

Go boy³² quickly, and add this Satire also to those I have
 already written.

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²⁷ *Arbuscula*. A celebrated comedian of that age. *Atticus*, in a letter to *Cicero*, asks if *Arbuscula* had done her part well in the *Andromache* of *Ennius*, which she had lately acted. *Cicero* answers, *Quæris nunc de Arbusculâ; valdè placuit*: "You ask concerning *Arbuscula*; she pleased extremely."

²⁸ *Pantilius*. A buffoon, and great enemy of *Horace*, whom he calls *cimex*, an insect, out of contempt. *Fannius* is the same of whom he speaks in Satire IV.

²⁹ *Octavius*. An excellent poet and historian. The *Visci* were two brothers, and both senators. *Bibulus* was the son of him that had been consul in 695, and *Servius* the son of *Servius Sulpicius*, who corresponded with *Cicero*. *Furnius* was consul in the year 737, and equally master of the pen and the sword. All the rest mentioned in this catalogue have been spoken of before.

³⁰ *Without vanity*. *Ambitione relegatâ*. The word *ambitio* may here signify either flattery or ostentation. According to the latter acceptation, *Horace* would say, I may also mention to you *Pollio* and *Messala*, without imputation of affecting to do myself honor by so great names. And this is the explication that *Theodorus Marcilius* gives into. But *Dacier* rejects this, as inconsistent with the respect due to *Mæcenas*, who had been named before without any particular marks of distinction. He thinks the first sense the most natural, and observes, that *Cicero* has affixed the same meaning to the word, in the 18th Epistle of his 13th Book. *Fasiamque id quod debent facere ii, qui religiosè & sine ambitione commendant*: "I will do what they ought to do, who praise sincerely and without flattery." *Sanadiv*, however, fancies that we are to take *ambitio* in

Vilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis ?
Non ego : nam satis est equitem mihi plaudere ; ut
audax,

Contemptis aliis, explosa Arbuscula dixit.

Men' moveat cimex Pantilius ? Aut crucier *, quòd
Vellicet absentem Demetrius ? aut quòd ineptus
Fannius Hermogenis lædat conviva Tigelli ?

Plotius, & Varius, Mæcenæ, Virgiliusque,
Valgius, & probet hæc Octavius optimus, atque
Fuscus, & hæc utinam Viscorum laudet uterque :

Ambitione relegatâ, te dicere possum,

Pollio ; te, Messala, tuo cum fratre ; simulque

Vos Bibuli †, & Servi ; simul his te, candide Furni ;

Complures alios, doctos ego quos & amicos

Prudens prætereo ; quibus hæc, sint ‡ qualiacunque,

Arridere velim ; doliturus, si placeant spe

Deterius nostrâ. Demetri, teque, Tigelli,

Discipularum inter jubeo plorare cathedras.

I puer, atque meo citus hæc subscribe libello.

demens malis tua carmina dictari in vilibus ludis ? Non ego : nam satis est equitem plaudere mihi ; ut Arbuscula explosa audax dixit, aliis contemptis. Pantiliusne cimex moveat me ? Aut crucier, quòd Demetrius vellicet absentem ? aut quòd ineptus Fannius, conviva Hermogenis Tigelli, lædat ? Plotius, & Varius, Mæcenæ, Virgiliusque, Valgius, & optimus Octavius probet hæc, atque Fuscus, utinam ut & uterque Viscorum laudet hæc : ambitione relegatâ, possum etiam dicere te, O Pollio ; te, Messala, cum fratre tuo ; simulque vos Bibuli, &

Servi ; & simul his te quoque, candide Furni ; atque complures alios doctos & amicos, quos ego prudens prætereo ; quibus velim hæc, qualiacunque sint, arridere ; doliturus, si placeant deterius nostrâ spe. Te, O Demetri, teque, Tigelli, jubeo plorare inter cathedras discipularum. I puer, atque subscribe hæc citus meo libello.

* cruciet, Bentl.

† Bibule, Id.

‡ sunt, Id.

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in the same sense as in Satire sixth, where he says *pravâ ambitione procul*, "without importunity or courtship." The reader may choose for himself. I have rendered it according to *Marcilius*.

³¹ To lament and sigh amidst the circle of your female admirers. *Discipularum inter jubeo plorare cathedras*. We have observed before, that *Demetrius* and *Tigellius* were men of an effeminate turn, taken only with loves-verses, such as those of *Calvus* and *Catullus*. We may naturally conclude hence, that their chief study was to fill their works with soft and tender sentiments, and to gain the approbation of the ladies.

³² Go boy. This verse has the air of one marching off in triumph. *Horace* was

very sensible that his cause was good, and finishes his Satire in the same strain as he began it. His design was to defend the censure he had passed upon *Lucilius* in the fourth Satire, and to shew what reasons he had for continuing in the same mind. *Lucilius* was an author of great merit ; he allows him to be the inventor of this kind of poetry, and that himself had done no more than improve upon his model, yet he was not absolutely without faults ; and, in censuring these, he did no more than use the same freedom with him, as he had done with others that went before him. This last line, therefore, contains a kind of subscription to his former sentiments, and shews that he still persisted in them.

The KEY.

WE have seen that *Horace*, in the fourth Satire of this Book, censures *Lucilius* for his incorrect versification. This poet had many admirers at *Rome*, so zealous for his reputation, that they could not bear the least hint, how just soever, to his prejudice. We may easily suppose therefore, that the liberty which our poet had taken with him, would give great offence; for men are not soon persuaded to renounce the opinions they have once given into. They accused *Horace* of a malicious design to discredit *Lucilius*, and raise himself a character at his expence. The poet, however, conscious of his innocence, and that he intended no more than to act the part of a candid and just critic, writes this Satire in his own defence; and to shew upon what reasons he founded his judgment, he endeavours to establish a justness of taste in his countrymen, and points out what is blame-worthy in *Lucilius*, and what deserving of praise. He proceeds afterwards to lay down some rules for correct writing; and shews how absurd the reasons were upon which the admirers of *Lucilius* grounded their judgment: even that poet's own example justified him in the liberty which he took, who had in many things

cen.

The KEY.

censured *Attius* and *Ennius*. In fine, after rendering to *Lucilius* all due justice, he allows that what he blamed in him, was more perhaps the fault of the times than of the man. The Muses were then only in their infancy at *Rome*, and he was destitute of many helps, which he might have enjoyed in a better age, and which would have enabled him to form a truer judgment of the perfection of a work. On this account he conjectures, that had he lived in the same age with himself, he would have taken more pains in his compositions, and cut off every thing that was superfluous. He concludes with observing, that but very few are true judges of merit; that it matters little what the rabble and herd of critics say, provided we are approved of by men of a just taste and discernment.

This Satire was composed after *Virgil* had written his *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, and probably before he had undertaken the *Æneis*. The mention he makes in it of the temple of *Palatine Apollo*, has determined some critics to fix it to the year 727, because that temple was not dedicated till the year 726.

THE SECOND BOOK OF SATIRES.

SATIRE I.

He cannot, at present, follow the advice of *Trebatius*, to celebrate the actions of *Augustus*, and give over writing of satires.

HOR. **T**HERE are some to whom I seem too bold in my satires, who fancy, that I push the raillery too far. Others again think, there is no force in what I write, and that a thousand such lines might be spun out in a day. Tell me, *Trebatius*¹, what
5 had I best do.

TREB. Why, even give it over altogether.

HOR. How do you mean, that I write no more?

TREB. The very same.

HOR. Let me die, if that were not the better way; but then I cannot sleep.

TREB. Not sleep? anoint yourself with oil, and swim thrice over the Tiber², take a cheerful glass at night; and I will warrant your cure. Or, if you are possessed with so strong an itch of
10 writing, dare to sing the praise of mighty Cæsar, where you may expect a full recompence for your labor.

HOR. That's what I burn to do, but my strength, good *Trebatius*, will not bear me out: it is not for every one³ to describe the battalions bristling with pikes, or the expiring Gauls darting
15 their broken spears, or the wounded Parthian falling headlong from his horse.

TREB.

ANNOTATIONS.

¹ *Trebatius*. This is *C. Trebatius Testa*, written, he must, by this time, have been the most celebrated lawyer of that age, as of an advanced age. *Horace* applies to him as one of great authority, on account is evident from the letters which *Cicero* wrote to him. He was greatly in favor of his age and skill in the law. He was both with *Julius Cæsar* and *Augustus*. As farther a good judge of raillery, and had he accompanied the first in his wars in often used it with delicacy and success.

² *Swin*

S A T I R A R U M

LIBER SECUNDUS.

S A T I R A I.

Datum à Trebatio consilium de rebus gestis Augusti scribendis, & satirâ relinquendâ, se non sequi posse ostendit.

ORDO.

SUNT quibus in satirâ videar nimis acer, & ultra Legem tendere opus. Sine nervis altera, quicquid

Composui, pars esse putat, similesque meorum

Mille die versus deduci posse. Trebati,

Quid faciam præscribe. Quiescas. Ne faciam, inquis,

Omninò versus? Aio. Peream malè, si non

Optimum erat; verùm nequeo dormire. Ter uncti

Transnanto Tiberim, somno quibus est opus alto,

Irriguumque mero sub noctem corpus habento.

Aut, si tantus amor scribendi te rapit*, aude

Cæsaris invicti res dicere, multa laborum

Præmia laturus. Cupidum, pater optime, vires

Deficiunt: neque enim quivis horrentia pilis

Agmina, nec fractâ pereuntes cuspidè Gallos,

Aut labentis equo describat† vulnera Parthi.

amor scribendi rapit te, aude dicere res invicti Cæsaris, laturus multa præmia laboris. Hor. O optime pater, vires deficiunt me cupidum: neque enim quivis describat agmina horrentia pilis, nec Gallos pereuntes fractâ cuspidè, aut vulnera Parthi labentis equo.

SUNT homines quibus videar nimis acer in satirâ, & tendere opus ultra legem.

Altera pars putat, quicquid composui esse sine nervis, versusque mille similes meorum

deduci posse uno die.

O Trebati, præscribe quid faciam. Treb. Quiescas. Hor. In-

quis, ne faciam omninò versus? Trebat. Aio. Hor. Peream malè, si

non erat optimum; verùm nequeo dormire.

Treb. Hi, quibus opus est alto somno, uncti

ter transnanto Tiberim, habentque corpus irriguum mero sub noctem. Aut, si tantus

* capit, Bentl.

† describit, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

² *Swim thrice over the Tiber. Ter uncti* was what of all things he most delighted in, as is evident from Cicero's letters to him.

³ *It is not for every one. The very mention of the exploits of Augustus inspires Horace with more than ordinary poetic fire.*

The

TREB. But you may celebrate his justice and bravery, as of old the wise Lucilius⁴ praised these pacific virtues in Scipio.

HOR. I will not be wanting, when occasion offers: Horace's words shall never force themselves upon Cæsar, but at a season to
20 be favorably heard; for ill-timed praise he rejects with scorn and contempt⁵.

TREB. How much better this, than to expose in bitter lines Pantolabus⁶ the buffoon, or profligate Nomentanus? This alarms every one on his own account, and, though untouched, he is sure to hate you heartily.

HOR. What would you have me do? Milonius⁷, as soon as his
25 head is heated with wine, and the lamps appear double, falls to dancing: Castor delights in horses; his brother from the same egg⁸, loves nothing so much as boxing. As many men, so many minds. My genius leads me to write verses in the manner of Lucilius, who could do more this way than us both⁹. The
30 good man committed all his secrets to his papers, as to so many faithful friends; and whether his affairs went well or ill¹⁰, he sought after no other confidants: hence it come to pass, that the old man's life¹¹ appears as strongly marked in his works as if described in some consecrated picture. I march in his steps, whether of Lucania or Apulia is hard to say¹²: for the Venusian¹³ peasant
35 tills the land upon the frontiers of both provinces, sent hither (as old tradition has it) upon the expulsion of the Sabines, to prevent the

ANNOTATIONS.

The style is elevated and noble. Critics have not failed to observe, that in this very passage, where he so modestly declines the task of epic poetry, he shews that he had a genius equal to it.

4 *Lucilius*. This poet, besides his Satires, wrote also a poem upon *Scipio Africanus*, the Son of *Paulus Æmilius*, where he celebrated, in a particular manner, his valour and justice.

5 *He rejects with scorn and contempt*. *Cui malè si palpere, recalcitrat*. This is a metaphor taken from noble sprightly horses, who suffer themselves with pleasure to be caressed by a delicate skilful hand, but wince and kick at those that touch them roughly.

6 *Pantolabus*. He refers to these verses of the eighth Satire of the first Book.

Hoc miseræ plebi stabat commune sepulchrum, Pantolabo scurræ, Nomentanoque nepoti.

7 *Milonius*. Horace does not attempt to defend satire against *Trebatius*; that was not his design; he only endeavours to excuse it. He tells us, that he could not sleep without it; that he was fit for nothing else:

every one has his humors; and his was to copy *Lucilius*. It is probable that this *Milonius* was a person of some consideration.

8 *His brother from the same egg*. The poets feigned that *Castor* and *Pollux* sprung from an egg, because *Jupiter* transformed himself into a swan, when he appeared to *Leda*.

9 *Who could do more this way than us both*. *Nostrum melioris utroque*. *Rutgerfids* proves, that this way of speaking was frequent in conversation, when any person was mentioned whose character commanded respect. Thus *Lucretius*, iii. 1038.

Lumina sis oculis etiam bonus Ancu' reliquit, Qui melior multis, quam tu, fuit, improbe, rebus.

10 *Whether his affairs went well or ill*. *Lucilius* wrote, as one may say, for the pleasure of writing, and never retouched or corrected his works. Whether in the humor or not, he still employed his time in versifying. Hence it happens, that in reading his works, one may observe great inequalities, and be able to distinguish his good and bad days, when things went well or ill

Attamen & justum poteras & scribere fortem,
 Scipiadam ut sapiens Lucilius. Haud mihi deero,
 Cùm res ipsa feret: nisi dextro tempore, Flacci
 Verba per attentam non ibunt Cæsaris aurem;
 Cui malè si palpere, recalcitrat* undique tutus. 20
 Quantò rectius hoc, quàm tristi lædere versu
 Pantolabum scurram, Nomentanumque † nepotem?
 Cùm sibi quisque timet, quanquam est intactus,
 & odit.

Quid faciam? Saltat Milonius ‡, ut semel icto
 Accessit fervor capiti, numerusque lucernis: 25
 Castor gaudet equis; ovo prognatus eodem,
 Pugnis. Quot capitum vivunt, totidem studiorum
 Millia. Me pedibus delectat claudere verba
 Lucili ritu, nostrum melioris utroque.
 Ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim
 Credebat libris; neque, si malè gesserat || usquam,
 Decurrens aliò, neque si benè: quo fit, ut omnis
 Votivâ pateat veluti descripta tabellâ
 Vita senis. Sequor hunc, Lucanus an Appulus, an-
 cepts: 30

Nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus,
 Missus ad hoc pulsus (vetus est ut fama) Sabellis, 34

me claudere verba pedibus ritu Lucilii, melioris utroque nostrum. Ille credebat olim arcana libris, velut fidis sodalibus; neque usquam decurrens aliò, si benè gesserat, neque si malè: quo fit, ut omnis vita senis pateat veluti descripta votivâ tabellâ. Ego hunc sequor, anceps an Lucanus sim an Appulus; nam Venusinus colonus arat sub utrumque finem, missus ad hoc pulsus Sabellis (ut fama vetus est),

Treb. Attamen poteras scribere & justum, & fortem, ut sapiens Lucilius scripsit Scipiadam (Scipionem.) Hor. Haud deero mihi, cum ipsa res feret: verba Flacci non ibunt per attentam aurem Cæsaris, nisi dextro tempore; cui si palpere malè, recalcitrat tutus undique. Treb. Quantò rectius est hoc, quàm lædere tristi versu Pantolabum scurram, Nomentanumque nepotem? cum quisque, quanquam intactus est, timet sibi, & odit te. Hor. Quid faciam? Milonius saltat, semel ut fervor accessit capiti icto per vinum, numerusque lucernis; Castor gaudet equis; qui fuit prognatus eodem ovo, gaudet pugnis. Quot capitum, totidem vivunt millia studiorum. Delectat

* recalcitret, Bentl. † Nomentanumve, Id. ‡ Milonius, Id. || cesserat, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

III with him: and this is what Horace means, when he tells us, that he hath left us a picture of himself in his writings. The votive pictures were in use among the Romans, not only on occasion of sad and calamitous accidents, as diseases, and shipwrecks; but also on account of any signal piece of good fortune.

11 *The old man's life.* All the world agrees, that Lucilius was born in the 605th year of the city. It is plain from his writings, that he lived till the 660th; for he speaks of the sumptuary law of Licinius, which was not made till the year 658 or 659. It is possible, that he may have lived several years after this, and have been about sixty when he died. Horace therefore had good reason to call him *senex*, an old man. Eusebius is evidently mistaken, in allowing him to have lived no more than 46 years.

12 *Whether of Lucania or Apulia is hard to say.* Sanadon observes in this whole passage a nice and concealed raillery against Lucilius. We have before taken notice of the inequality of his writings, and his neglect to consult the proper time when his genius was free and vigorous. He was also remarkable for another fault, of dwelling too long upon trifles, and amusing himself with every little story that came in his way, often to the neglect of the main subject. To make this defect the more apparent, and expose it in all its ridicule, Horace gives a specimen of it in the manner of Lucilius. No one knew better than our poet how to gain his point, in the most delicate way.

13 *Venusium*, was a city of the Samnites, as is evident from Strabo. It was situated upon the frontiers of Lucania and Apulia; whence

the enemy from entering the Roman territories through that empty tract; or perhaps to keep an eye upon the Leucanians and Apulians, who were often engaged in bloody wars with the Romans. Be that as it will, my pen shall never be drawn first
 40 against any one living, but shall guard me like a sword in the scabbard; which why should I think of unsheathing, unless attacked by furious banditti? Great Jupiter, king and father, grant that my weapon may perish with rust; and that none may provoke me who am naturally fond of peace! But whoever once
 45 rouses me (I tell him he had better desist), he shall soon repent his folly, and be chronicled in ditty over all the lanes in town.

Servius¹⁴ when provoked threatens an action and the judge's urn; Canidia¹⁵, daughter of Albutius, hath poisons in store for her enemies; Turius¹⁶ makes you dread the loss of your suit, if
 50 depending before the court where he sits as judge. Every one endeavours to make himself dreaded by that in which his chief strength lies; it is the way pointed out to us by nature herself, as you may easily learn with me. The wolf trusts in his teeth, the bull in his horns: whence this but from instinct? Trust profligate Scæva¹⁷ with his long-lived mother.

TREB. His pious hand will never be stained with any crime.
 56 HOR. Wonderful, no doubt! Does the wolf attack with his heels, or the ox with his teeth? Some hemlock, however, piously mixed with her honey shall do the old woman's business. In brief, whether it prove my lot to enjoy a happy old age, or death already hovers round me with his black wings; whether rich, or poor, at Rome, or an exile; whatever my condition of life be, write I will.

60 TREB. I am afraid, my son, you will be but short-lived; I tremble lest some of your friends among the great kill you with a cold look¹⁸.

HOR. How? when Lucilius before me wrote in the same strain, and boldly pulled off the mask, where baseness lurked under
 65 a false shew of beauty: did Lælius¹⁹, or he who deservedly gained the name of Africanus from the overthrow of Carthage, take offence

ANNOTATIONS.

whence *Horace* makes it doubtful which of these two provinces he belongs to. The *Romans*, in a war with the *Samnites*, drove them out of the city, and planted in it a Roman colony, to hinder them from retaking it, and making incursions into *Latium*, as they had done formerly.

• 14 *Servius*. A celebrated informer, who threatened all that offended him, in the least trifle, with an action. The urn was that into which the judges threw their suffrages when they absolved or condemned.

15 *Canidia*. See what we have said of her in the eighth Satire of the first Book. Who this *Albutius* her father was, is not certainly known.

16 *Turius*. A selfish and revengeful senator, who commonly threatened his enemies with the loss of their suit.

17 *Scæva*. He is no farther known than by what *Horace* says of him. *Horace* means by this passage, that wicked men, in perpetrating the vilest of crimes, follow their particular humors.

Quò ne per vacuum Romano incurreret hostis ;
Sive quòd Appula gens, seu quòd Lucania bellum
Incuteret violenta. Sed hic stylus haud petet ultro
Quemquam animantem, & me veluti custodiet
ensis

40

Vaginâ tectus ; quem cur distringere coner,
Tutus ab infestis latronibus ? O pater & rex,
Jupiter, ut pereat positum rubigine telum ;
Nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi pacis ! At ille,
Qui me commôrit (melius non tangere clamo), 45
Flebit, & insignis totâ cantabitur urbe.

Servius iratus leges minitatur & urnam ;
Canidia Albuti, quibus est inimica, venenum ;
Grande malum Turius, si quis † se iudice certet.
Ut quo quisque valet suspectos terreat, utque
Imperet hoc natura potens, sic collige mecum.
Dente lupus, cornu taurus petit : undè nisi intûs
Monstratum ? Scævæ vivacem crede nepoti
Matrem. Nil faciet sceleris pia dextera. Mirum !
Ut ‡ neque calce lupus quemquam, neque dente pe-
tit bos :

50

55

Sed mala tollet anum vitiato melle cicuta.

Ne longum faciam, seu me tranquilla senectus
Expectat, seu mors atris circumvolat alis ;
Dives, inops, Romæ, seu fors ita jusserit, exul ;
Quisquis erit vitæ, scribam, color. O puer, ut sis 60
Vitalis metuo ; & majorum ne quis amicus
Frigore te feriat. Quid ? cùm est Lucilius ausus
Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem,
Detrahere & pellem, nitidus quâ quisque per ora || .
Cederet, introrsum turpis : num Lælius, aut * qui 65
Duxit ab oppressâ meritum Carthagine nomen,

quemquam calce, neque bos dente : sed cicuta mala melle vitiato tollet anum. Ne faciam longum, seu tranquilla senectus expectat me, seu mors circumvolat atris alis ; num dives, inops, Romæ, seu si fors ita jusserit, exul ; quisquis erit color vitæ, scribam. Treb. O puer, metuo ut sis vitalis ; & ne quis amicus majorum feriat te frigore. Hor. Quid ? cùm Lucilius primus ausus est componere carmina in hunc morem operis, & detrahere pellem, quâ quisque cederet nitidus per ora, turpis introrsum : num Lælius, aut qui duxit meritum nomen ab oppressâ Carthagine,

† quid, Benl.

‡ ni, Id.

|| in, Id.

* &, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

18 Kill you with a cold look. Ne quis amicus majorum, instead of Ne quis ex majoribus tuis amicis. Frigore ferire is an expression not very common. To look cold upon him, to fall into disgrace with. Seneca uses frigus in the same sense in his 122d Epistle: Recitabat Montanus Julius carmen tolerabilis pœta, & amicitia Tiberii notus, & frigore.

19 Lælius. C. Lælius, surnamed the Wise, whom Cicero makes the speaker, in his Dialogue upon Friendship, and Publius Scipio Æmilianus, who was called Africanus, from his having destroyed Carthage. They were both, in their time, great ornaments to learning, and contributed much to the reformation of taste at Rome.

offence at his freedom? Did they take part with Metellus²⁰, or Lupus²¹, so unmercifully exposed in his satires? Regarding only
 70 virtue and her adherents, he spared neither the great men, nor the people of whatever tribe²². And yet this valiant Scipio and mild Lælius, when they withdrew from business and the public theatre of the world, were wont to trifle and divert themselves with him²³ whole evenings, while their supper of herbs and roots was getting ready. Such as I am, though inferior to Lu-
 75 cilius²⁴ in genius and quality, yet even envy must acknowledge that I have lived in some degree of reputation with the great; and seeking where to fix her baneful teeth²⁵, shall find me all over inaccessible. This, Trebatius, is my last resolve; to which, unless you advise something better, I am determined firmly to adhere.

80 TREB. It is well; only beware, that through ignorance of the laws you do not bring yourself into a præmunire: whoever, say they, writes ill verses²⁶ upon another, an action may be brought against him.

HOR. True, if he writes ill verses²⁷; but if good, he shall be praised even by Cæsar himself. If you lash a man who merits censure, the judges will laugh²⁸ at the humor, tear the indictment in pieces, and acquit you of the charge.

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²⁰ Metellus. There were many of this name in Lucilius's time, and all of the same family. It is not easy to learn from the fragments that remain of Lucilius, which of these it was, that he attacked in his satires. Critics are generally inclined to think that it was Q. Cecilius Metellus Numidicus. Probably the victories of Scipio over Carthage, and those of Metellus over Jugartha, had raised some jealousies between these two great men. And this might be the cause of Lucilius's hatred against the latter.

²¹ Lupus. P. Rutilius Lupus, who was consul in the year of the city 663. The poet had used him extremely ill in his satires, even to the accusing him of impiety, as is evident by the following fragment;

—Tubulus si Lucius unquam,
 Si Lupus, aut Carbo, aut Neptuni filius Divos
 Esse putasset, tam impius aut perjurus fuisset.

"If Lucius Tubulus, Lupus, Carbo, or the son of Neptune had any belief of the Gods, would they be so impious and perjured?" This Lupus was slain in a battle against the Marfi, which he engaged in contrary to the auspices.

²² The great men, and people of whatever tribe. It is plain from what remains to us of Lucilius, that he did not spare the great. Besides Metellus and Lupus, already mentioned, he attacked also *Mutius Scævola*, *Titus Albutius*, *Torquatus*, *Marcus Cæcilius*, *Lucius Tubulus*, *Publius Gallenus*, *Caius Cassius*, *Lucius Cotta*, *Clodius Asellus*, *Quintus Opimius*, *Nomentanus*, *Caius Cecilius Index*, *Trebellius*, *Publius Pavius Tuditanus*. And not satisfied with this, he run through all the thirty-five tribes, one after another.

²³ Were wont to trifle and divert themselves with him, &c. The friendship of Lælius and Scipio do great honor to Lucilius. One cannot but have a pleasure in observing these two great men, who bore such an important part in public, laying aside all constraint and reserve in private, and descending to play with their friends like children. It is not however for every one to imitate them; for few have the talent of entering into familiarity without bringing themselves into contempt.

²⁴ Inferior to Lucilius, &c. Lucilius was a Roman knight, and of quality, being descended

Ingenio offensi? aut læso dolière Metello,
Famosisque Lupo cooperto versibus? Atqui
Primores populi arripuit, populumque tributim,
Scilicet uni æquus virtuti atque ejus amicis.
Quin, ubi se à vulgo & scenâ in secreta remôrant
Virtus Scipiadae & mitis sapientia Læli,
Nugari cum illo & discincti ludere, donec
Decoqueretur olus, soliti. Quicquid sum ego,
quamvis

Infra Lucili censum ingeniumque, tamen me
Cum magnis vixisse invita fatebitur usque
Invidia; & fragili quærens illidere dentem,
Offendet solido. Nisi quid tu, docte Trebati,
Dissentis; equidem nihil hinc diffindere * possum.
Sed tamen ut monitus caveas, ne fortè negoti
Incutiat tibi quid sanctarum inscitia legum:
Si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, jus est
Judiciumque. Esto, si quis mala; sed bona si quis
Judice condiderit laudatur † Cæsare. Si quis
Opprobriis dignum latraverit ‡, integer ipse,
Solventur risu tabulae; tu missus abibis.

Treb. Sed tamen ut monitus caveas, ne inscitia sanctarum legum fortè incutiat quid negotii tibi
si quis condiderit mala carmina in quem, est jus judiciumque. Hor. Esto, si quis condiderit
mala; sed si quis condiderit bona, laudatur Cæsare judice. Si quis laceraverit dignum opprobrii,
ipse integer, tabulae solventur risu; tu missus abibis.

* hinc diffingere, Bentl.

† laudatus, Id.

‡ laceraverit, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

descended from a patrician family. Pompey the Great was his second nephew by the mother's side. Hence Horace says of himself, that he was *infra Lucili censum*, below Lucilius in quality and estate; for a knight's estate must be at least four hundred thousand sesterces, and that of a senator double, according to the register of the census.

25 And seeking where to fix her baneful web. Horace takes a pleasure in alluding to the apologues and moral fables that were in repute at that time: and this is what a reader ought carefully to attend to. The fable of the serpent and the file is here explained in two words.

26 Whoever writes ill verses. Si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina. This is the law of the twelve tables, which made it death to hurt the reputation of another. The words of the law runs thus; Si quis accensisset malum carmen, sive condidisset quod infamiam sumpsit flagitiumque alteri, capital esse;

"Whoever writes verses hurtful to the
"honor and reputation of another, let
"him be punished with death."

27 True, if he writes ill verses. Horace had nothing to answer to Trebatius; the words of the law were express; he therefore takes refuge in the ridicule he recommends, as sometimes useful, in the last Satire of the first Book:

— Ridiculum acri

Fortius & melius magnas plerumque secat res. He plays upon the equivocal meaning of *malum carmen*, which signifies either malicious and defamatory verses, or bad, or ill-running verses.

28 The judges will laugh. Solventur risu tabulae. By *tabulae*, commentators here understand the seats upon which the judges sat when they gave sentence, and these seats for the judges themselves, who far from proceeding with severity, would only laugh at the humor.

The

The KEY.

HORACE in his Satires, had two points in view; the first to discredit vice; the second to banish out of the world the false tenets of the philosophers: the former he hath attempted successfully in his first Book; the latter he pursues here: this required a greater shew of learning; and accordingly we have it, but without pedantry, and set out with all the graces that a sprightly genius could give it.

The Satires of this Book are a kind of theatrical compositions, where the method of dialogue is observed with wonderful spirit and exactness. *Dacier* observes, that there are four kinds of satire in *Horace*.

The first in the common way, where the poet only speaks. Such are all of the first Book, the eighth and ninth excepted.

The next, where another person is introduced, and the poet appears but little: such is the eighth of Book first, where *Priapus* speaks from beginning to end.

The third, where only the poet and another is introduced, as the ninth of the same Book.

And, lastly, where only strangers appear, without the poet's entering into the conversation. These are so many real theatrical pieces

S A T I R E II.

The inconveniences of a luxurious diet, and advantage of temperance.

COME and learn, my friends, what and how great a virtue it is to live cheerfully upon a little (nor is it I that speak¹, but *Ofellus*, that plain simple sage, wise without precepts², and a philosopher unbiassed to any sect); learn this, I say, not amidst
5 tables shining with plate, where the eye is dazzled with a false shew of splendor, and the mind drawn off by appearances will not regard sound instruction: but judge of the matter with me now while your stomachs are empty. Why so? I will endeavour, if

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¹ *Nor is it I that speak.* This was well cautioned by *Horace*; such precepts must have appeared ridiculous from him who was known to be a man of pleasure and taste. It was observed of the followers of *Epicurus*, that none could harangue better

upon the advantages of frugality, and none more readily quitted it for good fare. We know little or nothing about this *Ofellus*, only from what follows, that he was now a farmer, and tilled a piece of ground that had formerly been his own.

The KEY.

pieces like the fifth of the same Book, where the dialogue is only between *Tiresias* and *Ulysses*.

The Satire now before us is of the third kind, and full of pleasantry, though under a serious air. *Horace*, it would seem, was much censured for his Satires; and, as apprehensive of the consequence, comes to take the advice of a lawyer, who counsels him to desist. The poet answers, that he must be scribbling something, that his genius inclined chiefly this way, and that he found himself unfit for higher subjects; in fine, that *Lucilius* allowed himself in greater liberties than he, and yet was safe from the lash of the law. It is highly diverting to find *Horace* asking advice, whether he shall quit a way of writing, which yet he is determined not to give over upon any account.

Sanadon fixes the date of this Satire to the year of the city 733. His reason is, because the poet speaks in it of the defeat of the *Gauls* and *Parthians*. The first happened in the year 727, when *Messala* triumphed over the *Aquitains*; and the second in the year 732, when *Augustus* marched into the east with a great army.

S A T I R A II.

Sumptuosi victus incommoda; frugalitatis commoda.

QUÆ virtus & quanta, boni, sit vivere parvo
(Nec meus hic sermo est, sed quem * præcepit
Ofellus,

Rusticus, abnormis sapiens, crassaque Minervâ)
Discite, non inter lances mensasque nitentes,
Cum stupet insanis acies fulgoribus, & cum
Acclinis falsis animus meliora recusat:
Verum hæc impransi mecum disquirite. Cur hoc?
Dicam, si potero. Malè verum examinat omnis

verum impransi disquirite hæc mecum. Cur hoc? Dicam, si potero.

* quæ, Bentl.

O R D O.

O BONI, quæ & quanta sit virtus vivere parvo (nec sermo hic meus est, sed quem Ofellus, rusticus, sapiens abnormis, crassaque Minervâ, præcepit) discite, non inter lances nitentesque mensas, cum acies stupet insanis fulgoribus, & cum animus acclinis falsis recusat melioras

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² *Wise without precepts.* Abnormis sapiens. Properly one who attached himself to no master, a follower neither of the Stoics nor Epicureans, but a kind of natural philo-

sopher, who observed a middle between these two. Crassaque Minervâ; not gross nor clownish, as some have fancied; but a philosopher by nature, without study and art.

- if possible, to make you sensible. A corrupt judge decides ill³ in matters of right and property. Course a hare, ride the great
 10 horse; or, if being a man of pleasure⁴, the Roman exercises⁵ appear too violent, whether your inclination carries you to tennis⁶, or to cut the yielding air with the quoit⁷, where the pleasure you take in the game makes you insensible to the toil, make a party at either. When exercise hath driven away loathing, and sharpened your appetite, half-dead with hunger and thirst, despise, if you can, plain food; and refuse to taste Falernian
 15 wine unless softened with honey of Hymettus⁸. When your butler is absent, and a stormy sea⁹ denies you fish; a morsel of bread and salt can comfortably appease your raging stomach¹⁰. What do you think is this owing to, or how does it happen? The pleasure of eating does not arise from the cost or high seasoning,
 20 it is in yourself: labour and exercise will make your victuals relish¹¹; but if surfeited and cloyed with high feeding, even oysters, the finest of fish, and the most delicate birds¹², will seem tasteless. Yet after all, if fowl and peacock¹³ are presented before you, it is scarce possible to prevail so far (so much are men swayed by mere outside) but that you shall discover a greater
 25 fondness for the peacock; only because it is a rare and costly bird, and charms the eye with its gaudy tail: as if this had any

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3 *A corrupt judge decides ill.* The comparison here is extremely just. A judge when biased to one side, never examines the cause with candor: in like manner, a man surrounded with luxury, whose senses are solicited by a thousand tempting objects, is not like to decide well upon the merit of temperance.

4 *A man of pleasure.* *Gracari* does not mean here, to play the games of the Greeks, but to drink like the Greeks, who indulged themselves freely this way, and sat long at table.

5 *The Roman exercises.* *Dacier* observes upon this, that commentators are mistaken in fancying that by *Romana militia* we are to understand hunting and riding; for many other people, besides the Romans, took delight in these exercises. He therefore thinks we are to allow here of a nice and elegant transition. Instead of saying, *After performing the military exercises, or if these exercises seem too severe to a man of pleasure*; he drops the first part of the sentence, and says simply, *Or if military exercises appear too severe*; for this necessarily supposes the other.

6 *Tennis.* *Sex pila velox.* The ancients had four sorts of *pilæ* or balls. The *foliis* or balloon, which they struck about with their arm, guarded for that purpose with a

wooden bracer; or, if the balloon was little, they used only their fists. The *pila trigonalis*, the same as our common balls; to play with this, there used to stand three persons in a triangle, striking it round from one to another; he who first let it come to the ground was loser. *Paganica*, a ball stuffed with feathers, which *Martial* thus describes:

*Hæc quæ diffîcili turget paganica pluma,
Tolle minus laxa est, & minus arcta pila.*

The last sort was the *barpastum*, a harder kind of ball, which they played with, dividing into two companies, and striving to throw it through one another's goals, which was the conquering cast. *Kennet*.

7 *To cut the yielding air with the quoit.* This of throwing was one of the five exercises that composed the *pentathlon*, or *quinqertium*, and was performed with the *discus* or quoit. It was made of stone, iron, or copper, five or six fingers broad, and more than a foot long, inclining to an oval figure. They sent this to a vast distance by the help of a leathern thong tied round the person's hand that threw it. Several learned men have fancied, that instead of the aforesaid thong, they made use of a twist or brede of hair. *Scaliger* is of opinion, that the throwing the *discus* is but an

Corruptus iudex. Leporem sectatus, equove
Lassus ab indomito; vel si Romana fatigat
Militia assuetum græcari, seu pila velox,
Molliter austerum studio fallente laborem,
Seu te discus agit, pete cedentem aëra disco.
Cum labor extuderit * fastidia, siccus, inanis,
Sperne cibum vilem; nisi Hymettia mella Fa-
lerno

Ne biberis diluta. Foris est promus, & atrum
Defendens pisces hyemat mare; cum sale panis
Latrantem stomachum benè leniet. Undè putas, aut
Quì partum? Non in caro nidore voluptas
Summa, sed in teipso est: tu pulmentaria quære
Sudando; pinguem vitiis albumque, nec † ostrea,
Nec scarus, aut poterit peregrina juvare lagois.
Vix tamen eripiam, posito pavone velis quin
Hoc potiùs quàm gallinà tergere palatum,
Corruptus vanis rerum; quia veneat auro
Rara avis, & pictà pandat spectacula caudâ:

10 Omnis corruptus iudex
malè examinat verum.
Sectatus leporem, las-
susve ab equo indomito;
vel si Romana militia
fatigat te assuetum
græcari, seu pila ve-
lox, studio mollior fal-
lente austerum laborem,
seu discus te agit, pete
aëra cedentem disco.
15 Cum labor extuderit
fastidia, tu siccus, in-
anis, sperne vilem ci-
bum; ne biberis mella
Hymettia nisi diluta
Falerno. Promus est
foris, & atrum mare
hyemat defendens pis-
ces; panis cum sale
benè leniet latrantem
stomachum. Undè pu-
tas hoc, aut quì par-
tum? Summa volup-
tas non est in caro ni-
dore, sed in teipso e

quare tu pulmentaria sudando; nam nec ostrea, nec scarus, aut peregrina lagois, poterit juvare te pinguem albumque vitiis. Tamen vix eripiam, quin posito pavone velis, corruptus vanis rerum imaginibus, tergere palatum hoc potiùs quàm gallinà; quia avis rara veneat auro, & pandat spectacula pictà caudâ:

* expulerit, Bentl.

† neque, Id.

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an improvement of their old sport of cast-
ing their sheep-hooks. This notion he pro-
bably borrowed from a passage of Homer:

*As when some sturdy hind his sheep-hook
throws,*

*Which, whirling, lights among the distant
cows;*

So far the hero casts o'er all the marks.

Vergil teaches us the same in his *Second
Georgic*. Kennet.

⁸ Hymettus. Nisi Hymettia mella Falerno
ne biberis diluta, for Ne biberis Falernum, nisi
illo Hymettia mella diluta sint. Falernian wine
was strong and rough in the mouth, and
therefore they commonly softened it with
honey of Hymettus, a mountain of Attica,
fertile in the best honey.

⁹ And a stormy sea. Hyemat mare, a
strong and expressive phrase, instead of
hyeme vexatur, procellis inborrescit. So Salust,
Aquis hyemantibus; and Seneca, Totus hye-
marit annus, "The year was all over tem-
pestuous." The sea thus inaccessible
denies us its fish.

¹⁰ Raging stomach. Latrantem stomachum.
A stomach that barks, i. e. that being
empty and full of wind, demands food by
the noise it makes.

¹¹ Relish. Tu pulmentaria quære. Pul-
mentarium, a kind of chopped meat, broth,
or water-gruel. This was much in use
among the ancient Romans, who thought it
very delicious, and were wont to regale
themselves with it. Hence the word came
to stand for all kinds of ragouts and fine
sauces.

¹² The finest of fish, and the most delicate
birds. Scarus, a fish very much liked at
Rome. Some take it for the gilt-head or
golden-eye. One may judge of it from
that verse of Ennius's

*Scarum præterit, cerebrum penè Jovis su-
premi.*

The lagois is quite unknown, some think
it a bird, others a fish. The epithet pere-
grina favors the first.

¹³ Peacock. These were first brought
into vogue by Quintus Hortensius, and soon
came

any thing to do with the taste of it. Can you eat of these feathers¹⁴, you are so delighted with? or does its beauty remain after it is boiled? Mean time the flesh of peacocks¹⁵ differs in nothing from that of ordinary fowl; it is therefore plain that
 30 you are deceived by a different outside. But leaving this: How are you able to distinguish¹⁶ by your taste, whether the pike you are now eating was taken in the sea, or the Tiber? if it was tossed between bridges, or caught at the mouth of the river? You foolishly commend a mullet of three pounds weight, though
 35 it must be cut into small bits. It is plain you are struck with its bigness. Whence comes it then that you cannot bear the sight of a large pike? For no other reason than that nature has made the pike of a large, and the other of a small size.

A hungry stomach scarce ever despises plain food. The glutton, whose craving paunch renders him a fit companion for rapacious Harpies¹⁷, is delighted above all things to see a great mullet served up in a large dish. Come, ye south-winds, and taint the meat of these luxurious men: though even the boar and fresh turbot are nauseous, when the sickly stomach is surfeited with a vitious plenty, and overcharged with dainties, it is glad to return to sallads and roots¹⁸. Plain homely food is not yet quite
 45 banished from the tables of the great; eggs and black olives are still in some degree of credit. Nor is it so long ago, that a sturgeon served up at Gallonius's table¹⁹ was exclaimed against as an unpardonable extravagance. Why so? Was the sea then less fruitful in turbot²⁰? True: but the turbot remained in peace, and the stork slept quietly in his nest, till Sempronius Rufus²¹, that famous prætorian, brought them into repute:

I am

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came to be so much in fashion, that they were at all the tables of the great, nor was an entertainment counted elegant, if without them. Hence Cicero writes to Petus: *Sed vide audaciam, etiam Hirtio cœnam dedi sine pavone*: "I even ventured to offer Hirtius a supper, where no peacock was served up."

¹⁴ Can you eat of these feathers? Horace is always just in his decisions, and exposes the absurdity of things after a manner the fairest imaginable. Who can refuse his assent to this reasoning?

¹⁵ Mean time the flesh of peacocks. *Carne tamen quævis distat nihil hac magis illa*. Horace includes here, in a single line, a comparison of the flesh of the peacock and common fowl. This brevity renders his meaning somewhat obscure. The construction is as follows: *Tamen illa caro (pavonis) quævis nihil distat hac carne (gallinæ).*

And *quævis nihil* is instead of *quantumvis nihil*, or *quandoquidem nihil*.

¹⁶ How are you able to distinguish? *Unde datum sentis*, that is, *Unde tibi concessum ut sentias*? Whence have you this delicate fanciful taste, to be able to distinguish a pike taken between bridges, from that taken at the mouth of the river?

¹⁷ A fit companion for rapacious Harpies. *Harpyiis gula digna rapacibus*. The fable of the Harpies is generally known; they were a frightful kind of birds, with the face of a woman, of insatiable hunger, and who tainted whatever they came near. *Virg. Æn. III.*

Virginei volucrum vultus, sædissima ventris Proluvies, unæque manus, & pallida semper Ora fame.

¹⁸ Sallads and roots. *Cum rapula plenus atque acidas mavult inulas*. *Rapula*, turnips. *Inula*, the herb elecampane. He calls

Tanquam ad rem attineat quidquam. Num vesce-
ris istâ,

Quam laudas, plumâ? coctove num adest honor
idem?

Carne tamen quamvis distat nihil hac magis illa;
Imparibus formis deceptum te patet. **Esto.**

Unde datum sentis, lupus hic Tiberinus, an alto

Captus hiet? pontesne inter jactatus, an amnis

Ostia sub Tusci? Laudas, insane, trilibrem

Mullum, in singula quem minuas pulmenta ne-
cesse est.

Ducit te species, video. Quò pertinet ergo

Proceros odisse lupos? Quia scilicet illis

Majorem natura modum dedit, his breve pondus.

Jejunus rarò stomachus vulgaria temnit.

Porrectum magno magnum spectare catino

Vellem, ait Harpyiis gula digna rapacibus.

vos,

Præsentem Austri, coquite horum obsonia: quan-
quam

Putet aper rhombusque recens, mala copia quando

Ægrum sollicitat stomachum; cùm rapula plenus

Atque acidas mavult inulas. Necdum omnis abacta

Pauperies epulis regum; nam vilibus ovis

Nigrisque est oleis hodiè locus. Haud ita pridem

Gallonî præconis erat acipensere mensa

Infamis. Quid? Tum rhombos minùs æquor alebat*?

Tutus erat rhombus, tutoque ciconia nido,

Donec vos auctor docuit prætorius. Ergo

plenus mavult rapula atque acidas inulas. Necdum omnis pauperies abacta est epulis regum; nam etiam hodiè locus est vilibus ovis nigrisque oleis. Mensa Galloni præconis haud ita pridem infamis erat acipensere. Quid? An æquor tum minùs alebat rhombos? Rhombus erat tutus, ciconiaque etiam tuta erat tuto nido, donec Rufus, auctor prætorius, docuit vos. Ergo

* æquora alebant, Bentl.

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calls it acid, because of its sharpness, which renders it hurtful to the stomach. But the Romans, by their way of preparing it, removed this, and made it very wholesome. Pliny, Lib. 19. C. 5. *Inula per se stomacho inimicissima, eadem dulcibus mistis saluberrima; pluribus modis austeritate victa gratiam invenit.* "Elecampane of itself is hurtful to the stomach, but well prepared becomes wholesome. There are many ways of curing its harshness."

¹⁹ Gallonius's table. This is that Gallonius, whom Lucilius uses so unmercifully in his Satires, and whom, for his gluttony, he calls gurgus. He was so infamous this

way, that his name passed into a proverb, for one entirely abandoned to his appetite.

²⁰ Was the sea then less fruitful in turbot? He means the turbot is now in as great repute as the sturgeon in the time of Gallonius. Did the sea then furnish no turbot? Far from it; but no fool had as yet brought it into fashion; for it is not by your own taste that you judge of things, but by the caprice of the first comer.

²¹ Sempronius. Auctor docuit prætorius. Before the reign of Augustus, the stork made no part of the Roman entertainments. Asinius Sempronius Rufus was the first that

50 I am therefore apt to fancy, that were some one to recommend roasted cormorants as delicious eating; the Roman youth, prone to every species of gluttony, would approve and give into the taste.

There is great difference between a frugal and a mean sordid way of life; this even Ofellus himself will allow: for it is in vain that we endeavour to shun one vice, if we perversely give
55 into its contrary. Avidienus²², who was justly nick-named the Dog on account of his avarice, feeds on wild cornels, and olives that are five years old; and even when cloathed in white he celebrates his nuptials²³, or regales his friends on his nativity, or other solemn days, he makes libations to the Gods
60 with wine upon the turn, and pours upon his coleworts, out of a large horn-crewet, oil, of which you cannot bear the smell, seasoning all with store of stale vinegar²⁴.

What way of life therefore ought a wise man to choose, and which of these examples is he to follow? For both are equally dangerous; and, as the old proverb says, On one hand is the dog, and on the other the wolf²⁵. Decency requires, that every
65 thing be neat and clean, and to avoid excess on either side. Such a one will not, after the example of old Albutius²⁶, be too scrupulous and severe in giving orders to his domestics; nor careless, as Nævius, serve his guests with greasy water. This also is a very blamable neglect.

70 Learn now the blessings of a temperate and frugal life. First, a fresh healthful habit: for how hurtful a variety of meats is to the constitution, will appear, if you reflect how alert you have been after a plain simple meal, which sat easy upon the stomach. But when you blend roast and boiled, fish and fowl together;
75 the greater part of your food turns into bile, which, mixing with phlegm²⁷, raises a civil war in the stomach. Observe how

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brought them into use. *Horace* pleasantly calls him *prætorius*, because he had stood candidate for that office, and been rejected. There still remains an ancient epigram, made upon this occasion:

*Ciconiarum Rufus iste conditor,
Hic est duobus elegantior Plancis,
Suffragiorum purior non tulit septem,
Ciconiarum populus ultus est mortem.*

“*Rufus* who first brought storks into vogue,
“one more elegant in his taste than either
“of the *Planci*; yet was not able to carry
“seven voices. It was thus that the people
“revenged the destruction of the storks.”

²² *Avidienus*. We know nothing further

of him than by what *Horace* says. His sordid avarice got him the surname of the *Dog*. He eat olives that were five years old; whereas they were usually accounted good for nothing after two years.

²³ *Celebrates his nuptials*. *Reposita*, the feast made the day after the nuptials; for then they usually finished their drinking and merriment. *Quia iterum potaretur*. The word *ipse* is very emphatical, he would not trust the oil to his servants, lest they might not husband it well.

²⁴ *Store of stale vinegar*. This at first sight seems not to agree with *Avidienus*'s character, because stale vinegar is always the

Si quis nunc mergos suaves edixerit affos ;
Parebit, pravi docilis, Romana juvenus.

Sordidus à tenui victu distabit, Ofello
Judice : nam frustra vitium vitaveris illud,
Si te aliò pravum * detorseris. Avidienus,
Cui Canis ex vero ductum cognomen adhæret,
Quinquennes oleas est, & silvestria corna ;
Ac nisi mutatum parcit defundere vinum ; &
Cujus odorem olei nequeas perferre (licebit
Ille repotia, natales, alioſve dierum
Festos albatus celebret), cornu ipse bilibri
Caulibus instillat, veteris non parcus aceti.

Quali igitur victu sapiens utetur, & horum
Utrum imitabitur ? Hæc urget lupus, hæc canis,
aiunt.

Mundus erit, qui † non offendet || fordibus, at-
que

In neutram partem cultûs miser. Hic neque servis,
Albuti senis exemplo, dum munia didit,
Sævus erit ; nec, sic ut simplex Nævius, unctam
Convivis præbebit aquam. Vitium hoc quoque
magnum.

Accipe nunc victus tenuis quæ quantaque se-
cum

Afferat. In primis, valeas benè : nam variæ res
Ut noceant homini, credas, memor illius escæ,
Quæ simplex olim tibi federit. At simul assis
Miscueris elixa, simul conchylia turdis ;
Dulcia se in bilem vertent, stomachoque tumul-
tum

Lenta feret pituita. Vides ut pallidus omnis

Accipe nunc quæ quantaque bona victus tenuis afferat secum. In primis, benè valeas : nam facile credas, ut variæ res, noceant homini, memor illius escæ, quæ olim federit simplex tibi. At simul ac miscueris elixa assis, simul ac conchylia turdis ; dulcia vertent se in bilem, lentaque pituita feret tumultum stomacho. Vides ut omnis conviva desurgat

* pravus, Bentl.

† qua, Id.

|| offendat, Id.

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the best. Hence Cruquius and others have fancied, that *veteris* is here for *languidi, morientis*. But there is no necessity for any such supposition. Stale vinegar was not more costly than the new, and served better to conquer the bad taste of his oil.

²⁵ On one hand is the dog, on the other the wolf. Hæc urget lupus, hæc canis. This was a proverb used, when one was between two dangers, equally threatening.

²⁶ Albutius. Cruquius and Lambinus think

that *Albutus* is here censured for avarice, and *Nævius* for prodigality. But they are certainly mistaken ; *Albutius* is blamed for his too much ceremony and preciseness, *Nævius* for his negligence.

²⁷ Pblegm. Pituita is a cold humor mixing with the bile that is of a hot quality, and produces a kind of civil war in the stomach, which, having lost its natural vigor, it cannot allay.

how pale men rise from a doubtful repast²⁸: the body also overcharged with last night's debauch both weighs down the soul, and plunges in matter this particle of the Divinity²⁹.

- 80 Whereas the temperate man, after a light supper, tastes all the sweets of a quiet repose, and rises cheerful and vigorous to his accustomed labors. Yet even this abstemious man can sometimes allow himself in a just indulgence; whether the circling year brings back a solemn feast, or he wants to refresh his body worn out with toil; or when years increase, and the infirmities
- 85 of age require a more gentle regimen. But for you, when a broken health, and sickly old age come upon you, what can you add to that softness and delicacy, which you anticipate in the prime and vigor of life?

- Our honest forefathers were wont to commend a boar whose flesh was rank³⁰: not that they were without noses; but, as I
- 90 am apt to fancy, because they thought it better, that a guest, arriving late and unexpected, should eat part of it though somewhat musty, than the master dispatch it all when fresh and good. Alas! why was it not my fate to live in those first ages, when the earth gave birth to such a race of heroes?

- Have you no regard to reputation, which, for the most part,
- 95 charms the ear more than the sweetest harmony? Great turbots, and other costly dishes, besides the expence bring also shame and infamy. Add to this the frowns of your relations, the contempt of all that know you, and the hatred you will conceive against yourself, when weary of life, you will not have wherewithal to purchase an halter to put an end to your misery. Go, say you, read these wise lectures to Trasius³¹; I have great
- 100 revenues, and riches that may suffice for the expence of three kings. Well: and can you think of no better way to employ what is superfluous? Why are so many good and worthy men in straits, while you abound? Why do you suffer the ancient temples of the Gods to fall to ruin? Why, wretch, will you
- 105 employ no part of such an overgrown heap for the benefit of your dear country? Can you fancy, that you only of all mankind shall be blessed with a constant run of prosperity? What a fund

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²⁸ *A doubtful repast.* *Cæna dubia.* Terence explains this in his *Phormio*, Act II. Sc. 2. A doubtful repast, that is, where the variety of dishes makes you at a loss which to use.

Ph. *Cæna dubia apponitur.*

Ge. *Quid istud verbi est?*

Ph. *Ubi tu dubites quid sumas potissimum.*

²⁹ *Particle of the Divinity.* *Divinae partem auræ.* Horace, to give a higher idea

of the nobleness and dignity of the soul, borrows the language of *Plato*, who was wont to call it a portion of the universal soul of the world, i. e. of the Divinity himself. This notion the ancients, no doubt, had from the history of the creation, to which they were no strangers. God, after having formed man of the dust of the earth, breathed into his nostrils the breath of life.

Spiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vitæ.

³⁰ *Whole*

Cœnâ defurgat dubiâ? quin corpus onustum
 Hesternis vitiis animum quoque prægravat unâ,
 Atque affigit* humo divinæ particulam auræ.
 Alter, ubi dicto citiùs curata sopori
 Membra dedit, vegetus præscripta ad munia surgit.
 Hic tamen ad melius poterit transcurrere quondam;
 Sive diem festum rediens advexerit annus,
 Seu recreare volet tenuatum corpus; ubique
 Accedent anni, & tractari molliùs ætas
 Imbecilla volet. Tibi quidnam accedet ad istam,
 Quam puer & validus præsumis, mollitiem, seu
 Dura valetudo inciderit, seu tarda senectus?

Rancidum aprum antiqui laudabant: non quia
 nasus
 Illis nullus erat; sed, credo, hâc mente, quòd ho-
 spes,
 Tardiùs adveniens, vitiatum commodiùs quàm
 Integrum edax dominus consumeret. Hos utinam
 inter

Heroas natum tellus me prima tulisset!

Das aliquid famæ, quæ carmine gratior aurem
 Occupat † humanam? Grandes rhombi, patinæque
 Grande ferunt unâ cum damno dedecus. Adde
 Iratum patrum, vicinos, te tibi iniquum,
 Et frustra mortis cupidum, cùm deerit egenti
 As laquei pretium. Jure, inquis, ‡ Trahus istis
 Jurgatur verbis; ego vectigalia magna,
 Divitiasque habeo tribus amplas regibus. Ergo
 Quod superat non est melius quo insumere possis?
 Cur eget indignus quisquam, te divite? Quare
 Tempia ruunt antiqua Deûm? Cur, improbe, caræ
 Non aliquid patriæ tanto emetiris acervo?
 Uni nimirum tibi rectè semper erunt || res?

grandes ferunt unâ cum damno grande dedecus. Adde patrum iratum, vicinos, te iniquum tibi,
 & frustra cupidum mortis, cùm as pretium laquei deerit tibi egenti. Inquis, Trahus jure
 jurgatur istis verbis; ego habeo magna vectigalia, divitiasque amplas tribus regibus. An ergo
 non est melius (melior ratio) quo possis insumere quod superat? Cur eget quisquam indignus
 (immeritus), te divite? Quare antiqua templa Deûm ruunt? Cur, improbe, non emetiris ali-
 quid caræ patriæ tanto acervo? Nimirum tibi uni res semper erunt

* affigit, Bentl. † Occupet, Id. ‡ inquit Trahusinus, Id. || tibi rectè semper erunt, Id.

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30 *Whose flesh was rank.* Rancidus aper
 was no doubt a proverbial expression among
 the ancient Romans, though we read it no
 where but in our poet, who has given us the
 true meaning of it. It is certain that the
 first Romans, of whom this is meant, re-
 tained many of the precepts of Pythagoras,
 whose parables and sentences always in-

cluded some moral; as when he said, that
 one ought never to sit down upon a bushel, to
 signify that we ought always to keep some-
 thing in reserve against to-morrow; for we
 never sit down upon a bushel till after hav-
 ing turned the bottom upwards; and this is
 never done but when the bushel is empty.

31 *Trahus.* One that had wasted his pa-
 trimony

fund of laughter will you one day prove to your enemies! Which of the two, think you, is best provided against the attacks of fortune? he, who has trained up his pampered carcass to a
 110 thousand artificial wants; or he, who satisfied with a little, and wisely provident of futurity, hath taken care in time of peace to arm himself against the hazards of war?

To give these precepts the greater weight; I remember when a child to have seen this same Ofellus equally moderate in the use of his great riches, as now when he is stinted to a narrow
 115 fortune. He is yet to be seen the good man, cheerfully tilling his little farm³², surrounded with his flocks and family, and reading lectures of sobriety to his wife and children; I always contented myself upon ordinary days with a few greens and bacon: but if an agreeable guest whom I had not seen of a long time came to visit me, or if some kind neighbour laid aside from his daily labour by the badness of the weather came to
 120 pass an evening with me, I entertained them gladly; not with fish sent for to the city, but with a kid and pullet, plain country fare: nuts, figs³³, and raisins served for the second course. When dinner was over, every one drank as he had a mind without the imposition of tyrannic laws³⁴: libations were offered to Ceres, that she might bless the fruits of the
 125 earth, and all our cares and anxieties were banished by a cheerful glass.

Let fortune rage, and stir up against me her fiercest assaults; how much can she take from these enjoyments? In what, my dear children, have you and I fared the worse, since this new labourer took possession of my farm? I call him a labourer; for nature has granted the property of this piece of earth neither to
 130 him, nor me, nor any person whatsoever: he hath driven me out; and must expect to be expelled in his turn either by his prodigality, or the subtleties of the law, or in fine by his surviving heir. This farm, which now goes under the name of Umbrenus, and lately was called by mine, is the property of none;
 135 but yields its profits sometimes to one, sometimes to another; therefore, my children, be strong³⁵ and courageous, and meet the attacks of fortune with an unshaken mind.

ANNOTATIONS.

trimony in luxury and debauchery. It is uncertain who he was.

³² Little farm. Ofellus was involved in the same disgrace with Virgil, Tibullus, and Propertius. Their lands were distributed among the veteran soldiers, who had served at Philippi against Brutus and Cassius; those of Ofellus were given to one Umbrenus, who let them out to their old master by way of farm; hence the poet says of him, *fortem mercede colonum. Metato agello*, his mea-

fured land, i. e. given to the veterans; for, in distributing the land, they measured it, and allowed each one so many acres.

³³ Figs. *Cum duplici ficu*. Commentators are not agreed how to explain this *duplici ficu*. The most probable conjecture is, that it was a large kind of fig called *marisca*. The Latins often used *duplici*, instead of *magnum*. Thus Cat. C. 20. *Et habeat quas figat clavus duplicibus, ne cadant*,

O magnus posthac inimicis risus ! Uterne
Ad casus dubios fidet sibi certiùs ? hic, qui
Pluribus assuêrit mentem corpusque superbum ;
An qui contentus parvo, metuensque futuri,
In pace, ut sapiens, aptârit idonea bello ?

Quò magis his credas ; puer hunc ego parvus
Ofellum

Integris opibus novi non latiùs usum,
Quàm nunc accisis. Videas metato in agello,
Cum pecore & natis, fortem mercede colonum,
Non ego, narrantem, temerè edi luce profestâ
Quidquam, præter olus fumosæ cum pede pernæ :
At mihi cùm * longum post tempus venerat hospes,
Sive operum vacuo gratus cœniva per imbrem
Vicinus, benè erat ; non piscibus urbe petitis,
Sed pullo atque hædo : tum pensilis uva secundas
Et nux ornabat mensas, cùm duplici ficu.
Post hoc ludus erat cuppâ potare magistrâ :
Ac venerata Ceres, ut † culmo surgeret alto,
Explicuit vino contractæ seria frontis.

Sæviat, atque novos moveat fortuna tumultus ;
Quantum hinc imminuet ? Quanto aut ego parciùs
aut vos,

O pueri, nituistis, ut huc novus incola venit ?
Nam propriæ telluris herum natura, neque illum,
Nec me, nec quemquam statuit : nos expulit ille ;
Illum aut nequities, aut vafri inscitia juris,
Postremò ‡ expellet certè vivacior hæres.
Nunc ager Umbreni sub nomine, nuper Ofelli
Dictus, erit || nulli proprius ; sed cedit ** in usum
Nunc mihi, nunc alii : quocirca vivite fortes,
Fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus.

Quanto parciùs aut ego aut vos, O pueri, nituistis, ut (ex quo) novus incola venit huc ? Nam natura neque statuit me, nec illum, nec quemquam, herum propriæ telluris : ille expulit nos ; aut nequities, aut inscitia vafri juris, aut certè vivacior hæres postremò expellet illum. Ager nunc sub nomine Umbreni, nuper dictus ager Ofelli, erit proprius nulli ; sed nunc cedit in usum mihi, nunc alii : quocirca vivite fortes, opponiteque pectora fortia rebus adversis.

* seu, Bentl. † ita, Id. ‡ Postremum, Id. || erat, Id. ** cedit, Id.

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34 Without the imposition of tyrannic laws. Cuppâ potare magistrâ. Some read culpâ, and tell us, that instead of a king, arbiter bibendi, the frugal Ofellus enacted, that whoever offended against decency in conversation, should be liable to the penalty of drinking a glass more than the rest.

This they call potare culpâ magistrâ. But the first reading seems more simple and agreeable to the character of Ofellus, who, we may suppose, would stand up for liberty and property.

35 Be strong. This is a natural consequence from his former reasoning.

The

The KEY.

THE advantages of temperance are so obvious, that almost all the moralists have treated of it. *Seneca*, *Epicletus*, and others, educated in the school of *Zeno*, have left us a great number of fine sayings upon this subject. The method our poet takes to recommend it in this Satire, is full of force and persuasion. He sets before our eyes a living example, and makes the precepts proceed from the mouth of one who had himself put them in practice. This adds a considerable weight to every thing he says. The poet knew very well, that such rules from his own mouth would appear ridiculous, who was known to be so much a lover of good company and good cheer. In reality, none could speak better upon the advantages of a frugal life, than the followers of *Epicurus*; yet none shewed less regard to it in their practice. *Epicurus* indeed laid it down as a principle, that we might receive as much pleasure from the most simple common food, as from what was most exquisite and rare. But it is not natural to suppose, that a sect of philosophers, who placed their

chief

SATIRE III.

He introduces one *Damasippus*, who having ruined his fortunes, gave over the pursuit of wealth, and betook himself to philosophy, reasoning upon the principles of the Stoics.

DAMASIPPUS. HORACE.

DAM. YOU write so seldom, as not to call for paper¹ four times in the year, and almost wholly employ your time in retouching and correcting; provoked at yourself beyond measure, that, too much a slave to wine and sleep, you can produce nothing worthy of praise². Where will this end? You retired hither during the Saturnalia³. As you are therefore disengaged, let

us

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¹ *As not to call for paper.* The ancients, while they were composing any work, wrote on tables covered over with wax, which left them at liberty to blot out as much as they pleased: but when they had put the last hand to a work, they wrote it out fair upon paper, *charta*, or upon skins of animals, prepared like our parchment, which they called *membranæ*. This last

was dearer than the other, and came not into common use till the time of *Eumenet*. *Horace*, who was very slow in putting the last hand to his works, and liked better to employ himself in retouching and correcting what he had already written, than to engage in new designs, would, we may suppose, but seldom call for paper or parchment.

² *Worthy*

The KEY.

chief happiness in the pleasures of sense, should be too rigid in the observance of these precepts. The doctrine here laid down is a kind of medium between that of the *Epicureans* and *Stoics*. He does not wholly exclude the pleasures of good cheer; he admits them in some cases; but under due limitations, and regulated by the dictates of sobriety. Hence the poet calls this *Ofellus*, *abnormis sapiens*, one whose natural good sense made him a true judge of life, and who, unbiassed to any sect of philosophers, avoided the extremes they were apt to run into. This *Ofellus* was one, who being stripped of his inheritance after the battle of *Philippi*, when *Augustus* distributed the lands of *Cremona* and *Mantua* among his veterans, was yet sensible of no change in his condition, because in his abundance he had accustomed himself to a frugal abstinent life; and by that means put himself out of the power of fortune.

The date of this piece is uncertain: only it appears from verse 114, that it was written after the 712th year of the city.

S A T I R A III.

Damasippum quendam facit loquentem, qui re malè gestâ, & lucri studio relicto, ad philosophiam sese contulerat.

DAMASIPPUS. HORATIUS.

O R D O.

SIC rarò scribis*, ut toto non quater anno
Membranam poscas, scriptorum quæque re-
texens;

Iratus tibi, quòd, vini somnique benignus,
Nil dignum sermone canas. Quid fiet? Ab † ipsis
Saturnalibus huc fugisti. Sobrius ergo

DAM. SCRIBIS sic
rarò, ut non
poscas membranam
quater toto anno, re-
texens quæque scripto-
rum; iratus tibi, quid,
benignus vini somni-
que, canas nil dignum

sermone. Quid fiet? Fugisti huc ab ipsis Saturnalibus. Ergo nunc sobrius

* scribes, *Bentl.*

† at, *Id.*

A N N O T A T I O N S.

¹ *Worthy of praise.* Dignum sermone, worthy to be spoken of, worthy to be com-
mended.

² *Saturnalia.* One of the most remark-
able feasts among the *Romans*: it was kept
at first only one day, on the fourteenth of
the *Calends* of *January*; but the number
was afterwards increased to three, four, five,

and some say seven days. The original of
this feast, as to time, is unknown. *Macro-
bius* assures us, it was celebrated in *Italy* long
before the building of *Rome*. As to the man-
ner of the solemnity, besides the sacrifices,
and other parts of public worship, there
were several lesser observations worth our
notice.

us have something from you answerable to the promises you have made. Begin: you have no excuse. It is in vain to lay the blame upon your pen⁴; and the unhappy wall, born with the malediction of the Gods and poets⁵, suffers unjustly from your chagrin. Yet you had the air of a man that promised great matters, if free from unseasonable interruptions you were once
 10 quietly settled in some warm comfortable cottage. To what purpose are Plato⁶ and Menander⁷ here with you? Why were Eupolis and Archilochus brought out to be your companions? Do you think to appease envy, by forsaking the way of virtue and diligence? Unhappy man! you will only expose yourself to contempt. Avoid, of all things, sloth, that dangerous Siren⁸;
 15 or resolve peaceably to give up all the fame you have hitherto acquired.

HOR. May the Gods and Goddesſes, good Damafippus⁹, grant you a good barber for your ſound advice. But how came you to be ſo well acquainted with my affairs?

DAM. Ever ſince the ſhipwreck of my fortune at Mid-Janus¹⁰, having no buſineſs of my own to think of, I mind that
 20 of other people. Formerly I was a great virtuſo, and could tell you whether this was the ciſtern in which cunning Sifyphus¹¹ had waſhed his feet; what ſtatue was carved by a maſterly hand, what

ANNOTATIONS.

notice. At firſt, the liberty allowed to ſervants to be free and merry with their maſters, ſo often alluded to in authors. It is probable this was done in memory of the liberty enjoyed in the golden age under Saturn, before the names of maſter and ſervant were known in the world: beſides this, they ſent preſents to one another among friends; no war was to be proclaimed, and no offender executed. The ſchools kept a vacation, and nothing but mirth and freedom was to be met with in the city. Kennet.

4 Lay the blame upon your pen. It is a common way of ſpeaking, *When my pen inſpires*; and there is perhaps more truth in it than we are aware of. There is often no more required to put us in the humor of writing, than to ſit down with pen in hand, ſurrounded by our books: the mind ſeems to open, and put itſelf in a poſture of composing; the imagination is gradually warmed, and a vein of writing ſucceeds. If all the preparations are ineffectual, the poet in a rage throws down his pen, ſoſſes the table from him, and lays the blame upon whatever is neareſt.

5 Born with the malediction of the Gods and poets. Interpreters are of opinion, that *Damafippus* means here the wall adjoining

to the poet's bed; and tell us, that theſe walls were commonly done over with wax, that the poet, when the enthuſiaſm ſeized him in the night, might be able to write without light. But I am rather inclined, with *Sanadon*, to think it a general reflection. The walls of a poet's ſtudy are (ſays the philoſopher) made *iratis Diis*; becauſe the Gods have ſubjected them to the caprice of the poets: and they are moreover made *poëtis iratis*, with the malediction of the poets; becauſe they unjuſtly blame them for their own want of genius, and uſually diſcharge their ſpleen againſt them.

6 Plato. Some think that *Plato* the philoſopher is meant here, but it is more likely that *Horace* ſpeaks of one *Plato* a comic poet, and a writer in the ancient manner, as was *Eupolis*: for this agrees beſt to the ſituation of our poet, who, in his Satires, was a great copier of the old *Greek* comedy. However, as *Horace* was a great admirer of the philoſopher, and ſtudied him day and night, the other opinion is not wholly without foundation.

7 Menander. It was by him that the new comedy was raiſed to its higheſt perfection, and purged from the rudeneſs and inſolence of the old. He wrote above a hundred comedies, whoſe loſs cannot be enough regretted.

Dic aliquid dignum promissis. Incipe: nil est.
 Culpantur frustra calami; immeritusque laborat
 Iratis natus paries Dis atque poetis.
 Atqui vultus erat multa & præclara minantis,
 Si vacuum tepido cepisset villula tecto.
 Quorsum pertinuit stipare Platona Menandro?
 Eupolin, Archilochum †, comites educere tantos?
 Invidiam placare paras, virtute relicta?
 Contemnere, miser. Vitanda est, improba Siren,
 Desidia; aut quidquid vitæ meliore parasti
 Ponendum æquo animo. Dî te, Damasppe, Deæ-

que
 Verum ob consilium donent tonsore. Sed unde
 Tam benè me nôsti? Postquam omnis res mea
 Janum

Ad Medium fracta est, aliena negotia curo,
 Excussus propriis. Olim nam quærere amabam, 20
 Quo vaser ille pedes lavisset Sisyphus ære;
 Quid sculptum infabre, quid fustum durius esset.

HOR. O Damasppe, Dî Deæque donent te tonsore ob verum consilium. Sed unde nôsti me tam benè?

DAM. Postquam omnis mea res fracta est ad Medium Janum, excussus propriis negotiis, curo negotia aliena. Nam olim amabam quærere, quo ære Sisyphus ille vaser lavisset pedes; quid esset sculptum infabre, quid fustum durius.

† Eupolia Archilochi, Bentl.

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ted. There remain now only a few fragments, but enough to convince us what a valuable treasure the whole would have been. He succeeded most in drawing agreeable portraiture of civil life, and representing manners naturally.

⁸ *Sloth, that dangerous Siren.* Sloth, it is true, has its charms; but neither is it without dangers. The poet here compares it, and very justly, to the Sirens. These monsters, half women and half birds, owe their existence to poetical fable. They were three in number, daughters of Achelous and the Muse Calliope. They were remarkable for the fineness of their voice, and valued themselves so much upon it, as to despise the Goddesses of Parnassus. They fixed in some desert isles upon the coast of Sicily, and tempted passengers ashore by the sweetness of their voice, whom they afterwards killed. Enraged that Ulysses or Orpheus had escaped their snares, they threw themselves into the sea, and were never more heard of.

⁹ *Damasppe.* Julius or Licinius Damasppe, a Stoic philosopher, and one of senatorian rank; probably the same of whom Cicero speaks in a letter to Fabius Gallus,

dic aliquid dignum promissis. Incipe: nil est quod excolet te. Calami culantur frustra; pariesque, natus Dis atque poetis iratis, laborat immeritus. Atqui erat tibi vultus hominis minantis multa & præclara scripta, si villula cepisset te vacuum tepido tecto. Quorsum pertinuit stipare Platona Menandro? educere Eupolin & Archilochum tantos comites? An paras, virtute relicta, placare invidiam? O miser, contemnere. Desidia, Siren ea improba, vitanda est; aut quicquid tarasti meliore vita ponendum est æquo animo.

and one to Atticus. Before he engaged in this sect, he had ruined himself by an extravagant passion for ancient statues and busts. The Stoics let their beards grow very long, and prided themselves in it. No greater affront could be offered them, than to speak of cutting it off: it was slyly insinuating that they were unworthy the name of philosopher.

¹⁰ *Mid-Janus.* Janum ad Medium. Lib. I. Epist. I.

— Hæc Janus summus ab imo Perdocet —

Was there (says Torrentius) a third Janus between these two? So some are apt to fancy; but he rather inclines to the opinion of P. Victor, *Jani duo, celebres mercatorum locus.* These two statues stood in the Forum, and all that space between them went by the name of Janus Medius.

¹¹ *Sisyphus.* The son of Æolus, and, according to Homer, the most knowing and ingenious of men. He built and reigned over Ephyre, which was afterwards known by the name of Corinth. Some therefore tell us, that Horace means here to make Damasppe say, that he was well skilled in Corinthian brass; and, to strengthen their judgment,

what cast with all the life and softness¹² which the mould could give it. I was skilled to rate this busto¹³ at a hundred thousand sesterces: none knew better to purchase fine houses and gardens with advantage; insomuch that, in all places of business
25 and public resort, I had got the name of Mercury's favorite¹⁴.

HOR. I know it, and wonder how you came to be cured of so obstinate a malady.

DAM. It was removed by another of a different kind, as often happens. Thus a disorder in the head or side only changes its place, and seats itself in the stomach; and a man in a le-
30 thargy sometimes grows frantic, and falls to beating his physician.

HOR. Only take care not to follow such a dangerous example, and be for me what you please.

DAM. O good Sir, pray do not mistake yourself: even you also are mad, you and all wicked men¹⁵, if any credit is to be given to Stertinius¹⁶; from whom I learned these admirable precepts, when having one day cheered me he commanded me to
35 cherish this sage beard, and return in better humor from the Fabrician bridge¹⁷. For you must know, that, discouraged by the ill state of my affairs, I went thither resolved to throw myself into the river¹⁸; when happily he came up to me, and taking me by the hand; Beware, says he, of any such disgraceful step; it is a false shame that pushes you on: why should you
40 dread to pass for a madman amidst a set of men who are themselves mad? For what do you fancy is meant by being mad? If you are singular in this¹⁹, with all my heart drown yourself when

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ment, add, that *Sisyphus* was the first who found out that mixture. Moreover, *Virgil*, *Georg.* 2. calls it *Ephyre'a æra*, from *Ephyre*, the ancient name of *Corinth*. After all, it is plain from history, that *Cyprus* had the glory of inventing brass; and that the *Corinthian* brass, so famous in antiquity, was not known till after the overthrow of that city by the *Romans*: so much later was this mixture than the time of *Sisyphus*. *Damaspippus* therefore must be understood to mean, that he was skilled to discern what statutes were truly ancient, and what not. *Torrentius*.

¹² Cast with all the life and softness. In the original, *quid fustum durius*; what was done with stiffness or a rigid air. In knowing this, he must also be a judge of what was done with softness and life: these last were reckoned the masterly statues. Thus *Virgil*,

Excudent ali spirantia mollius æra.

"Others may best inspire the mimic brass."

¹³ To rate this busto. *Ponebam millia centum.* *Ponere pretium*, to estimate, or set a value upon. *Centum millia minorum sester-tiorum.*

¹⁴ Mercury's favorite. *Mercuriale cognomen.* Either they gave him the name of *Mercury*, or called him by some surname of that God (of which he had a great many); thereby denoting him to be one of his favorites.

¹⁵ You and all wicked men. *Stultique præpe omnes.* *Socrates* proves to *Alcibiades*, in the second dialogue which goes under that name, that the greater part of mankind are fools, because they are ignorant; and neither know what they ought to do, nor what they ought to say: and that, as there are

Callidus huic signo ponebam millia centum :
 Hortos egregiasque domos mercarier unus
 Cum lucro nôram ; unde frequentia Mercuriale 25
 Imposuere mihi cognomen compita. Novi,
 Et morbi miror † purgatum te illius. Atqui
 Emovit veterem mirè novus ; ut solet, in cor
 Trajecto lateris miseri capitisque * dolore ;
 Ut lethargicus hic cùm fit pugil, & medicum ur-
 get.

Dum ne quid simile huic, esto ut libet. O bone,
 ne te

Frustrere : insanis & tu, stultique propè omnes,
 Si quid Stertinius veri crepat ; unde ego mira
 Descripsi docilis præcepta hæc, tempore quo me
 Solatus jussit sapientem pascere barbam,
 Atque à Fabricio non tristem ponte reverti.
 Nam, malè re gestâ, cùm vellem mittere operto
 Me capite in flumen ; dexter stetit ; & , Cave faxis
 Te quidquam indignum ; pudor, inquit, te malus
 urget †,

Infanos qui inter vereare insanus haberi. 40
 Primùm nam inquiram, quid sit furere : hoc si erit
 in te

Solo, nil verbi, pereas quin fortiter, addam.

non tristem à ponte Fabricio. Nam, re malè gestâ, cùm vellem mittere me operto capite in flumen ; stetit dexter, & inquit ; Cave faxis quidquam indignum te ; pudor malus urget te, qui vereare haberi insanus inter insanos. Nam primùm inquiram, quid sit furere : si hoc erit in te solo, addam nil verbi, quin pereas fortiter.

† miror morbi, Bentl.

* capitivæ, Id.

† angit, Id.

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are different degrees of ignorance, so there are different degrees of folly. But the Stoics affirmed that all wicked men were equally fools. *Seneca de Beneficiis, Lib. 2.*

Insanire omnes stultos dicimus, nec tamen omnes curamus belleboro ; his ipsis, quos vocamus insanos, suffragium & jurisdictionem committimus.

"We say that all wicked men are fools ;

"yet we do not prescribe bellebore as a cure

"for all : and even those, whom we brand

"as fools, are allowed a right of voting,

"and are intrusted with the greatest

"charges in the commonwealth." This,

however was a very ridiculous tenet : folly

is properly opposed to wisdom, not to vice.

16 *Stertinius.* A Stoic philosopher of the sect of *Chrysippus*.

17 *Fabrician bridge.* The *pons Fabricius* was near to the *pons Cestius*, and joined

Vol. II.

Rome to the isle of the Tiber. It is now called *Ponte di quattro capi*.

18 *To throw myself into the river.* *Operto capite ;* with my head covered. The Romans covered their heads on many occasions, more especially when they devoted themselves to death for their country. It is diverting to see *Damascippus*, in an excess of folly, resolve upon the same which *Decius* had done from a principle of religion and generosity.

19 *If you are singular in this.* It is but small consolation which the philosopher here gives to *Damascippus* : he does not attempt to combat, or free him from his folly, but only to excuse it, and make him easy by the example of others. The Stoics rather confirmed vice by their remedies. The ridicule is exquisite.

20 *Chry-*

- when you will. The man who is a slave to foolish passions, or blindly mistakes falsehood for truth in whatever manner, him
 45 the whole college and sect of Chrysippus²⁰ look upon as mad. This definition takes in both the people and prince, the wise man only excepted. Learn now why those who call you mad, are themselves equally obnoxious to that reproach. As when travellers are bewildered in the woods, one takes to the right,
 50 another to the left; both equally wander from the true road, though by different tracks. Believe it to be thus in your case; he, who laughs at you, drags his tail²¹ after him not a jot more wisely. It is one species of folly to be alarmed at imaginary dangers; and fancy we have fires, rocks, and rivers to encounter in the way. Another of quite a contrary kind, and equally
 55 extravagant, is to fear nothing, but run headlong into the midst of dangers and precipices. Let his father, mother, wife, sister, in a word, all his relations, cry out to warn him of the hazard: beware, here is a frightful ditch, or terrible precipice;
 60 look to yourself; he hears no more, than did once the actor Fufius, who having got drunk²², and playing the part of Ilione sleeping²³, could not be awaked by the voices of twelve hundred spectators calling out at once, O mother, come to my assistance! I am now to shew that almost all mankind are infected with this species of madness.
- 65 Damasippus, it is true, runs mad after ancient statues: but is he who gives credit to Damasippus of sound judgment? Let us reason the matter a little: Were I to say to you, Here, take this sum of money, which I know you will never be able to repay; would it be madness in you to accept of it? or would it not rather be the height of madness, to reject the offer of favorable Mercury? Says your creditor, Here sign a note²⁴ for the receipt
 70 of ten thousand sesterces from my banker Nerius; that's not enough:

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²⁰ *Chrysippus*. A native of *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, and disciple of *Zeno*. If we credit some accounts, he did his master no good service, in pretending to interpret his sentiments; which he mixed with a great deal of what was ridiculous and impertinent. The more ignorant Stoics, who gave into his explications, made a sect by themselves, of which *Chrysippus* was the head. *Sextimius* was of this number, and builds all his maxims upon the authority of *Chrysippus*, as the great master of their school. Others tell us, that this philosopher had the most subtle head in the world, and was a perfect master of all the finest distinctions and divisions in logic. The unravelling of his arguments was looked upon as a matter so nice and intricate, that it passed into a

proverb, to express what was impracticable. The portico, here mentioned, was a celebrated gallery, wherein *Zeno* and his disciples assembled. Hence they took the name of Stoics; for the Greek *Stoa* signifies a portico.

²¹ *Drags his tail*. This is a figure taken from the humor of children, who, when they want to make any one appear ridiculous, pin something behind him.

²² *Fufius, who having got drunk*. *Sextimius* explains his meaning by a comparison which was furnished him by an accident that fell out among the comedians, who played the *Ilione* of *Accius* or *Pacuvius*. In that play, the ghost of *Polydore* comes to acquaint *Ilione*, that he had been slain by *Polymnestor* king of *Thrace*, and begs that she would

cause

Quem mala stultitia; & quæcunque inscitia veri
Cæcum agit, insanum Chryssippi porticus & grex
Autumat. Hæc populos, hæc magnos formula re-
ges,

Excepto sapiente, tenet. Nunc accipe quare
Desipiant omnes, æquè ac tu, qui tibi nomen
Insano posuere. Velut silvis, ubi passim
Palantes error certo de tramite pellit;
Ille sinistrorsùm, hic dextrorsùm abit; unus utri-
que

Error, sed variis illudit partibus. Hoc te
Crede modo insanum; nihilo ut sapientior ille,
Qui te deridet, caudam trahat. Est genus unum
Stultitiæ nihilum metuenda timentis; ut ignes,
Ut rupes, fluviosque in campo obstare queratur.
Alterum & huic varium, & nihilo sapientius, ignes
Per medios fluviosque ruentis. Clamet amica
Mater, honesta soror, cum cognatis, pater, uxor:
Hic fossa est ingens, hic rupes maxima; serva;
Non magis audièrit, quàm Fufius* ebrius olim,
Cum Ilionam edormit, Catienis mille ducentis,
Mater, te appello, clamantibus. Huic ego vulgum†
Errori similem cunctum insanire docebo.

Insanit veteres statuas Damasippus emendo:
Integer est mentis Damasippi creditor? Esto:
Accipe, quod nunquam reddas mihi, si tibi dicam;
Tunc insanus eris si acceperis? an magis excors
Rejectâ prædâ, quam præsens Mercurius fert?
Scribe decem à Nerio; non est fatis: adde Cicutæ
Nodosi tabulas centum; mille adde catenas:

audièrit, quàm olim ebrius Fufius, cum edormit Ilionam, mille ducentis Catienis clamantibus, Mater, appello te. Ego docebo cunctum vulgum insanire errorem similem huic errori. Damasippus insanit emendo veteres statuas: an creditor Damasippi est integer mentis? Esto: si dicam tibi, Accipe, quod nunquam reddas mihi; tunc eris insanus si acceperis? an magis excors rejectâ prædâ, quam Mercurius præsens fert? Scribe decem millia accepta à Nerio; non est satis: adde centum tabulas nodosi Cicutæ; adde mille catenas:

* Fufius, Bentl.

† volgus, Id.

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cause him to be interred. Ilione therefore was made to appear upon the stage in her bed asleep; and Polydore comes from under the theatre, and says, *Mater, te appello*. Fufius did the part of Ilione, and Catienus that of Polydore. Fufius, it seems, who had got himself drunk, fell asleep in good earnest, nor could he be awaked by the cries of Catienus.

²³ Ilione sleeping. *Ilionam edormit*. A way of speaking full of energy. Acted the part of Ilione sleeping; as before, *saltare Cyclopa*, to dance after the manner of Polyphemus.

²⁴ Sign a note, &c. Scribe decem à Nerio, i. e. à manu Nerii, de mensi Nerii. We must distinguish here three persons; Damasippus who borrows, Perillius who lends, and the banker Nerius, in whose hands Perillius's money is lodged. For the Romans commonly had their money with some banker, and when an obligation passed, the borrower wrote in the banker's book, "I have received so much of such a one's money from such a banker."

I 2

²⁵ Knotty-

Porticus & grex Chryssippi autumat illum insanum, quem mala stultitia, & quæcunque inscitia veri agit cæcum. Hæc formula tenet populos, hæc magnos reges, sapiente solo excepto. Nunc accipe quare ii omnes, qui posuere nomen tibi insano, desipiant, æquè ac tu. Velut in silvis, ubi error passim pellit palantes de certo tramite; ille abit sinistrorsùm, hic dextrorsùm; unus error illudit utrique, sed variis partibus. Crede te insanum hoc modo; ut ille, qui deridet te, trahat caudam nihilo sapientior. Unum genus stultitiæ est hominis timentis nihilum metuenda; ut queratur ignes, rupes, fluviosque obstare sibi in campo. Alterum genus stultitiæ & varium huic, & nihilo sapientius, est hominis ruentis per medios ignes fluviosque. Amica mater, honesta soror, pater, cum cognatis, uxor, clamet: Hic est ingens fossa, hic rupes maxima; serva te; non magis

enough : let him add all the securities of knotty-pated Cicuta²⁵; let him tie him down with a thousand chains : yet, like another Proteus²⁶, he will elude all these engagements. When you drag him to justice, he will only laugh at your expence²⁷, and assume a thousand different shapes ; instead of your debtor, you will find you have laid hold of a stone, a tree, a bird, or whatever he pleases to make himself.

If to manage one's affairs well is a mark of wisdom ; and
75 the contrary of folly : believe me, Perillius is much the weaker head-piece, to take your note for money which you can never repay.

All ye, that are the slaves of wretched ambition and avarice, luxury or superstition ; in a word, whoever is the victim of
80 any unhappy passion, draw near and hear me with attention : it is worth while to attend, while I prove that you are all run mad.

The covetous man ought to have by far the strongest dose of hellebore²⁸ : I question whether it were not prudence to reserve for him the whole produce of Anticyra²⁹. Staberius³⁰, by an article of his will, obliged his heirs to inscribe upon his monu-
85 ment the sum they inherited. In case of failure, they were condemned to entertain the people with a show of two hundred gladiators, a feast to the taste of Arrius³¹, and as much corn as Africa yields at a crop. Whether in this I do well or ill, said the testator, I am no way accountable to you ; nor is it
your

A N N O T A T I O N S .

²⁵ *Knotty-pated Cicuta*. A celebrated usurer and notary of those times, who was very exact in writing out obligations, and forgot nothing that could firmly bind the parties. He had a thousand turns and clauses for this purpose, of which he kept a great register, which Stertinius here calls *centum tabulas*. Stertinius therefore tells Perillius, that the more firmly to bind down Damaspippus, he ought to use all the securities in the register of Cicuta, whom he calls *nodosus*, for his skill in binding and tying down.

²⁶ *Proteus*, the son of Neptune, and king of Egypt. He could change himself into any shape he pleased, and often put this artifice in practice, to escape those who pursued him. Thus his name admirably agrees to those debtors, who elude the pursuit of their creditors by a thousand little stratagems.

²⁷ *Laugh at your expence*. *Malis ridentem alienis*. Commentators have widely mistaken the sense of this passage, which they interpret *ridentem vultu invito*. Can we sup-

pose that Damaspippus must force a laugh, when he was sure to elude the pursuit of his creditors, and escape like another Proteus ? *Ridere malis alienis*, can mean nothing else than to laugh heartily, and without fear, as if with a borrowed mouth, or having a mask on : for as we are seldom too sparing of what belongs to another, so in this case a man will extend his jaws to the full, without any apprehension of tearing them asunder.

²⁸ *The strongest dose of hellebore*. The ancients often made use of hellebore to cure the disorders of the mind, being persuaded that they proceeded from the bad state of the fluids in the body. Yea, sometimes they used it where there was no prior disorder, only to add strength and vigour to the conception. Valerius Maximus tells us, that Carneades the philosopher, when he was to engage in a dispute with Chrysippus, always prepared himself by a dose of it ; and that the success of it was such as made all who were desirous of solid praise to follow the
example :

Effugiet tamen hæc sceleratus vincula Proteus.

Cùm rapies in jâis malis ridentem alienis;

Fiet aper, modò avis, modò saxum, &, cùm volet, arbor.

Si malè rem gerere infani est; contrà, benè fani * :

Putidius multò cerebrum est (mihi crede) Perilli, 75

Diſtantis quod tu nunquam reſcribere poſſis.

Audire, atque togam jubeo componere, quifquis

Ambitione malâ, aut argenti pallet amore;

Quifquis luxuriâ, triftive ſuperſtitione,

Aut alio mentis morbo calet: huc propiùs me, 80

Dum doceo infanire omnes, vos ordine adite.

Danda eſt ellebori multò pars maxima avaris:

Nefcio an Anticyram ratio illis deſtinet omnem.

Hæredes Staberî ſummam incidere ſepulchro.

Ni fic feciſſent, gladiatorum dare centum 85

Damnati populo paria, atque epulum arbitrio Arrî †;

Frumenti quantum metit Africa. Sive ego pravè

Seu rectè hoc volui, ne ſis patruus mihi. Credo

multò maxima ellebori danda eſt avaris: neſcio an non ratio deſtinet illis omnem Anticyram. Hæredes Staberî incidere ſepulchro ſummam ſibi legatam. Ni feciſſent fic, damnati erant dare centum paria gladiatorum populo, atque epulum arbitrio Arrî; & tantum frumenti quantum Africa metit. Sive ego, dixit Staberius, volui hoc pravè ſeu rectè, ne ſis patruus mihi. Credo

tamen ſcleratus Proteus effugiet hæc vincula. Cùm rapies in jus eum ridentem malis genis alienis; fiet aper, modò avis, modò ſaxum, &, cùm volet, arbor. Si infani eſt gerere rem malè; gerere rem contrà eſt hominis benè fani: (crede mihi) cerebrum Perilli, diſtantis quod tu nunquam poſſis reſcribere, eſt multò putidius. Quifquis pallet malâ ambitione, aut amore argenti; quifquis calet luxuriâ, triftive ſuperſtitione, aut alio morbo mentis; jubeo eum audire, atque componere togam: vos adite huc ordine propiùs me, dum doceo omnes infanire. Pars

* eſt, Bentl.

† &, Id.

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example: Idem cum Chryſippo diſputaturus, belleboro ſe antè purgabat, ad exprimendum ingenium ſuum attentius, & illius reſellendum acrius. Quas potiones induſtria ſolidæ laudis cupidus appetendas effecit. Lib. viii. vii. Ext. 5.

²⁹ Anticyra. There were two cities of this name; the one in Phocis, near the gulf of Corinth, and the other not far from mount Oeta in Theſſaly. The beſt hellebore grew in the laſt; but they had a better way of preparing it in the other, becauſe they mixed it with a certain grain that grew thereabout. It was for this reaſon that diſtempered people were always ſent to Anticyra in Phocis.

³⁰ Staberius. He is known only by the mention Horace here makes of him. The poet cites him as an example, that ſcarce the whole produce of Anticyra was ſufficient for covetous men. This wretch carried his avarice with him to the very grave; and as all his life-time he had dreaded poverty as the greateſt of evils, ſo he was

deſirous it ſhould be known to poſterity that he had died rich.

³¹ Arrius. Dacier fancies that this is the ſame Arrius of whom Cicero ſpeaks in his Oration againſt Vatinius, whom he calls his friend, and who, he tells us, gave a great feaſt in the temple of Caſtor. Ut in epulo Q. Arrii familiaris mei cum togâ pullâ accumberes. He further conjectures, that the feaſt here given by Arrius was one of thoſe called *lectiſternia*; entertainments given to the Gods on ſome important occaſions, which were regulated by an order of prieſts appointed for that purpoſe. They were ſeven in number, and called *Septemviri Epulonum*, or ſimply *Epulones*. Arrius he therefore thinks to have been one of the ſeven, and that Staberius had choſen him arbiter of the feaſt, to be given by his heirs to the people, as being a public man, and one who, as overſeer of the feaſts of the Gods, was able to acquit himſelf well.

your business to censure³² my actions. I am apt to think the wife and prudent Staberius foresaw that.

90 DAM. What could he foresee, when he willed his heirs to inscribe upon his monument a detail of his riches?

STERT. All his life-time he looked upon poverty as the worst of vices, and dreaded nothing more; insomuch that had he died a single farthing poorer, he would have looked on himself as the
95 arrantest knave in the world: for he knew that all things, virtue, reputation, beauty, in fine, every thing divine and human, give place to riches; which whoever knew how to amass, could not fail of being esteemed valiant, just, wise, honorable, yea even a king, and whatever he pleased. He foresaw, therefore, that this inscription would do him great honor, and that posterity would look upon his wealth as the just acquisition of
100 virtue. How unlike to this was the behaviour of Grecian Aristippus³³; who in the midst of Libya ordered his servants to throw away the gold they carried; because, encumbered with its weight, they could journey but slowly? Which of these two deserves most to be stiled a madman?

DAM. An instance, which solves one difficulty by raising another, concludes nothing.

105 STERT. If any one, who has no ear for music³⁴, should buy up a quantity of lutes and guitars, and adorn his study with them; or, being nothing of a shoemaker, should provide himself with lasts and paring-knives; or, in fine, if averse to traffic, he should lay in a stock of sails and ships tackle: would not all the world justly laugh at his humor? And yet where is the difference between him and the man who amasses wealth, without knowing how to use it, and who fears to touch it as if it were
110 something sacred?

If a man armed with a huge long club should watch night and day over a great heap of corn, without daring to touch so much as one grain though ready to perish with hunger; but chose rather to feed on bitter herbs: if having his cellar stored
115 with a thousand casks of Chian or good old Falernian wine (a thousand! it is nothing, three hundred thousand casks), he should yet drink only of what was sour and turned: this is not

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³² *Nor is it your business to censure, &c. Ne sis patrius mihi. Patrius for censor.* For uncles are commonly less indulgent than parents. Thus, Ode 12. B. III.

—*Metuentes patrue verbera lingue.*

³³ *Aristippus.* An African by birth, and founder of the Cyrenaic sect. He was the first of the school of Socrates that received money of his disciples. None knew better to suit the humor of the great; even Epi-

curus himself might pass for rigid, compared with his master *Aristippus*. The *summum bonum*, according to him, consisted in living every one to his taste; being troubled about nothing, and seeking pleasure wherever it could be found. His doctrine was much decried by the Stoics. *Horace* praises him more than once, and, in a manner, that shews his bias to a philosophy
10

Hoc Staberî prudentem animum vidisse. Quid ergo
 Sensit, cum summam patrimonî insculpere saxo 90
 Hæredes voluit? Quoad vixit, credidit ingens
 Pauperiem vitium, & cavit nihil acrius; ut si
 Fortè minùs locuples uno quadrante periret,
 Ipse videretur sibi nequior: omnis enim res,
 Virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque, pulchris 95
 Divitiis parent; quas qui construxerit, ille
 Clarus erit, fortis, justus, sapiens etiam, & rex,
 Et quidquid volet. Hoc, veluti virtute paratum,
 Speravit magnæ laudi fore. Quid simile isti 99
 Græcus Aristippus? qui servos projicere aurum
 In mediâ jussit Libyâ; quia tardius irent,
 Propter onus segnes. Uter est insanior horum?
 Nil agit exemplum litem quod lite resolvit.
 Si quis emat citharas, emptas comportet in unum,
 Nec studio citharæ, nec Musæ deditus ulli; 105
 Si scalpra & formas non sutor; nautica vela
 Averfus mercaturis: delirus & amens
 Undique dicatur meritò. Quid † discrepat istis
 Qui nummos aurumque recondit, nescius uti
 Compositis, metuensque velut contingere sacrum?
 Si quis ad ingentem frumenti semper acervum 111
 Porrectus * vigilet cum longo fuste, neque illinc
 Audeat esuriens dominus contingere granum;
 Ac potiùs foliis parcus vescatur amaris:
 Si positis intùs Chii veterisque Falerni 115
 Mille cadis (nihil est, tercentum millibus), acre

animum prudentem
 Staberii vidisse hoc.

DAM. Quid ergo
 sensit, cum voluit hæ-
 redes insculpere sum-
 mam patrimonii saxo?

STERT. Quoad
 vixit, credidit paupe-
 riem ingens vitium, &
 cavit nihil acrius; ut
 si fortè periret minùs
 locuples uno quadrante,
 i. se videretur nequior
 sibi: omnis enim res,
 virtus, fama, decus,
 divina humanaque,
 parent pulchris divi-
 tiis; quas qui con-
 struxerit, ille erit cla-
 rus, fortis, justus, sa-
 piens etiam, & rex,
 & quidquid volet.
 Speravit hoc fore sibi
 magnæ laudi, velut
 quid paratum virtute.
 Quid fecit Aristippus
 Græcus simile isti? qui
 jussit servos projicere
 aurum in mediâ Li-
 byâ; quia, segnes
 propter onus, irent tar-
 dius. Uter horum est
 insanior?

DAM. Exemplum,
 quod resolvit litem lite,
 agit n.l.

STERT. Si quis
 emat citharas, & com-

portat emptas in unum, nec deditus studio citharæ, nec ulli Musæ; si homo, non sutor, emat
 scalpra & formas; si averfus mercaturis emat vela nautica: dicatur meritò undique delirus &
 amens. Quid ille discrepat istis qui recondit aurum nummosque, nescius uti compositis, metuensque
 contingere velut sacrum? Si quis porrectus vigilet semper ad ingentem acervum frumenti cum
 longo fuste, neque esuriens audeat contingere granum illinc quàmvis dominus; ac potiùs parcus
 vescatur foliis amaris: si mille cadis (hoc nihil est, tercentum millibus) vini Chii veterisque
 Falerni positis intùs,

† quî, Bentl.

* Projectus, Id.

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to indulgent. Stertinus, who was a Stoic, endeavours here unjustly to misrepresent an action that deserves the highest praises. He would insinuate, that he was followed by a great number of slaves, whereas he had only one. It looks as if he had foolishly thrown away all his money. Far from it; he ordered his slave to throw away what he had more than he was able to carry. But it was Stertinus's interest to discredit Aristippus, and, if possible, blacken even the virtues of that philosopher.

34 If any one, who has no ear for music. Stertinus now begins to expose the folly of avarice by sensible examples; and all that he says upon this head must be allowed excellent. Riches, in the hands of a miser, are like a flute in the hands of a man who knows not how to use it. It is a comparison taken from Xenophon. In fact, riches are as much an instrument as a flute. Hence the Greeks called them χρημῆλα, that is, utililia; and are only valuable to those who know how to use them.

not all: if being near eighty³⁵ years old, he should lie upon straw to save his fine blankets, which in the mean time are rotting in his chest, a delicious prey to moths and worms: this
 120 man may perhaps seem frantic only to a few, because the greater part of mankind labor under the same disease.

Old dotard hated by the Gods, is it out of fear of want, that thou hoardest up riches to be squandered away by your son, or perhaps some favorite freedman whom you appoint your heir? How little would it take from your wealth day after
 125 day, to use better oil with your coleworts, and anoint your scurfy head with essence? If our wants are so few³⁶, why are you guilty of perjury, rapine, extortion? Dare you again say³⁷, that you are in your senses? If you were to attack³⁸ the people in the streets with stones, or the slaves you had bought with your money; all the boys and girls about town
 130 would run after you, calling you fool and madman. When you strangle your wife with your own hands, or poison³⁹ your mother, can you be thought of a sound mind? SCÆV. How⁴⁰? STERT. O! I know your pretence. The fact you will say was not committed at Argos, or done with a poniard, like Orestes⁴¹. But do you think that he was only mad when he slew his mo-
 135 ther, and not possessed by hellish Furies, long before he plunged the dagger into her breast? In reality from the time that you allow him to be mad, he can be charged with nothing deserving of blame. He attempted nothing against Pylades, or his sister Electra; he only loaded them with curses⁴², branding
 140 her with the name of Fury, and him with whatever his rage suggested.

Opimius,

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35 Near eighty. *Undecoginta for uno de octoginta*, seventy-nine.

36 If our wants are so few. Covetous men have always some excuse at hand to palliate and disguise their avarice; that they deny themselves nothing necessary; that nature is satisfied with a little, &c. Stertinius here retorts very strongly upon them. If nature's wants are so few, why do you commit so many crimes to heap up riches, which you can be as well without?

37 Dare you again, &c. This presents a new scene. Stertinius here addresses himself to another of those whom he had before called upon, and desired to attend to his instructions. He now turns the discourse to Scæva, who had poisoned his mother, and some other wretch that had strangled his wife. This gives beauty and variety to the piece.

38 If you were to attack. This is what they call a comparison, *à minori ad majus*. If a man, who attacks all he meets in the street with stones, is justly accounted mad, what judgment ought we to form of one who should murder his wife to enjoy her dower, or his mother to save the expence of maintaining her?

39 When you strangle your wife, or poison. There is no doubt, says Dacier, but Horace alludes to two acts of cruelty that were committed in his time, and had his eye upon two men, the one whereof had strangled his wife, the other poisoned his mother. As for the first, we know nothing of him; the other is certainly the same he speaks of in the first Satire of this Book, and whom he there calls Scæva.

—Scæva vivacem crede nepoti matrem.

40 Scæv.

Potet acetum: age, si & stramentis incubet, unde-
Octoginta annos natus, cui stragula vestis,
Blattarum ac tinearum epulæ, putrescat in arcâ:
Nimirum infanus paucis videatur, eò quòd 120
Maxima pars hominum morbo jactatur eodem.

Filius, aut etiam hæc libertus ut ebibat hæres,
Dis inimice senex, custodis, ne tibi desit?
Quantulum enim summæ curtabit quisque dierum,
Ungere si caules oleo meliore, caputque 125
Cæperis impexâ sædum porrigine? Quare,
Si quidvis satis est, perjuras, furrpis, aufers
Undique? Tun' sanus? Populum si cædere saxis
Incipias, servosque tuo quos ære parâris;
Insanum te omnes pueri clamentque puellæ. 130
Cum laqueo uxorem interimis, matremque veneno,
Incolumi capite es? Quid enim*? Neque tu hoc
facis Argis,

Nec ferro, ut demens genitricem occidit † Orestes.
An tu reris eum occisâ insanisse parente, 134
Ac non antè malis dementem actum Furiis, quàm
In matris jugulo ferrum tepefecit acutum?
Quin ex quo est habitus malè tutæ mentis Orestes,
Nil fanè fecit quod tu reprêndere possis.
Non Pyladen ferro violare, aufusve sororem †
Electram; tantum maledicit utrique, vocando 140
Hanc Furiam, hunc aliud, jussit quod splendida bilis.

Tu neque facis hoc Argis, nec ferro, ut demens Orestes occidit genitricem. An tu reris eum insanisse occisâ parente, ac non potius actum dementem malis Furiis, antequam tepefecit ferrum acutum in jugulo matris? Quin ex quo tempore Orestes habitus est mentis malè tutæ, fanè nil fecit quod tu possis reprêndere. Non ausus est violare Pyladen ferro, vel sororem Electram; maledicit tantum utrique, vocando hanc Furiam, hunc aliud, quod bilis splendida jussit.

* ni? Neque enim hoc, Bentl.

† occidis, Id.

‡ est, Id.

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40 Scæv. How? This is inexpressibly fine. Stertinius introduces Scæva himself, who, hearing the accusation, and conscious of his guilt, cannot forbear taking it to himself, and asking the philosopher what he means.

41 Orestes. His history is well known. He was son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra. This last, during her husband's absence at Troy, yielding to the desires of Ægisthus, joined with him in murdering him after his return. Orestes returned to Argos, on purpose to revenge his father's death, by imbruing his hands in the blood of his own mother. Pylades was son to Strophius, prince of the Phocians, and nephew to

Orestes. The friendship between them was so strong, that it passed into a proverb. Electra was sister to Orestes.

42 He only loaded them with curses. It is certain that Horace, in this, followed a different tradition from that of Euripides; for had he marched in the footsteps of that poet, he could not have said of Orestes, that after killing his mother, he did nothing that deserved to be blamed. So far from that, he would have slain Helen, and held the sword a long time at Hermione's breast. In the tragedy of Euripides, there are no reproaches thrown out against Pylades. Perhaps the story of Orestes was acted on the Roman theatre as here described.

43 Opimius.

Opimius⁴³, poor in the midst of his hoarded treasures, who on festivals was wont to drink wine of Veientum out of an earthen pot⁴⁴, at other times would sit down contented with what was dead and tasteless, happened once to be seized with a deep lethargy; insomuch that his exulting heir run to his keys, and
 145 began to rifle his coffers. An honest physician quickly brought him to himself again after this manner: He ordered a table to be brought, and several bags of money to be emptied upon it; and presently several hands were employed in telling it over. This instantly roused him: If you do not look out sharp after your
 150 bags, adds the physician, your covetous heir will carry off all. OP. What! in my own life-time? PHY. Rouse yourself therefore, and make it appear that you are still alive: strive to recover health and spirits. OP. What would you have me do? PHY. Your veins destitute of blood will fail, unless some nourishment is taken, and a strong cordial to invigorate the stomach.
 155 Why these delays? Here; take off this draught⁴⁵. OP. What will it stand me in? PHY. Pshaw; a trifle. OP. But how much? PHY. A couple of shillings. OP. Alas! what avails it me, whether I am undone by my distemper, or by rapine and theft? DAM. Who then can be said to be in his senses? STERT. Why, whoever is not a fool. DAM. What think you of the miser? STERT. He is a fool and a madman. DAM. well; but if a man is not covetous, are we therefore to esteem
 160 him wise? STERT. By no means. DAM. Why so, good Mr. Stoic? STERT. I will tell you. This patient (suppose it is the physician that says so) is not sick at heart⁴⁶. Why, then he must be well, why does not he rise? By no means, answers Craterus⁴⁷: because he labors under an acute disease of the reins or side. This man is neither perjured, nor covetous. Let him offer a pig to his domestic Gods⁴⁸ for so great a happiness.
 165 But he is bold and aspiring. Away with him to Anticyra. For where is the difference between wasting your estate foolishly, or making no use of it at all?

It

A N N O T A T I O N S.

⁴³ *Opimius*. There was at Rome an illustrious family of this name. But the story is so wrought up and adapted to the poet's design, that I am rather inclined to think it is a feigned character. *Wine of Veientum*, the least esteemed in Italy.

⁴⁴ *Earthen pot*. *Campanâ solitus trullâ*. *Trulla* comes from *trua*, and *trua* from the Greek *τρούμα*. Both the one and the other signify properly a great pot with a long handle. He adds *Campana*, as in Sat. 6. B. I. he had said *Campana supellex*, to denote that it was only earthen ware from Campania.

⁴⁵ *Take off this draught*. *Sume hoc ptisanarium oryzæ*. *Πτισαν* properly signifies peeled barley, from the Greek *πλίσσω*, *decorticare*. From *ptisana* comes the diminutive *ptisanarium*, and was a decoction of barley. When it was made of any thing else, they took care to name it, as here *ptisanarium oryzæ*, a decoction of rice.

⁴⁶ *Sick at heart*. *Non est cardiacus*. *Cardiaci* are properly those who complain of a weak stomach, accompanied with great sweatings. The sovereign remedy in this case

Pauper Optimus argenti positi intus & auri,
 Qui Vejentanum festis potare diebus
 Campanâ solitus trullâ, vappamque profectis, 144
 Quondam lethargo grandi est oppressus; ut hæres
 Jam circum loculos & claves lætus ovanſque
 Curreret. Hunc medicus multum celer atque fidelis
 Excitat hoc pacto: Mensam poni jubet, atque
 Effundi faccos nummorum; accedere plures 149
 Ad numerandum. Hominem sic erigit; addit & illud:
 Ni tua custodis, avidus jam hæc auferet hæres.
 Men' vivo? Ut vivas igitur, vigila: hoc age. Quid
 vis?
 Deficient inopem venæ te, ni cibus atque
 Ingens accedat* stomacho fultura ruenti. 154
 Tu cessas? Agedum; sume hoc ptisanarium oryzæ.
 Quanti emptæ? Parvo. Quanti ergo? Octo assibus†.
 Eheu!
 Quid refert, morbo, an furtis, pereamque‡ rapinis?
 Quisnam igitur sanus? Qui non stultus. Quid
 avarus?
 Stultus & insanus. Quid? si quis non sit avarus,
 Continuò sanus? Minimè. Cur Stoice? Dicam. 160
 Non est cardiacus (Craterum dixisse putato)
 Hic æger. Rectè est igitur, surgetque? Negabit:
 Quòd latus aut renes morbo tententur || acuto.
 Non est perjurus, neque sordidus. Immolet æquis
 Hic porcum Laribus. Verùm ambitiosus & au-
 dax. 165
 Naviget Anticyram. Quid enim differt, barathrone §
 Dones quidquid habes, an nunquam utare paratis?
 furtis & rapinis? DAM. Quisnam igitur sanus est? STERT. Qui non est stultus. DAM.
 Quid est avarus? STERT. Est stultus & insanus. DAM. Quid? si quis non sit avarus, an
 continuò sanus? STERT. Minimè. DAM. Cur Stoice? STERT. Dicam tibi. (Putato Cra-
 terum dixisse hoc) Hic æger non est cardiacus. An igitur est rectè, surgetque? Negabit. Cur?
 Quòd latus aut renes tententur morbo acuto. Non est perjurus, neque sordidus. Hic immolet
 porcum æquis Laribus. Verùm est ambitiosus & audax. Naviget Anticyram. Quid enim
 differt, donecne quidquid habes barathro, an nunquam utare paratis?

Optimus, pauper auri
 & argenti positi intus,
 qui solitus erat diebus
 festis potare vinum
 Vejentanum trullâ
 Campanâ, vappamque
 profectis diebus, quon-
 dam oppressus est
 grandi lethargo; ut
 hæres lætus ovanſque
 jam curreret circum
 loculos & claves. Me-
 dicus multum celer at-
 que fidelis excitat hunc
 hoc pacto: Jubet men-
 sam poni, atque faccos
 nummorum effundi; &
 plures accedere ad nu-
 merandum. Sic erigit
 hominem; & addit il-
 lud: Ni custodis tuâ,
 avidus hæres jam au-
 feret hæc. OPIM.
 Quid faciet ne me
 vivo? MED. Vigila
 igitur, ut vivas: hoc
 age. OP. Quid vis?
 MED. Venæ deficient
 te inopem, ni cibus at-
 que ingens fultura ac-
 cedat ruenti stomacho.
 Quid tu cessas? Age-
 dum; sume hoc pti-
 sanarium oryzæ. OP.
 Quanti emptæ? MED.
 Parvo pretio. OP.
 Quanti ergo? MED.
 Octo assibus. OPIM.
 Eheu! quid refert,
 pereamne morbo, an

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ease is wine. Pliny, B. 20. Cardiacorum morbo unicam spem in vino certum est.

47 Craterus. A great master of the art. Cicero speaks of him in a letter to Atticus. Commovet me Attica, etsi assentior Cratero. And in another, De Atticâ doleo, credo tamen Cratero: "I am at present ill of the fever of Attica, but put great confidence in Craterus, who assures me there is no danger."

48 Let him offer a pig to his domestic Gods.

The ancients attributed to their domestic Gods all the good or ill that happened in families. Thus our poet, in the 4th Ode of Book 2d, makes Phyllis complain of the injustice of her domestic Gods.

& Penates
 Maeror iniquos.

Hence the custom of frequent sacrifices, either by way of acknowledgment for benefits received, or to appease them.

49 Oppi-

It is related of Oppidius Servius⁴⁹, a man of wealth and quality, that when a-dying he divided between his sons two ancient manors which he had near Canusium, and having called
 170 them to his bedside spoke after this manner: Ever since, Aulus, I observed you to carry your nuts and playthings in your bosom, to part with them frankly, and hazard them boldly; and you, Tiberius, to count them over with care, and anxiously hide them in some secret corner: I have dreaded, lest you should fall into two opposite excesses; lest you, Aulus, should follow
 175 the steps of Nomentanus, and you, Tiberius, take example by Cicuta. I therefore implore you both by the Family-gods, that you, Aulus, do not squander away your fortune; nor you, Tiberius, be solicitous to add to what your father thinks a handsome provision, and sufficient to answer all the demands of nature. Above all, I desire that each of you swear to me, That you suffer not yourselves to be led away by glory and ambition:
 180 whichever of you aspires to be ædile or prætor, may the curse of his father pursue him, and may he be declared incapable of the privileges of a free citizen⁵⁰. What folly to waste your substance in vain donations⁵¹ to the people, that you may appear in state in the circus⁵², or have a brazen statue raised to your honor, stript of your estate, and the large fortune inherited from
 185 your forefathers? Is it for you to affect those applauses so liberally bestowed upon Agrippa⁵³, and like the cunning fox counterfeited the noble majesty of the lion?

Why, son of Atreus⁵⁴, do you deny the rites of sepulture to Ajax?

AG. I am king.

STERT. It is not for me a private man to inquire further.

AG. The command is just; but if any one thinks otherwise, he may speak his mind freely without fear.

190 STERT. Greatest of kings, may the Gods grant you success in your attempt against Troy, and safely to lead home your triumphant

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⁴⁹ *Oppidius Servius*. We know nothing of this *Servius* and his two sons. From this little story that *Horace* relates, we learn that the father was a man of discretion and good sense, and the sons of very opposite tempers, who stood much in need of the wise instructions here given.

⁵⁰ *Incapable of the privileges of a free citizen*. *Instabilis*, the word used in the original, signifies one incapable to stand as witness, or make a will. But as it was not in a father's power to impose any such penalty upon his children, the expression here must mean, *May his father's curse light on him*.

⁵¹ *In vain donations*. Those who aspired after any employment in the state, were obliged to gain the people by large donations. These donations were usually of wheat, barley, beans, or other grain; and the expence in these was often so great, as to ruin some of the best and the richest families. No wonder therefore the father cautions his sons against it.

⁵² *That you may appear in state in the circus*. The *circus* was a great building, of an oval figure, in which the public shows were represented to the people. It was 2205 foot in length, and 1950 in breadth. There were in it three galleries raised one above another.

Servius Oppidius Canusî duo prædia, dives
 Antiquo censu, natis divisse duobus
 Fertur, & hoc moriens pueris dixisse vocatis 170
 Ad lectum: Postquam te talos, Aule, nucesque
 Ferre sinu laxo, donare, & ludere * vidi;
 Te, Tiberi, numerare, cavis abscondere tristem:
 Extimui, ne vos ageret vesania discors;
 Tu Nomentanum, tu ne sequerere Cicutam. 175
 Quare per Divos oratus uterque Penates,
 Tu cave ne minuas; tu ne majus facias id
 Quod satis esse putat pater, & natura coërcet.
 Præterea, ne vos titillet gloria, jure-
 jurando obstringam ambo: uter ædilis fuerit vel 180
 Vestrum prætor, is intestabilis & facer esto.
 In cicere, atque fabâ, bona tu perdasque lupinis,
 Latus ut in circo spatieri, aut † æneus ut stes,
 Nudus agris, nudus nummis, insane, paternis?
 Scilicet ut plausus, quos fert Agrippa, feras tu, 185
 Astuta ingenuum vulpes imitata leonem?
 Ne quis humâsse velit Ajacem, Atrida, vetas cur?
 Rex sum. Nul ultrâ quæro || plebeius. Et æquam
 Rem imperito; at si cui videor non justus, inulto
 Dicere quæ ‡ sentit permitto. Maxime regum, 190
 Dî tibi dent captâ classem reducere ** Trojâ.

insane, perdas bona in cicere, atque fabâ, lupinisque, nudus agris, nudus paternis nummis? Scilicet
 ut tu quoque feras plausus, quos Agrippa fert, vulpes astuta imitata ingenuum leonem? O
 Atrida, cur vetas ne quis velit humâsse Ajacem? AG. Quia sum rex. STERT. Ego plebeius
 quæro nul ultrâ. AG. Quin & imperito rem æquam; at si videor cui non justus, permitto
 illi inulto dicere quæ sentit. STERT. O maxime regum, Dî dent tibi Trojâ captâ reducere
 classem.

* perdere, Bentl.

† æneus, Id.

|| quære, Id.

‡ quod, Id.

** deducere, Id.

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another. The whole was able to contain a hundred and fifty thousand spectators. The seats, which rose in form of an amphitheatre, were in three divisions, the *orchestra*, *equestris*, and *popularia*. This vast edifice was adorned with an infinite number of statues, fine pillars, and two great obelisks. But nothing of so immense a building remains at this day; there are only the ruins of it to be seen between *Mount Palatine* and *Mount Aventine*.

53 *Those applauses bestowed upon Agrippa.* Although *Agrippa* had been consul in the year of the city, 717, yet he condescended to take upon him the charge of *edile* in the year 720; and entertained the people with public shows, with a magnificence unknown till that time. He merited no less com-

mendations for his modesty than his magnificence. This praise of *Agrippa*, which seems wholly owing to chance, is the most delicate and happy in the world.

54 *Why, son of Atreus.* Here we are presented with another scene. The poet would make us sensible, that it is no less madness to give way to ambition than avarice. He therefore at once makes a transition to *Agamemnon*, and cites him as an example, that ambition is capable of carrying us to the greatest excess of folly, even to sacrifice our own children to gratify a low vanity. He at the same time gives an instance of what he had asserted, verse 45, That even kings are comprised in the definition which the *Stoics* give of folly.

—Hec

umphant fleet. You allow me then to reason with you, and keep up the debate.

AG. I do.

STERT. Why does Ajax inferior in valor to none but Achilles⁵⁵ lie rotting upon the ground, after having so often distinguished himself by saving the Greeks from ruin? Is it to give Priam and his court the joy of seeing that hero without burial, 195 by whom so many of their bravest youths have been shut out from the sepulchres of their ancestors?

AG. By no means. He was a madman⁵⁶, and killed a whole flock of sheep, swearing that he slew Ulysses, Menelaüs and myself.

STERT. And you, when at Aulis you sacrificed upon the altar your amiable daughter (Iphigenia) instead of a heifer, and threw 200 upon her head the preparatory bran and salt; can you fancy that you was in your right senses?

AG. How? Pray Sir explain yourself.

STERT. What was it that Ajax did, when in a fit of madness he slew the sheep? He stained not his hands with the blood of his wife or children, and only threw out some imprecations against yourself and brother; he did no hurt to Teucer, or even Ulysses his most implacable enemy.

205. AG. But I, to relieve the fleet detained by contrary winds, prudently appeased the Gods with blood.

STERT. Say, madman, that it was with your own blood.

AG. Yes, with my own, but guilty of no madness.

STERT. Whoever blinded by his passions⁵⁷ forms false ideas of things, and cannot discern between virtue and vice, is justly 210 accounted mad; nor does it make any difference, whether he errs through folly or anger. Ajax no doubt was mad, when he slew the harmless sheep. But was you in your right senses, when to gratify a vain ambition⁵⁸ you knowingly committed so great a crime? Is a heart swelled with pride without blame? Should

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—*Hæc magnos formula reges,
Excepto sapiente, tenet.*

The whole scene is conducted with great spirit, and a fine imagination. In the *Ajax* of *Sophocles*, it is *Menelaüs* that makes the defence.

⁵⁵ *Ajax inferior in valor to none but Achilles.* It is certain, that *Ajax* was the most valiant of the *Greeks* after *Achilles*. Even *Ulysses*, his enemy, in the *Ajax* of *Sophocles*, is forced to allow it. *Homer* speaks very advantageously of his valor, and makes him so bold and daring, as to say, that it is a sign

of cowardice to implore the help of the Gods in time of battle, and that for himself, he always knew how to vanquish his enemies without their assistance.

⁵⁶ *He was a madman.* After that the armour of *Achilles*, in prejudice of *Ajax*, had been adjudged to *Ulysses*, grief plunged the hero into an excess of melancholy, that bereaved him of his senses. One night he fell upon a flock of sheep and committed great havoc, fancying that he slew *Agamemnon*, *Menelaüs*, and the rest of the *Greeks*.

Ergo consulere, & mox respondere licebit?

Consule. Cur Ajax heros ab Achille secundus

Putrescit, toties servatis clarus Achivis;

Gaudeat ut populus Priami Priamusque inhumato,
Per quem tot juvenes patrio caruere sepulchro? 196

Mille ovium infanus morti dedit, inclytum Ulysssem

Et Menelaum, unâ mecum, se occidere clamans.

Tum cum pro vitulâ statuis dulcem Aulide natam

Ante aras, spargisque molâ caput, improbe, falsâ;

Rectum animi servas? Quorsum? Infanus quid
enim Ajax 201

Fecit, cum stravit ferro pecus? Abstinuit vim

Uxore & nato, mala multa precatus Atridis;

Non ille aut Teucrum, aut ipsum violavit Ulysssem.

Verum ego, ut hærentes adverso litore naves 205

Eriperem, prudens placavi sanguine Divos.

Nempe tuo, furiose. Meo, sed non furiosus.

Qui species alias veris, scelerisque tumultu

Permissas capiet, commotus habebitur; atque

Stultitiâne erret, nihilum distabit, an irâ. 210

Ajax immeritos dum* occidit, desipit, agnos?

Cum† prudens scelus ob titulos‡ admittis inanes,

Stas animo? & purum est, vitio tibi cum tumidum
est cor?

Ergo licebit consulere,

& mox respondere?

AG. Consule. STERT.

Cur igitur Ajax se-

cundus hæres ab A-

chille, clarus Achivis

toties servatis, putref-

cit; an ut populus Pri-

ami Priamusque gau-

deat illo inhumato, per

quem tot juvenes caru-

ere sepulchro patrio?

AG. Infanus dedit mille

ovium morti, clamans

se occidere inclytum

Ulysssem & Menelaum,

unâ mecum. STERT.

An tu, tum cum sta-

tuis dulcem natam

ante aras pro vitulâ

Aulide, improbeque

spargis caput falsâ

molâ; servas rectum

animi? AG. Quorsum?

STERT. Quid enim

fecit infanus Ajax,

cum stravit pecus fer-

ro? Abstinuit vim

uxore & nato, precatus

mala multa Atridis;

ille non violavit aut

Teucrum, aut ipsum

Ulysssem. AG. Verum

ego prudens placavi Divos sanguine, ut eriperem naves hærentes adverso litore. STERT. Tuo nempe sanguine, furiose. AG. Meo equidem, sed non furiosus. STERT. Qui capiet species alias veris, permissasque tumultu sceleris, habebitur commotus; atque nihilum distabit, erretne stultitiâ an irâ. Ajax desipit, dum occidit immeritos agnos? An tu stas animo, cum prudens admittis scelus ob inanes titulos? & est cor purum, cum tumidum est tibi vitio?

* cum, Bentl.

† Tu, Id.

‡ cum, Id.

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Greek. He also led several oxen captives into his tent, and imagined that he held Ulysses prisoner among them.

57 Whoever blinded by his passions. Qui species alias. The construction of this passage according to Sanadon is thus: Qui-
cunque tum veri tum sceleris species capiet tu-
multu permissas, commotus habebitur. Tumultus
signifies the tumult of passions which con-
founds things, and makes us mistake one
for another. This was exactly the situation
of Agamemnon. If he had not consented to
sacrifice his daughter; he was afraid that
his refusal might have proved an obstacle to
his being elected commander in chief of the
troops. Virtue required, that he should
postpone ambition to paternal affection; and
it was certainly criminal to do otherwise.

Passion however prevailed, and hurried
him on with the specious motive of public
good; disguising under the name of piety
and an heroic generosity, an action the
most unjust and hateful in the world.

58 To gratify a vain ambition. Stertinius
formed a much truer judgment of this ac-
tion of Agamemnon, than those who, with
Lucretius, attribute it to superstition. It
is seldom that men carry their religion so
far: a mistaken ambition was undoubtedly
the real motive. Thus Agamemnon is one
of those whom Horace speaks of in his first
Satire, Book I.

At bona pars hominum decepta cupidine falso.
The Stoic winds himself into all the doub-
lings and foldings of the heart, to weigh
every thing in a just balance.

59 Bellona

Should a man carry about with him in his chariot a young lamb, and prepare habits, servants, and a dowry, as if for his daughter; should he call it his life, his darling, and think how to provide it with a husband: the prætor would not fail to declare him incapable, and commit the care of his affairs to some sober relations. Well, and can he be thought of a sound mind, who sacrifices his daughter instead of a lamb? It were madness to assert it. Wherever therefore there is folly and impiety, there we are sure to meet with madness in perfection. Every wicked man is at the same time a madman. He who thirsts after fame more brittle than glass, Bellona⁵⁹, delighting in blood and slaughter, has undoubtedly thundered him out of his senses.

Let us now take a view of luxury and Nomentanus; for reason evinces, that spendthrifts are no less madmen than others. No sooner is he master of his patrimony of a thousand talents, than he summons the fishmonger, the fruitman⁶⁰, the huntsman, the perfumer, the whole impious croud of the Tuscan ward, the buffoons, poulterers, butchers, cheesemongers, and all of that stamp, to attend his levee next morning. Accordingly they all appear at the rendezvous. The pimp, as being the most considerable man, makes a speech for the rest: Whatever I or any of these present possess, is entirely yours; you may command it at pleasure, either to-day, or when you will. Hear now what answer the discreet young gentleman returns to this address.

You, honest huntsman, lie booted all night in the Leucanian snow, that I may sup upon a boar: you traverse the winter-seas to provide my table with fish; whilst I live at my ease, unworthy of so much happiness: it is fit therefore you should share my fortune; here is a million of sesterces for each; but as for you, whose wife is always ready at my midnight-call, take threefold.

The son of Æsop⁶¹ the player, that he might have the pleasure of swallowing a million at a draught, dissolved in vinegar a fine pearl taken from the ear of Metella: in what was this wiser, than if he had thrown it into some river or a common-sewer?

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⁵⁹ *Bellona*. She was wife or sister to *Mars*, the Goddess of war, and consequently of rage and madness. *Stoics* took the liberty of speaking plainly to kings. The speech of *Sertorius*, who here tells *Agamemnon* that he was a lymphatic, and that ambition had turned his head, is an instance of it. How true is this of the greater part of conquerors? That warlike ardour, that noble passion for glory, which carries havoc and destruction through so many king-

doms and nations, is often no more than a certain enthusiasm or madness; so much the more dangerous, as even those who are the victims of it, by a strange fatality, are sometimes the first to admire it.

⁶⁰ *The fishmonger, the fruitman*. What a fine company we have got here, made up of men who, both in *Greece* and *Rome*, were held infamous. *Cicero*, in the first Book of his *Offices*, *Minimeque Artes hæc probandæ, quæ*

Si quis lecticâ nitidam gestare amet agnam ;
 Huic vestem, ut natæ, paret, ancillas paret, aurum ;
 Pusam*, aut pusillam† appellet, fortique marito 216
 Destinet uxorem : interdicto huic omne adimat jus
 Prætor, & ad sanos abeat tutela propinquos.
 Quid ? si quis natam pro mutâ devovet agnâ,
 Integer est animi ? Ne dixeris. Ergo ubi prava 220
 Stultitia, hîc summa est infania. Qui sceleratus,
 Et furiosus erit. Quem cepit vitrea fama,
 Hunc circumtonuit gaudens Bellona cruentis.

Nunc age, luxuriam & Nomentanum arripe me-
 cum ;

Vincet enim stultos ratio insanire nepotes. 225
 Hic simul accepit patrimoniî mille talenta,
 Edicit piscator uti, pomarius, auceps,
 Unguentarius, ac Tusci turba impia vici,
 Cum scurris fartor, cum Velabro omne macellum
 Manè domum veniant. Quid tum ‡ ? Venere fre-
 quentes. 230

Verba facit leno: Quidquid mihi, quidquid & horum
 Cuique domi est, id crede tuum ; & vel nunc pete,
 vel cras.

Accipe quid contrâ juvenis responderit æquus.
 In || nive Lucanâ dormis ocreatus, ut aprum
 Cœnem ego : tu pisces hiberno ex æquore verris, 235
 Segnis ego, indignus qui tantum possideam : aufer ;
 Sume tibi decies ; tibi tantundem ; tibi triplex,
 Unde uxor mediâ currat** de nocte vocata.
 Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ
 (Scilicet ut decies solidûm exforberet ††) aceto 240
 Diluit insignem baccam : quî sanior, ac si
 Illud idem in rapidum flumen jaceretve cloacam ?

& vel pete nunc, vel cras. Accipe quid contrâ responderit æquus juvenis. Tu dormis ocreatus in nive Lucanâ, ut ego cœnem aprum : tu verris pisces ex hiberno æquore ; ego segnis indignus tum qui possideam tantum : aufer ; sume tibi decies centena millia sestertium ; tantundem tibi ; tibi verò, unde uxor vocata currat de mediâ nocte, triplex. Filius Æsopi diluit insignem bac- cam detractam ex aure Metellæ aceto (scilicet ut exforberet decies solidum) : quî sanior, ac si jaceret illud idem in flumen rapidum vel cloacam ?

* Rasam, Bentl.

† pusillam, Id.

‡ qui cùm venere, Id.

|| Tu, Id.

** currit, Id.

†† absorberet, Id.

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quæ ministræ sunt voluptatum ; cetarii, larii, coqui, fartores, piscatores, ut ait Terentius. We should by no means approve of these arts that minister only to pleasure ; sycophants, flatterers, buffoons, as Terence will hint. The passage referred to in Terence, is in the

61 The son of Æsop. Here we have another example of prodigality nothing inferior to Nomentanus ; Claudius Æsopus, the son of Æsop the famous actor. The story is told by Pliny, who adds, that a pearl of the same value was swallowed every time he

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was

shore? The sons of Quintus Arrius⁶², those illustrious twin brothers, truly pairs in every thing wicked, foolish, or extravagant, could be satisfied with nothing less than nightingales bought up
245 at an excessive price: what are your thoughts of all such? are they to be ranked with wise men or fools?

If a man with a reverend grey beard should amuse himself in building little houses of paper, fitting up chariots to be drawn by mice, riding upon a hobby-horse, or playing at even and odd; would not all the world account him mad? Well: but if reason evince that love is something still more childish; and
250 that there is no difference betwixt your infant-games at three years old, and sighing after a jilting mistress: would you in this case behave like the convert Polemon⁶³? Would you shake off all the symptoms of your madness, your garters, ribbons, and
255 other luxuriance of dress, like that young Greek; who though in drink, yet upon hearing the temperate lessons of the philosopher Xenocrates, is said to have taken by stealth from his head the garland of flowers wherewith he was crowned?

If you offer apples to a child when out of humor; he refuses them: take them, my dear; I will not: if you cease to press him; he is impatient to have them. How much differs this from the case of a discarded lover; when he hovers round the hated
260 gates, and argues with himself⁶⁴, whether he shall return when desired, whence he could not bear to be absent if uninvited? Shall I return now, that she calls me back; or shall I not rather resolve to put an end to all my griefs? She has used me ill, and now relents; shall I therefore return? not, if she were to beg it on her knees. On this appears a servant, a much better head-
265 piece than his master: O sir⁶⁵, what absolutely rejects all measure and rule, ought not to be managed according to measure or rule: A constant change of fortune, and alternate succession of war and peace, are the inseparable companions of love. He that endeavours to render fixed and steady things moveable as a tempest, and fluctuating under the direction of a blind
270 fate; will do much as wisely, as if he aimed at running mad with reason.

When,

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was entertained at Metella's table. Cleopatra pushed the extravagance yet farther, by swallowing a pearl valued at six hundred millions of sesterces. But the Egyptian madness was only an imitation of the Roman, for Pliny attributes the whole glory of the invention to the latter. *Prior id fecerat Romæ Clodius tragaedi Æsopi filius, ut experiretur in gloriæ palati quid saperent margaritæ.*

⁶² The sons of Quintus Arrius. The same spoken of before in the 86th verse.

⁶³ Polemon. A young Athenian libertine, who passing one day, after a debauch, by the school of Xenocrates, was led by his curiosity to enter. The philosopher immediately began a lecture upon temperance, and reasoned with that strength and evidence, as to convince Polemon, who threw away upon the spot all the ensigns and badges of his debauchery, and determined to change his way of life. He made so great progress

Quinti progenies Arrii, par nobile fratrum,
Nequitia, & nugis, pravorum & amore gemellum,
Lusciniæ soliti impensò prandere coemptas : 245
Quorsum abeant sani * ? cretâ an carbone notandi † ?

Ædificare casas, plostello adjungere mures,
Ludere par impar, equitare in arundine longâ,
Si quem delectet barbatum ; amentia verset.
Si puerilius his ratio esse evincet amare ; 250
Nec quicquam differre, utrûmne in pulvere, trimus
Quale prius, ludas opus, an meretricis amore
Solicitus piores : quæro, faciasne quod olim
Mutatus Polemon ? ponas insignia morbi,
Fasciolas, cubital, focalia ; potus ut ille 255

Dicitur ex collo furtim carpisse coronas,
Postquam est impransi correptus voce magistri ?
Porrigis irato puero cùm poma ; recusat :
Sume, catellæ ; negat : si non des ; optat ‡. Amator
Exclusus quî distat ? agit ubi secum, eat an non,
Quò rediturus erat non arcessitus, & hæret 261
Invisis foribus. Nec || nunc, cùm me vocet ** ultro,
Accedam ? an potiùs mediter finire dolores ?
Exclusit, revocat ; redeam ? non, si obsecret. Ecce
Servus non paulò sapientior : O here, quæ res 265
Nec modum habet neque consilium, ratione modoque

Tractari non vult. In amore hæc sunt mala ; bellum,

Pax rursus. Hæc si quis tempestatis propè ritu
Mobilia, & cæcâ fluitantia sorte, labore
Reddere certa sibi ; nihilo plus explicet, ac si 270
Insanire paret certâ ratione modoque.

Progenies Quinti Arrii, nobile gemellum fratrum, par nequitia, & nugis, & amore pravorum, soliti prandere lusciniæ coemptas impensò : quorsum abeant sani ? an notandi sunt carbone an cretâ ? Si delectet quem barbatum ædificare casas, adjungere mures plostello, ludere par impar, equitare in longâ arundine ; amentia verset. Si ratio evincet esse puerilius his amare ; nec differre quicquam, utrûmne ludas idem opus in pulvere, quale prius ludas trimus, an sollicitus amore meretricis piores : quæro, faciasne quod olim mutatus Polemon fecit ? an ponas insignia morbi, fasciolas, cubital, focalia ; ut ille potus dicitur carpisse furtim coronas ex collo, postquam correptus est voce magistri impransi ? Cùm porrigis poma irato puero ; recusat : sume, catellæ ; negat : si non des ; optat. Quî distat amator exclusus ? ubi agit secum, eat accersitus an non, quò rediturus erat non arcessitus, & hæret invisis

foribus. Nunc accedam necne, cùm ultro vocet me ? an mediter potiùs finire dolores ? Exclusit, revocat ; redeamne ? non, si (etiã) obsecret. Ecce servus non paulò sapientior inquit : O here, res quæ nec habet modum neque consilium, non vult tractari ratione modoque. Hæc mala sunt in amore ; bellum, rursus pax. Si quis laboret reddere sibi certa hæc mobilia propè ritu tempestatis, & fluitantia cæcâ sorte ; nihilo plus explicet, ac si paret insanire certâ ratione modoque.

* *sahin*, Benti. † notati, Id. ‡ optet, Id. || ne nunc, Id. ** vocat, Id.

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progress in the study of philosophy, that he succeeded *Xenocrates*, and was the third after *Plato* in the school of the *Academics*.

64 And argues with himself. This whole passage is taken from the beginning of the *Eunuch* of *Terence*, where *Phædria* says,

Quid igitur faciam ? non eam ? ne nunc quidem

Cum accersor ultro ? an potiùs ita me contempnam

Non perpeti meretricum contumelias ?

Exclusit : revocat. Redeam ? non si me obsecret.

65 O sir. I shall here as before cite the passage entire from *Terence*, that the reader

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may

When, after taking the kernel out of an apple, you are ravished if perchance you hit some part of the ceiling you had marked with your eye; are you in your right wits? When though in years you affect to lisp and hesitate like a child, in what are you wiser than he who amuses himself with little paper-houses?
 275 Add to this the blood and murders that often attend it, and (as the proverb says) rake into the fire with a sword⁶⁶. When Marius lately, after murdering his mistress Hellas, threw himself headlong from a rock, was he mad? or will you say, that he was rather a villain than a madman? confounding according to custom things that are plainly the same by different
 280 names.

There was once a freedman⁶⁷, who every morning before he either eat or drank ran about the streets with his hands washed, crying out; Save me from death, me alone: it is no such mighty matter to give immortality to one; save me therefore, great Gods, and refuse not a favor you can so easily grant: yet this man had both his eyes and ears perfectly sound: but his master, when he sold him, unless a litigious man,
 285 would hardly warrant him in his right senses. These and all such are ranked by Chrysippus in the numerous fraternity of the Menenii⁶⁸.

Great Jupiter, says the mother of a son who has now kept his bed above five months, you who bring calamities upon us and remove them at pleasure; if my son escapes from the aguish⁶⁹ fever that now oppresses him, he shall stand naked in the Tiber the morning of your next fast-day. If chance or the physician recover the child; the superstitious mother will be sure either to kill him, or bring back the fever, by plunging him into the cold river. To what is this madness owing? to a mistaken fear of
 295 the Gods.

These are the arms which Stertinius, the eighth of the wise men, furnished me with, to repel the insults of my adversaries. Whoever calls me fool, may expect a return in the same language; and shall be put in mind of the tail which he little dreams he drags behind him.

HOR.

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may be enabled to compare the copy with the original.

Here, quæ res in se neque consilium neque modum

Habet ullum, eam consilio regere non potes:

In amore hæc omnia insunt vitia, injuriæ,

Suspiciones, inimiciæ, induciæ,

Bellum, fax rursus: incerta hæc si tu potules

Ratione certa facere, nibilo plus agas,

Quàm si des operam ut cum ratione insanias.

Horace differs in nothing from Terence, but the image he gives of a tempest, to explain the more agreeably the word *incerta* of the original.

⁶⁶ Rake into the fire with a sword. This was a precept of Pythagoras. Plutarch takes notice of it in the life of Numa. The philosopher meant, that we ought not to provoke a man in a passion, or throw him into a more violent rage. And further, that a man, transported by passion, ought not to give
 into

Quid? cùm Picenis excerpens semina pomis,
Gaudes si cameram percussisti fortè; penes te es?
Quid? cùm balba feris annofo verba palato,
Ædificante casus quì sanior? Adde cruorem 275
Stultitiæ, atque ignem gladio scrutare. Modò, in-

quam,
Hellade percussâ, Marius cùm præcipitat se,
Cerritus fuit? an commotæ crimine mentis
Absolves hominem, et sceleris damnabis eundem,
Ex more imponens cognata vocabula rebus? 280
Libertinus erat, qui circum compita ficcus
Lautis manè senex manibus currebat; & unum,
(Quid tam magnum? addens) unum me sùrpitem
morti,

Dis etenim facile est, orabat: sanus utrisque
Auribus atque oculis: mentem, nisi litigiosus, 285
Exciperet dominus, cùm venderet. Hoc quoque
vulgus

Chrysippus ponit fœcundâ in gente Menenî.

Jupiter, ingentes qui das adimisque dolores
(Mater ait pueri menses jam quinque cubantis);
Frigida si puerum quartana reliquerit, illo 290
Manè die, quo tu indicis jejunia, nudus
In Tiberi stabit. Casus medicusve levârit
Ægrum ex præcipiti; mater delira necabit
In gelidâ fixum ripâ, febrimque reducet. 294

Quone malo mentem concussa? timore Deorum.

Hæc mihi Stertinius, sapientum octavus, amico
Arma dedit, posthac ne compellarer inultus.
Dixerit insanum qui me, totidem audiet; atque
Respicere ignoto discet pendentia tergo.

lores, si frigida quartana febris reliquerit puerum, stabit nudus in Tiberi manè, illo die quo tu indicis jejunia. Casus medicusve levârit hunc ægrum ex præcipiti; mater delira necabit eum fixum in gelidâ ripâ, reducetque febrim. Quone malo concussa est quod ad mentem: an timore Deorum? Stertinius, octavus sapientum, dedit hæc arma mihi velut amico suo, ne compellarer posthac inultus. Qui dixerit me insanum esse, audiet totidem; atque discet respicere pendentia ignoto tergo.

Quid? cùm excerpens semina Picenis pomis, gaudes si fortè percussisti cameram; an es penes te? Quid? cùm feris balba verba annofo palato, quì sanior es puero ædificante casus? Adde cruorem stultitiæ, atque scrutare ignem gladio. Marius, inquam, cùm modò Hellade percussâ, præcipitat se, anne cerritus fuit? an absolves hominem crimine commotæ mentis, & damnabis eundem sceleris, imponens ex more vocabula cognata rebus? Erat libertinus senex, qui manè ficcus & manibus lautis currebat circum compita, & sic orabat; O Dii, sùrpitem me unum (quid enim tam magnum est? addens) sùrpitem me unum morti, etenim facile est Dis: sanus nihilominus utrisque auribus atque oculis: dominus, nisi litigiosus, cùm venderet, exciperet mentem. Chrysippus ponit hoc vulgus quoque in fœcundâ gente Menenii. Mater pueri cubantis jam quinque menses ait; O Jupiter, qui das adimisque ingentes do-

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into every thing that his rage dictates. *Horace* applies it with great propriety to lovers, whose passion carries them to murders, bloodshed, and all manner of extravagance; often too their rage turns against themselves, as in the case of *Marius* mentioned here, who in a fit of jealousy slew his mistress, and then in despair threw himself headlong from a rock.

67 *There was once a freedman. Stertinius* dismisses love, and falls upon superstition, of which he gives two examples. *Stertinius* numbers among the superstitious, all who

have either unworthy sentiments of the Gods, or put up unreasonable requests. The world is full of such, but *Horace*, who was an *Epicurean*, looked upon religion and superstition as the same.

68 *Menenii*. This supposes, that folly was in a manner hereditary in the house of *Menenius*. It was a very ancient family, and had formerly been illustrious by the celebrated *Menenius Agrippa*, who, in the first ages of the republic, had triumphed over the *Sabines*, and appeased a sedition of

300 HOR. Sage Stoic, after your late losses may every thing turn out to a triple advantage⁶⁹; but tell me, since there are so many species of madness, which you think properly mine; for I appear to myself abundantly wise?

DAM. How? do you think that Agave³⁰ fancied herself mad, when she carried about the head of her unhappy son which she had cut off with her own hands?

HOR. Well: I allow myself both a fool and a madman; it is 305 in vain to fight against truth: only let me know, what kind of folly I labor under.

DAM. Why? first you build⁷¹; that is, though scarce two foot high⁷², you affect to imitate the great; and yet can laugh 310 at the fierce and majestic air of Turbo in arms, so ill agreeing with his diminutive form: in what are you less ridiculous than he? Can Mæcenas⁷³ do nothing, but you must strive to copy him; you who are so very unlike, and so unfit to rival him? An ox⁷⁴ having one day trod upon the young of an absent frog, one 315 that fortunately escaped, went and told the dam, that a great frightful beast had crushed its brethren. The mother surprised asked, How great? and blowing herself up, Whether am I of equal size with her? Not by half, replies the young one. When blowing herself up still more and more, What! bigger than I am now? Nay, mother, should you swell till you burst yourself, you would not be equal to him. The fable comes pretty home 320 to your case. Add to this your poems⁷⁵; that is, throw oil upon the fire; for if ever poet had been wise, I might perhaps grant the same of you. I say nothing of your horrible transports of passion⁷⁶.

HOR. Enough; enough.

DAM. Your expence so much above your estate.

HOR. Pray, good Damasippus, meddle with your own affairs.

DAM.

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the people by the well known fable of the war between the belly and the members.

⁶⁹ *May every thing turn out to a triple advantage.* This contains a severe stroke of raillery. The wisdom that a Stoic pretended to, was of a kind far different from that of buying and selling. It is a tacit advice to return to his former traffic, and not meddle any more with philosophy.

⁷⁰ *Do you think that Agave?* Damasippus here tells Horace, that it is no wonder he is not sensible of his own folly, it being a common case. Agave, after cutting her son in pieces, far from thinking herself mad, carried about his head upon her rod, as of a lion she had slain. The story is to be found at large in Euripides, in his *Bacchantes*.

⁷¹ *You build.* Horace had probably pulled down his house in the territories of the *Sabinæ*, to build it up after a new model. We have no reason to think, however, that he gave into any excessive passion for building. He mentions it again in the first Epistle of his first Book.

⁷² *Scarce two foot high.* Horace was thick and of short stature. *Augustus*, in a letter which he wrote him, *Pertulit ad me Dionysius libellum tuum; quem ego, ne accussem breviter, quantuluscunque est, boni consulo. Vereri autem mihi videris; ne majores libelli tui sint quam ipse es; sed si tibi statura deest, corpusculum non deest.* "Dionysius brought me the book you sent; which, though

Stoice, post damnum sic vendas omnia pluris; 300
 Quâ me stultitiâ* (quoniam non est genus unum)
 Insanire putas? ego nam videor mihi sanus.
 Quid? caput abscissum demens † cùm portat Agave
 Nati infelicitis, sibi tum furiosa videtur?
 Stultum me fateor (liceat concedere veris) 305
 Atque etiam insanum: tantum hoc ediffere, quo me
 Ægrotare putes animi vitio. Accipe: primum
 Ædificas; hoc est, longos imitaris, ab imo
 Ad summum totus moduli bipedalis; & idem
 Corpore majorem rides Turbonis in armis 310
 Spiritum & incessum: quî ridiculus minùs illo?
 An quodcunque facit Mæcenas, te quoque verum est,
 Tanto ‡ dissimilem, & tanto certare minorem?
 Absentis ranæ pullis vituli pede pressis,
 Unus ubi effugit, matri denarrat, ut ingens 315
 Bellua cognatos eliserit. Illa rogare,
 Quantane? num tandem ||, se inflans **, sic magna
 fuisset?
 Major dimidio. Num tanto ††? Cùm magis atque
 Se magis inflaret; Non, si te ruperis, inquit,
 Par eris. Hæc à te non multum abludit imago. 320
 Adde poemata nunc (hoc est, oleum adde camino);
 Quæ si quis sanus fecit, sanus facis & tu.
 Non dico horrendam rabiem—Jam desine—Cultum

HOR. Stoice, sic vendas omnia pluris post damnum; quâ stultitiâ putas me insanire (quoniam non est unum tantum genus)? nam ego videor mihi sanus.
 —DAM. Quid? cùm demens Agave portat abscissum caput infelicitis gnati, an tum videtur furiosa sibi? HOR. Fateor me stultum esse (liceat concedere veris) atque etiam insanum: tantum ediffere hoc, quo vitio animi putes me ægrotare. DAM. Accipe: primum ædificas; hoc est, imitaris longos, quanquam totus vix moduli bipedalis ab imo ad summum; & idem tamen rides incessum & spiritum Turbonis in armis, majorem corpore: quî minùs ridiculus illo?
 An verum & par est te quoque facere, quodcunque Mæcenas facit? te inquam, tanto dissimilem, & tanto minorem certare

cum illo? Pullis absentis ranæ pressis pede vituli, unus ubi effugit, denarrat matri, ut ingens bellua eliserit cognatos. Illa cœpit rogare, Quantane? num tandem, inflans se, fuisset sic magna? Major dimidio, respondit alter. Iterum, Num tanto? Cùm inflaret se magis atque magis, inquit pullus; Si ruperis te, non par eris. Hæc imago non multum abludit à te. Adde nunc poemata (hoc est, adde oleum camino); quæ si quis sanus fecit, & tu sanus facis. Non dico rabiem horrendam. HOR. Desine jam.

* Quam me stultitiâ, Bentl. † manibus, Id. ‡ tantum, Id. || tantum, Id.
 ** inflans se, Id. †† tantum, Id.

A N N O T A T I O N S.

“though of little size, I yet received with pleasure. You seem to be afraid, lest your books should grow more bulky than yourself: but what is wanting to you in stature, is made up in thickness.”

73 Can Mæcenas do nothing, &c.? Tanto certare minorem; for tam imparē certamini. Verum est, here signifies the same as æquum est.

74 Anax, &c. Although this fable is not to be found among those that remain to us of Æsop, yet there is all the reason in the world to believe that it was his; and that both it, and a great many other pieces of that author, have been lost. Phædrus, who wrote soon after Horace, recounts the fable in a different manner: he tells us, that the frog, seeing a bull in a meadow,

became jealous of his bulk, and began to blow herself up, that she might rival him. Our poet's manner is the more lively.

75 Your poems. The Stoics absolutely condemned poetry; and Damaspissus, who was none of the least pedantic among them, could not be supposed to differ from them in so material a point. It is however diverting to hear him censure Horace's poetry, after reproaching him in the beginning of this Satire that he wrote so little; and requiring him to be more diligent. Dic aliquid dignum promissis.

76 Your horrible transports of passion. For Horace was very passionate, and easily provoked; as he tells us himself in the last Epistle of his first Book. Irasci celerem.

325 DAM. Your innumerable intrigues, and guilty flames.

HOR. O sovereign⁷⁷ madman! cease to tax the faults of one who comes so far short of you in madness.

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⁷⁷ O sovereign! Horace's patience at last that it seems to be highly in praise of *Damasippus*. O major tandem parcas. Hitherto can hold no longer. Dacier observes, that it is one of the principal beauties of this verse, *Damasippus* might think that Horace admitted

The KEY.

THIS Satire is wholly in the way of dialogue. Horace had retired into the country during the feast of the *Saturnalia*: *Damasippus*, a Stoic philosopher, comes to pay him a visit; and, entering into conversation with him, blames him that he so seldom published any thing new, and employed himself always in re-touching and correcting. The discourse at last, by a very natural and easy transition, turns upon *Damasippus*, and his way of life; how he came to relinquish his former profession, and apply himself to the study of philosophy. This introduces a new scene, and a different set of actors. *Stertinius* is brought upon the stage, whose province it is to vindicate the doctrines of the Stoic philosophy. His grand design is to prove, that all wicked men are also madmen; and that none but he, whom the Stoics define a wise man, is exempted from this charge. In proof of this, he runs through the several conditions of life, and entertains the reader with a variety of different characters, equally just and diverting. The precepts are excellent, the sentiments lively and full of spirit; calculated both to warm the imagination, and affect the heart. Horace can never be enough commended for mixing so much morality and sound instruction with a piece designed chiefly to ridicule the severity and rigid stiffness of the philosophers of that age, who abused in the grossest manner the maxims of their founder. One is indeed apt to wonder how our poet could attain this end, and at the same time make his persons say so many good things: it was no doubt a dangerous stroke of art, and such as required a masterly hand; but he was well acquainted with mankind, and knew how to point out the ridicule in all their actions. A mixture of the serious and agreeable always takes; and in-

Majorem censu—Teneas, Damasppe, tuis te—
 Mille puellarum, puerorum mille furores—
 O major, tandem parcas, insane, minori.

325

DAM. Cultum major-
 em censu. HOR.
 Teneas te tuis, Da-
 masippe. DAM. Fu-
 rores mille puellarum,

& mille puerorum. HOR. O insane major, tandem parcas minori.

A N N O T A T I O N S.

red his wisdom. There is nothing here to | confounds him; and is the more diverting,
 undeceive him but the word *insane*, which | as it comes upon him unexpectedly.

The KEY.

instruction, when conveyed in this manner, is heard with patience. A man is not shocked at his own picture, and can bear not only to be convinced of his folly, but even to enter into the particulars of it. At the conclusion of the Satire he humbles, in the person of *Damasippus*, that whole sect of philosophers; and levels their pride, by adding the single truth which was wanting to all that they professed to teach, *viz.* That they were themselves greater madmen, than any whom they accused of madness. The more the principles of any philosophy tend to the discovery of truth, the more honor these truths, when discovered, do to that philosophy. Here it is just the contrary. A single truth added to those taught by the Stoics, exposes them to the highest ridicule, and robs them, at once, of all their vain boasts. The whole is conducted with so much good humor, that it is impossible to take offence. The poet spares no part of mankind; he stands himself in the first rank of fools: how then can they be displeased, if he attacks them with those very arms they had furnished him with against himself and all the rest of mankind?

The date of this Satire is very uncertain. *Dacier* refers it to the later years of our poet, because of its correctness, and the beauties that shine through all the parts of it. *Sanadon*, on the other side, fixes it to the 720th year of the city, and thirty-first or thirty-second of *Horace's* age. He does not think it probable, that the *Damasippus* whom *Cicero* mentions, and who was the same as he of this Satire, could be alive in the latter part of the poet's life. He farther thinks, that *Damasippus's* accusing *Horace* towards the end of the Satire, with his aptness to be transported by passion, agrees better with youth than old age.

S A T I R E IV.

He ridicules the luxury and art of cookery so much studied by epicures.

HOR. **W**HENCE, and whither so fast, Catius¹?

CAT. I have no time to answer you, being desirous to imprint on my mind² a set of new precepts I have lately heard, such as far exceed those of Pythagoras³, Socrates⁴, or Plato.

HOR. It was wrong, I own, to interrupt you so unseasonably; but I beg you will excuse it. Should any thing escape you at present, you will soon recover it; being so particularly happy both in a natural and artificial memory⁵.

CAT. Nay, I was just then, when you interrupted me, thinking how to fix them in my mind; for they are remarkably subtle, and were handled with all the fineness and delicacy of style imaginable.

HOR. Be so good as to acquaint me with this wonderful man's name; and whether he is a Roman, or a foreigner.

CAT. I will frankly repeat the maxims as far as I can remember them; but the author must be concealed⁶.

Be sure to have long eggs⁷ always served up at your table, for they are better tasted, and more nourishing⁸ than the round ones; their shells including a male-yolk.

The coleworts that grow in dry parched ground, are much sweeter than those of the gardens on the skirts of the town: earth often watered grows insipid, and loses its strength.

A N N O T A T I O N S.

¹ *Catius*. Commentators have been at a world of pains to find out who this *Catius* was. Some take him to be the same with *Catius Insuber*, the Epicurean philosopher, of whom *Cicero* and *Quintilian* speak. But *M. le Fevre* and *Vander Beken* strenuously oppose this; and endeavour to demonstrate, that what *Cicero* says of that Epicurean philosopher, cannot agree with the *Catius* here mentioned. *Bayle* thinks, that it is a feigned person the poet here addresses. However the matter be determined, the character is strongly marked, and serves to give us a good notion of the humor of the Epicureans.

² *Desirous to imprint on my mind*. *Ponere signa novis præceptis*. A familiar and figurative way of speaking, instead of *nova præcepta in animo consignare*; as the translation has it.

³ *Pythagoras*. A native of *Samos*, and one of the first who applied to the study of

philosophy. He lived about the time of *Polycrates* the tyrant, whose government abhorring, he left his native country and came into *Italy*, where he long taught philosophy at *Crotona* with great reputation.

⁴ *Socrates*. *Anytæum*. For it was upon the false accusations of *Anytus* and *Meli-tus*, that he was tried and condemned.

⁵ *Natural and artificial memory*. *Cicero*, or, as others rather think, *Cornificius*, describes the artificial memory in the third Book of *Rhetoric* to *Herennius*, and gives precepts for the improvement of it. He tells us, that it consisted of certain places fixed upon by the mind, and certain images formed of the things to be remembered, which were applied in order to these places. The places served instead of paper, and the images were as so many letters, whose regular application held the place of writing. Thus, by the help of the artificial memory,

SATIRA IV.

Luxum & artem culinariam Epicureorum ridet.

UNDE, & quò Catius? Non est mihi tempus,
 aventi

Ponere signa novis præceptis, qualia vincunt*
 Pythagoram, Anytique reum, doctumque Platona.
 Peccatum fateor, cum te sic tempore lævo
 Interpellârim; sed des veniam bonus, oro.

Quòd si interciderit tibi nunc aliquid, repetes mox;
 Sive est naturæ hoc, sive artis, mirus utroque.
 Quin id erat curæ, quo pacto cuncta tenerem;
 Utpote res tenues, tenui sermone peractas.

Ede hominis nomen; simul † an Romanus, an
 hospes.

Ipsa memor præcepta canam; celabitur auctor.

Longa quibus facies ovis erit, illa memento,
 Ut succi melioris, & ut magis alba ‡ rotundis,
 Ponere; namque marem cohibent callosa vitellum.
 Caule suburbano, qui ficcis crevit in agris,
 Dulcior: irriguo nihil est elutius horto.

Ede nomen hominis; simul an sit Romanus, an hospes. CAT. Ego memor causam ipsa præcepta; auctor celabitur. Memento ponere illa ova, quibus ovis longa erit facies, ut melioris succi, & ut magis alba rotundis; namque ova callosa cohibent vitellum marem. Caulis qui crevit in agris ficcis, est dulcior caule suburbano: nihil enim est elutius irriguo horto.

* vincant, Bentl.

† simul &, Id.

‡ alma, Id.

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memory, one could recal things as distinctly as in reading.

6 The author must be concealed. Heinsius, and almost all others who have written upon Horace, imagine, that the author was Epicurus, whom Catius declined naming, because of the prejudices against him. He was afraid that this might hurt his precepts, and make them ill received. Nothing can be more unreasonable than this supposition: Horace himself was of the sect of Epicurus; nor was it the founder, but his degenerate followers, that he intended to ridicule. The author must have been some notorious debauchee, or perhaps Catius himself.

7 Long eggs. Catius observes some kind of order in the detail of his precepts, which is the only good thing in his speech. He gives rules for the courses of the first table, and proceeds to the second, then concludes with some general maxims regarding decency and neatness.

8 More nourishing. Et ut magis alba, so the common reading. But Dr. Bentley opposes this as contrary to common observation; and thinks we ought to read, & ut magis alma. Cunningham reads magis alta in the same sense, which is approved of by Sandon. Alta, according to him, is here for nutrita, and comes from the verb alere.

9 Faler-

O R D O.

HOR. UNDE venit
 Catius, &

quò vadit? CAT. Non
 est tempus responden-
 di mihi, aventi ponere
 signa novis præceptis,
 qualia vincunt Pytha-
 goram, reumque Any-
 ti, doctumque Platona.

HOR. Fateor pecca-
 tum, cum interpellârim
 te sic lævo tempore;
 sed oro, ut bonus des
 veniam. Quòd si ali-

quid nunc interciderit
 tibi, repetes mox; sive
 hoc est naturæ do-
 num, sive artis, cum
 mirus sis utroque.

CAT. Quin id erat
 mihi curæ, qua pacto
 tenerem cuncta; utpote
 res tenues, peractas te-
 nui sermone. HOR.

If a friend arrives late in the evening and unexpected; that the fowl you treat him with may not eat tough and unpleasant, you will do well to dip it alive in Falernian wine mixed with water⁹: this will make it tender.

- 20 Mushrooms that grow in meadows are by far the best: it is not safe to eat of others.

He shall be blessed with healthy summers, who finishes dinner with ripe mulberries¹⁰, gathered before the heat of the day.

- Aufidius¹¹ mixed honey with rough Falernian wine, but this was an error; for, when fasting, nothing ought to enter our veins
25 but what is soft and mild: it will better suit the stomach to mix your honey with the softest wine you can find.

If you are costive¹², limpins and cockles will remove the obstruction; also sorrel-leaves infused in white Coan wine.

- 30 Shell-fish¹³ are commonly at their best a little after the new moon: but they are not alike good in all places. The muscles of the Lucrine lake¹⁴ are far preferable to the Baian burret: the promontory of Circe is famed for oysters: Misenum excels in crawfish; and luxurious Tarentum justly boasts of its fine cockles.

- 35 Let no one pretend to be a judge of good eating, unless he be perfectly skilled in the minutest differences of tastes. Nor is it enough to buy up fish at a great price; he must be able also to distinguish which are fittest to be served up with sauce, and which when roasted would rouse the satiated guest, and awaken anew his appetite.

- 40 The wild boar that feeds on acorns, in the forests of Umbria, will best suit the tables of those who dislike flabby meat: for those of Laurentum¹⁵, that fatten in fens and marshy ground, are not good.

Kids, that feed only on vines, are seldom fit to be eaten.

If a hare not past breeding is served up, a man of nice taste will be sure to fix upon the shoulder¹⁶.

45 My

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⁹ Falernian wine mixed with water. *Misto* *merfave* *Falerno*. *Vinum mistum* is the same as *vinum aquâ temperatum*; wine diluted with water. Falernian wine, of itself rough, was by this means softened, and rendered fitter for the use spoken of.

¹⁰ Finishes dinner with ripe, &c. *Dacier* explains this passage in a sense very different from all that go before him. He observes, that the ancients had only one meal, towards night; and that they who could not wait so long, usually broke their fast in the morning with some bread, raisins, figs, or mulberries: this they called *prandium*, or *gustarium*. But this philosophical doctor,

who loved, it seems, to dine in form, teaches another method: he is for finishing this repast with mulberries, and, of consequence, beginning it with more solid food; for the mulberries were designed only to clean and scour the teeth; and in this consists the whole pleasantry of the passage. The good man regarded more his appetite than his health; for *Galen* assures us of quite the contrary to what he here asserts.

¹¹ Aufidius. *Marcus Aufidius Lureo*, a man of a delicate taste, and a good judge of what was sound and wholesome. Our adventurer, however, takes upon him to decide against him. But both *Perry* and *Dionysius*

Si vespertinus subito te oppresserit hospes;
 Ne gallina malum responset dura palato,
 Doctus eris vivam misto * mersare Falerno:
 Hoc teneram faciet. Pratenſibus optima fungis
 Natura est: aliis malè creditur. Ille salubres
 Æstates peraget, qui nigris prandia moris
 Finiet, ante gravem quæ legerit arbore solem.
 Aufidius forti miscebat mella Falerno,
 Mendosè; quoniam vacuis committere venis
 Nil nisi lene decet: leni præcordia mulso
 Prolueris meliùs. Si dura morabitur alvus,
 Mitulus, & viles pellent obstantia conchæ,
 Et lapathi brevis herba; sed albo non sine Coo.
 Lubrica nascentes implent conchyliâ lunæ:
 Sed non omne mare est generosæ fertile testæ.
 Murice Baiano melior Lucrina peloris:
 Ostrea Circæis, Miseno oriuntur echini:
 Pectinibus patulis jactat se molle Tarentum.
 Nec sibi cœnarum quivis temerè arroget artem,
 Non priùs exactâ tenui ratione saporum.
 Nec satis est carâ pisces averrere mensâ;
 Ignarum quibus est jus aptius, & quibus assis
 Languidus in cubitum jam se conviva reponet.
 UMBER, & ilignâ nutritus glande, rotundas
 Curvat † aper lances carnem vitantis inertem:
 Nam Laurens malus est, ulvis & arundine pinguis.
 Vine summittit capreas non semper edules
 Fecundi || leporis sapiens sectabitur armos.

Si vespertinus hospes
 subito oppresserit te; ne
 gallina dura responset
 malum palato, doctus
 eris mersare eam vi-
 vam misto Falerno:
 hoc faciet teneram. Op-
 tima natura est fungis
 pratenſibus: malè cre-
 ditur aliis. Ille pera-
 get æstates salubres,
 qui finiet prandia ni-
 gris moris, quæ legerit
 arbore ante solem gra-
 vem. Aufidius misce-
 bat mella forti Faler-
 no, sed mendosè; quo-
 niam decet committere
 nil nisi lene venis va-
 cuis: melius prolueris
 præcordia mulso leni.
 Si dura alvus mora-
 bitur, mitulus, & viles
 conchæ, & brevis
 herba lapathi, pellent
 obstantia: sed non sine
 albo vino Coo. Lunæ
 nascentes implent lu-
 brica conchyliâ: sed
 omne mare non fertile
 est generosæ testæ.
 Peloris Lucrina melior
 est murice Baiano:
 ostrea oriuntur Circæis,
 echini Miseno: molle
 Tarentum jactat se
 pectinibus patulis. Nec
 quivis temerè arroget

ſibi artem cœnarum, ratione tenui ſaporum non priùs exactâ. Nec ſatis eſt aliquem averrere
 pices carâ menſâ; ignarum quibus jus aptius eſt, & quibus aſſis conviva jam languidus reponet ſe
 in cubitum. Aper UMBER, & nutritus glande ilignâ, curvat rotundas lances vitantis carnem
 inertem: nam aper Laurens, pinguis ulvis & arundine, malus eſt. Vineâ non ſemper ſummittit
 capreas edules. Sapiens ſectabitur armos ſecundi leporis.

* muſto, Bentl.

† curvet, Id.

|| ſecundæ, Id.

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ſorides fall in with the direction of Aufi-
 dus.

12 If you are coſtive. This whole paſ-
 ſage is taken from Cato, Cap. 158. *Aluvum*
deſicere hoc modo oportet, &c. addito mitulo-
rum L. 11. Piſcem capitonem, cockles, &c.
Hæc omnia decoquito uſque ad feſtarios tres ju-
ria.

13 Shell-fiſh, &c. This opinion is very
 ancient, Lucilius ſays the ſame;

Luna aliæ oſtrea, & implet echinos,
 Muribus fibras,

Et pecui addit.

Experience, however, does not confirm
 the obſervation.

14 The muſcles of the Lucrine, &c. Mu-
 rex, peloris, and oſtrea, are all names of
 different kinds of ſhell-fiſh. Misenum is a
 promontory of Campania.

15 For thoſe of Laurentum. Before this
 new refiner of taſte, the boars fattened in
 marſhy ground were reckoned the beſt.
 Varro, Chap. iv. Book 2. In paſtu locus
 huic pecori aptus uliginofus; quid delectatur non
 ſolum aquâ, ſed etiam luto: "Marſhy ground
 "affords the fineſt paſture for this cattle;
 "for they delight not only in the water,
 "but alſo in mud."

16 Fix upon the ſhoulder. Sapiens ſecta-
 bitur

45 My palate was the first that could distinguish by the taste, the nature and age of birds and fishes.

There are persons, whose genius goes no farther than some new kind of pastry-work. You ought never to confine your cares to any one single thing: as if it were enough to provide
50 good wine, without ever thinking what oil was best to be used with your fish.

If you set your Massic wine¹⁷ out of doors at night in fair weather; the air will soften and refine it, and that smell so hurtful to the nerves go off: what is strained through linen loses intirely its relish.

55 He that pours wine of Surrentum¹⁸ upon the lees of Falernian, ought always to clarify it with a pigeon's egg; for the yolk carries all the dregs along with it to the bottom.

Roasted shrimps¹⁹, and African cockles, are best after hard drinking: lettuce swims upon the stomach, and is easily digested: nothing tends more to restore a lost appetite²⁰ than sausages, and
60 bacon: meat brought warm from the meanest cook's shop is preferable to lettuce.

It is worth while to know perfectly the nature and property of sauces. They are chiefly of two kinds; the first simple, made only of sweet oil; for the other, mix this oil with the
65 dregs of wine, add some of the pickle²¹, in which the great fish of Byzantium is left to putrify; boil it up with herbs cut small, and saffron of Cilicia²², and then pour upon it the true Venafrian oil.

The

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bitur armos. The old scholiast tells us that *armi* are here put for *lumbi*. But there is not so much as one example of *armi* being taken in this sense. There is no doubt it must mean the shoulder, as in the last Satire of this same Book:

Et leporum avulsos ut multò suavius armos.

¹⁷ If you set your Massic wine. Pliny tells us, that this ought to be done with all the wines of *Campania*, and that they should be exposed both night and day to the wind and rain. *Companie nobilissima exposita sub dio in cadis, verberari solet, lunâ, imbre, ventis aptissimum videtur.*

¹⁸ That pours wine of Surrentum. It was a common practice to put wine of Surrentum into a cask, in which had been Falernian, and where the lees had been left, that thereby it might be made to taste of Falernian. For wine of Surrentum was not so much in esteem as the rest, and being strong and rough, required to be softened by these lees.

¹⁹ Roasted shrimps, &c. The precepts

I

of this sage Epicurean are for the most part new, and contrary to common use, calculated chiefly to please the palate. Hitherto it had been customary to finish the repast with lettuce, because, being naturally cold, they thought it best to dissipate the vapours, and allay the heats occasioned by drinking. But the present regulator of taste ridicules this, and tells us, that lettuce swims on the stomach, and increases the inward heat. It is better, says he, to eat what comes from the meanest cook's shop, than lettuce. This is the true sense of the passage.

²⁰ To restore a lost appetite. *Flagitat immorsus refici.* Critics have been strangely at a loss what to make of the expression *refici in morsus*. Some manuscripts have *immorsus refici*. *Immorsus*, say they, is the same with *jejunus*. Bentley inveighs much against this reading, and yet has retained it with a little variation, for he makes it *bilis flagitat immorsis refici*. *Immorsis*, say,

he,

Piscibus atque avibus quæ natura, & foret ætas,
Ante meum nulli patuit quæsitæ palatum.

Sunt quorum ingenium nova tantum crustula pro-
mit.

Nequaquam satis in re unâ consumere curam :
Ut si quis solum hoc, mala ne sint vina, laboret ;
Quali perfundat pisces securus olivo.

Massica si cœlo supponas * vina sereno ;
Nocturnâ, si quid crassi est, tenuabitur aurâ,
Et decedet odor nervis inimicus : at illa
Integrum perdunt lino vitiata saporem.

Surrentina vaser qui miscet fœce Falernâ
Vina, columbino limum benè colligit ovo ;
Quatenus ima petit volvens aliena vitellus.
Tostis marcentem squillis recreabis & Afrâ
Potorem cochleâ ; nam lactuca innatat acri
Post vinum † stomacho : pernâ magis, ac magis
hillis

Flagitat in morsus refici : quin omnia malit ‡,
Quæcunque immundis fervent allata popinis.
Est operæ pretium duplicis pernoscere juris
Naturam. Simplex è dulci constat olivo ;
Quod || pingui miscere ** mero muriâque decebit,
Non aliâ quàm quâ Byzantia putruit orca.
Hoc ubi confusum sectis inferbuit herbis,
Corycioque croco sparsum stetit, insuper addes
Pressa Venafranæ quod bacca remisit olivæ.

fervent. Operæ pretium est pernoscere naturam duplicis juris. Simplex constat è dulci olivo ; quod decebit miscere pingui mero, muriâque non aliâ, quàm quâ orca Byzantia putruit. Ubi hoc confusum sectis herbis inferbuit, stetitque sparsum Corycio croco, addes insuper quod bacca olivæ Venafranæ pressa remisit.

* suppones, Bentl. † vina, Id. ‡ mavolt, Id. || At, Id. ** Miscere, Id.

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he, for *admorfis*, *commanducatis*, *degustatis*. And yet afterwards dissatisfied with himself, he returns to *immorfus*, which he explains *vellicatus*, *excitatus*, *punctus*. But there is no necessity for any change in the text. *Morsus* serves very well to express what one eats. Thus *Virg. Æn.* 3.

Nec tu mensarum morsus borresce futuros.

²¹ Add some of the pickle. Commentators have differed greatly about the meaning of this passage. Some take *orca* for a great earthen jar, and tell us that Horace says *muriâ quâ orcâ putruit*, because pickle usually leaves in the vessel, where it is kept, a strong offensive smell ; and that he adds *Byzantia*, because great quantities of pickles

were there drawn from fishes. Others will have it, that *orca* signifies here the *tunny-fish*, of which there were great numbers in the *Black Sea*, and about *Byzantium*. *Dacier* allows *orca* to stand here for a fish, but of a different kind from the *tunny*, which was in no esteem at *Rome*, and used only by the poorer sort. *Pliny* always distinguishes between the one and the other of these. I choose rather to fall in with this latter explication. The expression *muriâ quâ Byzantia putruit orca*, must therefore mean the pickle made of this fish cut down, and left to putrify.

²² Saffron of Cilicia. *Corycioque croco sparsum stetit.* *Corycus* was a mountain of *Cilicia*,

Ante meum palatum
nulli quæsitæ patuit,
quæ ætas & natura fo-
ret piscibus atque avi-
bus. Sunt homines,
quorum ingenium promit
tantum nova crustula.
Nequaquam satis est
consumere curam in unâ
re : ut si quis solum
laboret hoc, ne vina
mala sint ; securus quali
olivo perfundat pisces.
Si supponas vina Mas-
sica cœlo sereno ; si
quid crassi est, tenua-
bitur nocturnâ aurâ,
& odor inimicus nervis
decedit : at illa vitiata
lino, perdunt integrum
saporem. Qui vaser
miscet vina Surrentina
fœce Falernâ, benè
colligit limum ovo co-
lumbino ; quatenus vi-
tellus petit ima, vol-
vens aliena. Recreabis
potorem marcentem
squillis tostis, & Afrâ
cochleâ ; nam lactuca
innatat stomacho acri
post vinum : quin ma-
gis flagitat refici in
morsus pernâ, ac ma-
gis hillis ; quin malit
omnia, quæcunque al-
lata immundis popinis

70 The apples of Tibur are more beautiful than those of Picenum, but not so relishing. Some grapes are best preserved²³ in pots: those of Alba should be allowed to ripen in the smoke.

I was the first who introduced the fashion of serving up²⁴ these grapes and apples on little plates; I also invented the sauce now in use, which is a mixture of dregs of wine²⁵, pickle, white pepper and salt.

75 It is an unpardonable fault to lay out three thousand sesterces at market, and overcharge the plate with an useless load of fish. It is shocking to see a glass marked with greasy fingers, that but just before had been dipped in the sauce; or an ancient family cup with dirt as it were incorporated into it. What a trifling expence to provide yourself with brooms, saw-dust, and rubbing cloths? How scandalous to be without them?

Would you sweep a floor of particolored marble²⁶ with dirty brooms, or spread a carpet of Tyrian purple on a nasty couch; the less care and expence there is required in these things, the more
85 shameful it is to neglect them; an oversight of this kind more justly exposes you to censure, than to be wanting in things that are expected only at the tables of the great.

HOR. Learned Catius²⁷, I adjure you by our friendship and the immortal Gods, carry me with you to hear these admirable
90 maxims, however distant the place may be. For though you repeat them all with a wonderful exactness, yet they must lose much of their force and beauty from the mouth of an interpreter. Add to this the air and aspect of the man; which you perhaps make little of, because you have already seen him: but I am seized with the strongest inclination to approach this remote
95 fountain of science²⁸, that I may thence draw the maxims of a quiet and happy life.

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Cilicia, that yielded great store of saffron, whence it had its name; for the *Phenicians* called that mountain *Corycus* from the *Syriac* *Corcam*, saffron.

²³ Some grapes are best preserved, &c. *Venacula convenit ollis*. The ancients were at a great deal of pains to preserve grapes all the year round. *Horace* here speaks of the grape called the *uva Venacula*, and tells us that it was best preserved in earthen pots. *Pliny*, in like manner, says, *Venaculam ollis aptissimam*. The old scholiast fancies that *Venacula* is here for *Venusina*. *Dacier* again imagines, that it was called *Venacula*, because of its beauty, or that it was an exotic plant.

²⁴ Of serving up. *Circumposuisse*, to place round the table, to serve up in little plates to all the guests.

²⁵ Dregs of wine. *Fæx* here is the same as what he elsewhere calls *facula Cos*, lees of the wine of *Cos*. *Alec*, some pretend to be the same as the pickle called *muria*; others will have it a pickle of some small fishes that were left to dissolve in their own moisture; others make it the lees of the pickle *muria*. This last conjecture is founded on a passage of *Pliny*, B. 31. Ch. viii. *Vitium hujus muriae est alec imperfecta nec colata fæx*. *Saraden* thinks we ought to explain *fæx* & *alec*, *fæx cum alec*, pickle with the sediment, pickle that has not been fined, or poured off the dregs.

²⁶ A floor of particolored, &c. *Lapidarii* must here signify the floor, and not the table. For tables consisted of only one piece of marble. Hence our poet speaking of a table in the sixth Satire of the first Book.

Picenis cedunt pomis Tiburtia succo,
 Nam facie præstant. Venucula convenit ollis :
 Rectius Albanam fumo duraveris uvam.
 Hanc ego cum malis, ego facem primus, & ælec,
 Primus & invenior piper album cum sale nigro
 Incretum, puris circumposuisse catillis.
 Immane est vitium dare millia terna macello;
 Angustoque vagos pisces urgere catino.
 Magna movent stomacho fastidia, seu puer unctis
 Tractavit calicem manibus, dum furta ligurit;
 Sive gravis veteri crateræ limus adhæsit.
 Vilibus in scopis, in mappis, in scobe, quantus
 Consistit sumptus? neglectis flagitium ingens.
 Ten' lapides varios lutulentâ radere palmâ;
 Et Tyrias dare circum illota toralia vestes;
 Oblitum; quanto curam sumptumque minorem
 Hæc habeant, tanto reprændi justius illis,
 Quæ nisi divitibus nequeunt * contingere mensis?
 Docte Cati, per amicitiam Divosque rogatus,
 Ducere me auditum; perges quocunque, memento.
 Nam quamvis referas memori mihi pectore cuncta,
 Non tamen interpres tantundem juveris. Adde
 Vultum habitumque hominis; quem tu vidisse beatus
 Non magni pendis; quia contigit: at mihi cura
 Non mediocris inest; fontes ut adire remotos,
 Atque haurire queam vitæ præcepta beatæ.

70 Poma Tiburtia cedunt
 pomis Picenis succo,
 nam præstant facie.
 Uva Venucula conve-
 nit ollis: rectius dura-
 veris uvam Albanam
 fumo. Ego primus in-
 venior circumposuisse
 75 banc cum pomis in
 puris catillis; ego &
 primus invenior fac-
 cem, & ælec, & piper
 album incretum cum
 80 sale nigro. Immane vi-
 tium est dare terna mil-
 lia macello, urgereque
 vagos pisces angusto
 catino. Movent magna
 fastidia stomacho, seu
 puer tractavit calicem
 85 manibus unctis, dum
 ligurit furta; sive
 gravis limus adhæsit
 veteri crateræ. Quan-
 tus sumptus consistit in
 vilibus scopis, in map-
 pis, in scobe? ingens
 est flagitium in his
 neglectis. Convenitne
 91 radere lapides varios
 palmâ lutulentâ, &
 dare Tyrias vestes cir-
 cum illota toralia; ob-
 litum, quanto minorem
 95 curam sumptumque hæc

babeant, tanto justius reprehendi illis, quæ nequeunt contingere nisi mensis divitibus? HOR.
 Docte Cati, rogatus es per amicitiam Divosque, memento ducere me auditum, quocunque perges.
 Nam quamvis referas cuncta mihi pectore memori, tamen tantum interpres non tantundem juveris.
 Adde vultum habitumque hominis; quem tu beatus vidisse non magni pendis, quia contigit: at
 cura non mediocris inest mihi, ut queam adire remotos, atque haurire præcepta beatæ vitæ.

* nequeant, Bentl.

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Book; calls it *lapis albus*. But the floors were commonly of different pieces of marble of different colours. These floors; and the marble pieces that composed them, were called *pavimenta tessellata*. Suetonius writes of *Cæsar*, that he always carried with him pieces of marble for flooring. In expeditionibus tessellatâ & scælia pavimenta circumtulisse.

27 *Learned Catus*. Horace, after hearing this long detail of wretched precepts, concludes with a piece of irony, the most cutting and malicious imaginable. He owns the solidity of his knowledge; admires his rare skill, and longs to be acquainted with a man, whose morality is so enchanting. There he might drink at the fountain-

head, and learn the precepts of a happy life. The raillery is delicate, and pushed to its greatest height.

28 *This remote fountain of science*. It is impossible to throw a greater ridicule upon the doctrine of these luxurious *Epicureans*, than our poet does here, in calling it a source of blessings unknown and remote, and that which alone can give true happiness. The whole force and beauty of the irony is contained in the word *beatæ*, which is equivocal; and may agree either to the rigid *Epicureans*, who placed happiness in virtue, or to the more libertine kind, who cried up good cheer, and a free use of all sensual pleasures.

The KEY.

IN the foregoing Satire, *Horace* had attacked the *Stoics*; in this, now before us, he falls upon the *Epicureans*. Though our poet was himself of that sect, he did not approve of their excesses, but adhered more closely to the doctrine of *Epicurus*, their founder. The whole is managed in the way of dialogue. The person introduced, repeating these lectures of luxury, has occasioned much dispute; while some contend that he is the same with the philosopher *Catius Insuber*, spoken of by *Cicero* and *Quintilian*, and others will have him to be a feigned personage. However that be, the character is a finished original. He affects to be an able philosopher, and a great master of cookery, and turns out equally ignorant of both. His maxims are wretched, and inconsistent both with philosophy, and common sense. He abuses the tenet of his master, and places the sovereign happiness of men in good cheer; or rather in mere gluttony. His lessons for the table are no less impertinent; he scarce advances any thing that does not flatly contradict reason and experience. *Horace* begins with commending him, and shewing a willingness

SATIRE V.

He exposes the little artifices and insinuating ways of will-catchers.

ULYSSES and TIRESIAS.

ULYSSES. BESIDES what you have already told me, *Tiresias*¹, instruct me likewise, how I am to repair my broken fortunes. Why do you smile²?

TIR. Is it not enough, old fox, to return safe to your native Ithaca, and revisit your domestic Gods?

ULYSSES.

ANNOTATIONS.

¹ *Besides*, *Tiresias*. The words *quoque* and *præter narrata*, used here, shew that *Ulysses* and *Tiresias* had been engaged in discourse before: and that what we have here is no more than the latter part of their conversation. *Homer* in the eleventh Book of the *Odyssey*, makes *Ulysses* descend into hell, to consult *Tiresias* on the subject of his voyage. Our poet further feigns, that that prince, after landing in *Ithaca*, and under-

standing the bad state of his affairs, calls up the ghost of *Tiresias* to advise with him how he might set them on a better footing. This second conversation, therefore, is only the conclusion of the first; it supposes it, though distinguished in time and place. This soothsayer was of *Thebes* in *Bæotia*, and father to *Manto* the soothsayer. *Callimachus* and *Propertius* tell us, that he lost his sight for having by chance, seen *Pallas*.

The KEY.

willingness to be instructed: when by this means he has drawn his maxims from him, he conjures him to receive him as his disciple. This humor of the poet is pleasant, and well judged. There was no necessity to refute a doctrine, whose ridicule appears at first sight. *Horace* presumes that all his readers have common sense, and cannot overlook absurdities so gross and palpable. He thought it sufficiently justified *Epicurus* to expose the excesses men were apt to give into, when they departed from what were his real tenets.

As to the date of this piece, we are wholly at a loss: some conjectures have been offered, but supported by no probable reasons. Such as pretend that this *Catius* is the same whom *Cicero* speaks of, are obliged to suppose it was written when *Horace* was very young, even before his 21st year. For *Cicero*, in a letter written under the fourth consulship of *Cæsar*, which was the year of the city 708, says *Catius Epicureus, qui nuper est mortuus*. But others oppose this as highly improbable.

S A T I R A V.

Describit artes & insidias captantium testamenta & hæreditates.

ULYSSES & TIRESIAS.

O R D O.

HOC quoque, *Tiresia*, præter narrata, petenti
 Responde: quibus amissas reparare queam res
 Artibus atque modis—Quid rides? Jamne doloso*
 Non satis est *Ithacam* revehi, patriosque penates

ULYSS. **O** *Tiresia*,
 præter
 narrata, responde hoc
 quoque mihi petenti:
 viz. quibus artibus
 atque modis queam re-

parare res amissas. Quid rides? TIR. Jamne non satis est tibi doloso revehi *Ithacam*, aspice-
 reque penates patrios?

* dolose, Bentl.

A N N O T A T I O N S.

Pallas bathing; and that the Goddess afterwards, in recompence, conferred upon him the gift of prophecy. *Ovid* follows a different tradition: *Tiresias*, according to him, having been chosen judge in a dispute between *Jupiter* and *Juno*, was struck blind by the latter, because his decision did not please her; and that *Jupiter*, to recompense his sufferings, gave him the foresight of things to come.

² Why do you smile? *Tiresias* cannot hold

his countenance, to see an old cunning fox, like *Ulysses*, at a loss how to re-establish his affairs. A subtle cunning spirit has always a thousand resources at hand, which it knows how to put in practice. *Ulysses* was now in *Ithaca*, and sufficient of himself to settle every thing. I have chosen to follow, in the translation, the conjecture of *Heinsius*, who, instead of *doloso* reads *dolose*; which is both supported by an ancient MS. and has a better effect in the conversation itself.

L 2

3 Wbese

5 ULYSS. O great prophet, whose predictions never yet³ failed; you see in what condition I return home, naked and destitute of every thing, as you foretold; nor have my wife's suitors spared either my cellars⁴, or flocks: and you know that merit and birth, without riches, are more contemptible than sea-weed.

TIR. Since you so frankly own your horror of poverty; attend, and I will let you into the secret of growing rich. When
10 a present is made you of wild fowl, or any thing that is rare and exquisite, send it immediately to some house, where there is great wealth, and an old infirm master. Your fine fruits, or whatever else your well-cultivated lands produce that is good, make the first offering to the rich man even in preference to
15 your Household-gods, less venerable than he: let him be perjured, a man of no birth, the murderer of his brother, or a fugitive slave; yet, if he asks you, never refuse to walk with him, or give him the wall⁵.

ULYSS. What! must I pay court to an infamous slave⁶? It was not thus that I behaved at Troy, where I always contended with my betters.

TIR. Depend therefore upon poverty.

20 ULYSS. Nay, but I will⁷ endeavour to bear it courageously; I have often met with much severer shocks: mean time, tell me, good prophet, how I may best bring together heaps of gold and silver.

TIR. I have told you already, and tell it you now. Spare no pains to gain the hearts of old men, and get into their wills; and
25 should one or another prove too hard for you, and escape the bait, never be discouraged at a disappointment, nor renounce the trade. When any cause comes to be debated in the forum, be it of consequence or not: learn first, which of the parties is rich and childless; and, though a wicked wretch, who brings an unjust suit against a good worthy man, yet be sure to engage
30 in his defence: despise a citizen who has got children, or a fruitful wife, whatever be his character, or however just his cause. But, as to the other, address him gently. Quintus, or Publius⁸.

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³ *Whose predictions never yet, &c.* Homer says of Tiresias, that he was the only one of all mankind that had never lyed. It is for this reason he adds, that he only, in the regions below, was wise, and that all the rest wandered like so many shades.

Solum sapere, ceteros umbrarum vagari modo.

His design in this, no doubt, was to teach us, that truth only was solid, and that a lye was as a shade. Ulysses therefore addresses Tiresias; O great prophet, whose pre-

dictions never yet failed! to satisfy him that he was persuaded of the truth of every thing he had said, and by this praise to prevail with him to teach him what he yet farther wanted to know.

⁴ *Cellars.* *Apotheca*, the word used in the original, signifies any place where merchandize is kept, or things used in life; a magazine, a storehouse, a cellar.

⁵ *Or give him the wall.* *Comes exterr.* Commentators explain this to walk upon the left hand: but this cannot be the meaning of

Aspicere? O nulli quicquam mentite, vides ut
Nudus inopsque domum redeam, te vate; neque illic
Aut apotheca procis intacta est, aut pecus: atqui
Et genus & virtus, nisi cum re, vilior algâ est.

Quando pauperiem (missis ambagibus) horres;
Accipe quâ ratione queas ditescere. Turdus,
Sive aliud privum dabitur tibi, devolet illuc,
Res ubi magna nitet, domino sene. Dulcia poma,
Et quoscunque feret cultus tibi fundus honores,
Ante Larem gustet, venerabilior Lare, dives:
Qui quamvis perjurus erit, sine gente, cruentus
Sanguine fraterno, fugitivus; ne tamen illi
Tu comes exterior, si postulet, ire recuses,
Utne tegam spurco Damæ latus? haud ita Trojæ
Me gessi, certans semper melioribus. Ergo
Pauper eris. Fortem hoc animum tolerare jubebo;
Et quondam majora tuli: tu protinûs, unde
Divitias ærisque ruam, dic, augur, acervos.
Dixi equidem, & dico: captes astutus ubique
Testamenta senum; neu, si vaser unus & alter
Insidiatorem præroso fugerit hamo,
Aut spem deponas, aut artem illusûs omittas.
Magna minorve foro si res certabitur olim;
Vivet uter locuples sine natis, improbus ultrò
Qui meliorem audax vocet in jus, illius esto
Defensor: famâ civem causâque priorem
Sperne, domi si natus erit, sæcundave conjux.

& quondam tuli majora: tu augur, dic protinus, unde ruam divitias acervosque æris. TIR. Equidem dixi, & dico: astutus ubique captes testamenta senum; neu, si unus & alter vaser fugerit insidiatorem, præroso hamo, aut deponas spem, aut illusûs omittas artem. Si res magna minorve olim certabitur foro; uter vivet locuples sine natis, qui improbus & audax ultrò vocet meliorem in jus, esto illius defensor: sperne civem priorem causâ famâque, si natus, sæcundave conjux, erit domi.

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of it, for he that walks upon the right hand may sometimes be the *comes exterior*, that depending upon the place. The custom in those times was the same as now. To do honor to one, it was necessary to walk on that side which was most exposed, whether it was the right or left; or, in other words, it was what we call giving the wall. Just so in the country; they walked upon that side which was next a river or precipice. In this manner he who accompanies another, is always *comes exterior*.

6 Pay court to an infamous slave. *Tegam spurco Damæ latus*. When one walked, as the poet calls it, *comes exterior* to any person to do him honor, this was called *latus claudere*, and *latus tegere*, to cover or fence his side. *Damæ* is an abridgment of *Demetrius*, a name common to slaves.

5 ULYSS. O tu mentite quicquam nulli, vides ut, te vate, redeam domum nudus inopsque; neque illic aut apotheca intacta est procis, aut pecus; atqui & genus & virtus vilior est algâ, nisi cum re. TIR. Quando, missis ambagibus, horres pauperiem, accipe quâ ratione queas ditescere. Si turdus, sive aliud privum dabitur tibi, devolet illuc, ubi res magna nitet, domino sene. Dives, venerabilior Lare, gustet ante Larem dulcia tua poma, & quoscunque honores fundus cultus feret tibi; qui quamvis erit perjurus, sine gente, cruentus fraterno sanguine, fugitivus; ne tamen tu recuses ire comes exterior illi, si postulet. ULYSS. Utne tegam latus spurco Damæ? haud ita gessi me Trojæ, semper certans melioribus. TIR. Ergo eris pauper. ULYSS. Jubebo animum fortem tolerare hoc;

7 Nay, but I will, &c. Almost all commentators agree in explaining this answer of *Ulysses* as a consent, in which sense they think it suits better to the nature and design of satire. *Dacier*, however, strongly opposes this, and thinks their mistake owing to not discerning the real fineness and delicacy of the piece, whose chief beauty lies in this, that the reader is held always in suspense, and cannot distinguish to which side *Ulysses* inclines. *Horace*, he thinks, would never so far change the character of this hero, as to make him yield at once to the menaces of *Tiresias*: it were unpardonable, after the fine picture he has given of him in the second Epistle of the first Book. *Sanaden* is of opinion, that *Ulysses*, far from agreeing to the advice of *Tiresias*, yet will-

Publius⁸ (for delicate ears love to be soothed with flattering titles), your virtue has gained my unalterable friendship. I am acquainted with all the quirks and subtilties of the law; and
 35 am a successful pleader: I will sooner suffer my eyes to be torn out, than see you insulted, or defrauded to the value of a nut-shell. It shall be my care, that no one presume to make you their sport, or impose upon you. After this you may advise him to go home, and take care of his valuable health: take the management of his⁹ affairs upon yourself; persevere firm and unalterable: whether the raging Dog-star rends the speechless
 40 statues¹⁰; or Furius, with his overgrown paunch, spits down¹¹ hoary snow upon the winter Alps. Do not you see (says one of the standers-by, pulling his neighbour by the sleeve) how patient and indefatigable this man is, how serviceable to his friends, and warm in their cause? By this means you will draw more fish¹² into your net, and have your ponds well stocked.

45 If moreover you can get acquainted with some rich old man, who trains up an only son of a weak and sickly constitution; left by making your court only to old batchelors your designs may be suspected, endeavour to insinuate yourself here, that you may be marked down his second heir; and so come in for the whole, if by any accident the child should step off: this artifice
 50 seldom fails.

If any one offers you his will to read, be sure to refuse, and shove the papers from you with some warmth: yet in such manner, as to steal a glance¹³ at the second line of the first page; and take in with a quick eye, whether you are sole heir, or joined with others. For it often happens that an old notary,
 55 practised¹⁴ in all the little tricks of inferior courts and offices, disappoints

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ing to hear all he had to say, makes use of equivocal terms, and seemingly agrees. I have endeavoured to translate it in such a manner, that it will bear either construction.

⁸ *Quintus, or Publius.* Vanity is one of the strongest and most universal passions that rules the human breast. Among the Romans no sooner was a slave made free, than he assumed the name of *Publius, Quintus, or Marcus*, which properly belonged only to Roman citizens. Thus *Persius*;

— *Memento turbinis exit*
Marcus Damas.

“Instead of simple *Damas*, in a moment he turns out *Marcus Damas*.” They were by the Latins, called *prænomena*, and, as *Cicero* observes, had a certain dignity in them.

⁹ *Take the management of his, &c.* *Fi cognitor.* *Cognitor* is properly an agent for any person, who manages affairs in his absence.

Some make *procurator* the agent of a person absent, and *cognitor* of one indifferently, whether absent or present; a factor or doer. But this nicety is not now observed.

¹⁰ *Speechless statues.* *Findet infantes statuas*; as *Satire sixth*, Book first, he says *infans pudor*. But I am apt to think that here, as in the next verse, he takes a line from some whom he designed to ridicule, and who had applied the epithet *infantes* to *statuas*. *Sanadon* is of opinion, that this poet, whoever he was, had used the expression *infantes statuas* for statues lately made.

¹¹ *Furius spits down.* *Marcus Furius Bibaculus*, a poet contemporary with *Cicero*. He had written a poem upon the wars of Gaul, and, speaking of the winter, had said,
Jupiter h.ernas canâ nive conspuat Alpes.

Horace, who justly found this ridiculous and affected,

Quinte, puta, aut Publi (gaudent prænominē molles Auriculæ), tibi me virtus tua fecit amicum.

Jus anceps novi; causas defendere possim:

Eripiet quivis oculos citius mihi, quam te

Contemptum cassâ nuce pauperet. Hæc mea cura est;

Ne quid tu perdas, neu sis jocus. Ire domum, atque

Pelliculam curare jube: si cognitor ipse;

Persta, atque obdura: seu rubra Canicula findet

Infantes statuas; seu, pingui tentus omafo,

Furius hibernas canâ nive conspuet Alpes.

Nonne vides (aliquis cubito stantem propè tangens

Inquiet) ut patiens, ut amicis aptus, ut acer?

Plures annabunt thynni, & cetaria crescent.

Si cui præterea validus malè filius, in re

Præclarâ sublatus, aletur; ne manifestum

Cœlibis obsequium nudet te, leniter in spem

Arrepe officiosus, ut & scribare secundus

Hæres; & si quis casus puerum egerit Orco,

In vacuum venias: perrarè hæc alea fallit.

Qui testamentum tradet tibi cunque legendum,

Abnuere, & tabulas à te removere memento:

Sic tamen, ut limis rapias quid prima secundo

Cera velit versu; solus, multisine coheres,

Veloci percurre oculo. Plerumque recoctus

Quinte, puta, aut Publi (molles enim auriculæ gaudent prænominē), tua virtus fecit me amicum tibi. Novi anceps jus; possum defendere causas: quivis citius eripiet oculos mihi, quam pauperet te contemptum cassâ nuce. Hæc mea est cura, ne tu perdas quid, neu sis jocus. Jube illum ire domum, atque curare pelliculam: si ipse cognitor; persta, atque obdura: seu rubra Canicula findet infantes statuas; seu Furius, tentus pingui omafo, conspuet hibernas Alpes canâ nive. Nonne vides (inquiet aliquis, tangens stantem propè cubito) ut patiens, ut aptus amicis, ut acer? Plures thynni adnabunt, & cetaria crescent. Præterea si cui aletur filius malè validus, sublatus in præclarâ re; ne obsequium manifestum cœlibis nu-

det te, officiosus arrepe leniter in spem, ut & scribare secundus hæres; & si quis casus egerit puerum Orco, venias in vacuum: hæc alea perrarè fallit. Quicumque tradet tibi testamentum legendum, memento abnuere, & removere tabulas à te: sic tamen, ut rapias limis oculis quid prima cera velit secundo versu; percurre veloci oculo, num solus sis, coheresne multis. Nam plerumque scriba recoctus

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affected, gives us here the verse in such a light, as may serve best to expose it; and puts *Furius* in the place of *Jupiter*. The word *conspuit* agrees indeed much better to *Furius*, who was more remarkable for his great paunch, than a God. It is diverting too, that we have *Furius* opposed to the Dog-star, as a poet cold, and enough to freeze his readers.

¹² *Fsb.* *Thynnus* is put here for any great fish. *Cetaria*, ponds, places into which the sea flowed. It is a metaphorical expression, and implies that his reputation would gain him many wealthy friends.

¹³ *Steal a glance.* *Quid prima secundo cera velit versu.* *Prima cera*, the first page of the will, which might have several. *Secundus versus*, the second line. In the first line was always the name of the testator, in the second of the heir, which was followed by those of the coheirs, if any such were.

¹⁴ *A notary practised.* *Scriba recoctus.* *Incoquere* and *recoquere*, are terms borrowed from dyers, who say of any thing that it is *incoctum* and *recoctum*, when it has been dipt several times, and taken the colour well. Seneca: *Quemadmodum lana quosdam colores semel ducit, quosdam nisi sæpius macerata & recocta non perbibit, &c.* "Like wool, which takes some colours at once, and in other cases must be dipt several times, before it takes the colour." Hence those were called *recocti*, whom long use and practice had rendered expert. Thus *Catullus*, *Fassitio seni recocto*. The *Quinquaviri* were the magistrates of the colonies, and municipal towns, so called, because they were five in number. Having passed through these inferior offices, they, by that means, came to have a great deal of practice, and from them, for the most part, were taken the body of notaries and scribes.

disappoints the gaping crow¹⁵; and Nafica the will-catcher is made the dupe of Coranus.

ULYSS. Are you really inspired, or have you a mind to puzzle me with mysterious oracles?

TIR. O son of Laertes! every thing will¹⁶ come to pass, or
60 not, as I foretel: for great Apollo has given me the art of divination.

ULYSS. Pray tell me then, if it is in your power, what means that story of Nafica and Coranus?

TIR. When a young prince¹⁷ the terror of the Parthians, and offspring of the Gods by the great Æneas, shall extend his
65 sway over land and sea; the noble daughter of Nafica, who hates to pay his debts, shall be given in marriage to valiant Coranus. The son-in-law, knowing his design, shall thus use him: he shall desire him to read over his will: Nafica, after many refusals, shall at length take and read it to himself; and find, to his confusion, that there is nothing left him or his, but misery and tears.

70 I have this further to advise you: if perhaps some cunning woman or favorite freedman govern the old dotard; be sure to keep well with them, and praise them, that you may be praised by them in your absence. This is a good help; but the chief thing is to gain the old fellow himself. Does he scribble wretched verses? be lavish in their praises. Is he fond of
75 women? wait not till you are asked; go and offer him frankly your Penelope.

ULYSS. How do you think, will one of such signal chastity¹⁸ ever consent to this? one who resisted so long the importunity of a whole troop of lovers.

TIR. Poh! that was a set¹⁹ of stingy narrow-souled youths,
80 who did not so much mind love, as their belly. But should she once

A N N O T A T I O N S.

¹⁵ *The gaping crow.* This alludes to the well-known fable of the crow and the fox.

¹⁶ *Every thing will, &c.* These words are thus explained in the margins of some manuscripts. *Quicquid dicam, aut erit, si dixerò fore; aut non, si dixerò non fore.* *Tiresias* affects to speak in an obscure equivocal manner, as was common for diviners. *Boetius* fancies that *Tiresias* meant here to ridicule his art, and in this is approved of by *Bentley* and *Dacier*. *Sanadon*, however, is of a contrary persuasion, and thinks it absurd to make the soothsayer decry an art,

in the very place where he declares himself the instrument of the God who presides over it.

¹⁷ *When a young prince.* He is not satisfied with fixing the epocha of this story to the reign of *Augustus*, he further particularizes the time, when that prince had entirely subdued the *Parthians*. The transaction referred to is wholly unknown to us, but from the manner in which it is told, we may collect the principal circumstances of it. The ridicule thrown upon *Nafica* is inexpressibly fine.

¹⁸ *Will one of such signal chastity?* Those who

Scriba ex quinqueviro corvum deludet hiantem;
Captatorque dabit risus Nafica Corano.

Num furis? an prudens ludis me obscura canendo?

O Laërtiade, quicquid dicam, aut erit, aut non:

Divinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo.

Quid tamen ista velit sibi fabula, si licet, ede.

Tempore quo juvenis Parthis horrendus, ab alto

Demissum genus Æneâ, tellure marique

Magnus erit; forti nubet procera Corano

Filia Naficæ metuentis reddere sôldum.

Tum gener hoc faciet; tabulas socero dabit, atque

Ut legat orabit: multum Nafica negatas

Accipiet tandem, & tacitus leget; invenietque

Nil sibi legatum, præter plorare, suisque.

Illud ad hæc jubeo: mulier si fortè dolosa

Libertusve senem delirum temperet; illis

Accedas socius; laudes, lauderis ut abiens.

Adjuvat hoc quoque; sed vincit longè prius ipsum

Expugnare caput. Scribet mala carmina vecors?

Laudato. Scortator erit? cave te roget; ultrò

Penelopem facilis potiori trade. Putasne,

Perduci poterit tam frugi, tamque pudica,

Quam nequiere proci recto depellere cursu?

Venit enim magnum* donandi parca juvenus,

Nec tantum veneris, quantum studiosa culinæ.

Brum senem; accedas socius illis; laudes, ut absens lauderis. Hoc quoque adjuvat; sed vincit longè prius expugnare ipsum caput. Vecors scribet mala carmina? laudato. Erit scortator? cave roget te; facilis trade ultrò Penelopem potiori. ULYSS. Putasne, conjux tam frugi depulsa, tamque pudica, quam proci nequiere depellere recto cursu, poterit perducere ad hoc? TIR. Venit enim juvenus parca donandi magnum, nec tantum studiosa veneris, quantum culinæ.

* indignum, Bentl.

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who contend that *Ulysses* consented to every thing that *Tiresias* advised, draw an argument from this passage to support their conjecture. They tell us that *Ulysses*, to keep up to his character, ought to have rejected with indignation the proposal here made; whereas, on the contrary, he seems willing to agree to it, and uneasy, lest his wife could not be brought to relish it. But this reasoning is more specious than solid. The character of *Ulysses* is admirably well maintained. Cunning and dissimulation are the principal ingredients in it. The proposal made by *Tiresias* ought to excite his indignation, no doubt, but it ought much more to excite his jealousy. And this passion must naturally be strongest in a man of his circumstances, who had been absent so long,

and knew that his wife had night and day been surrounded with a croud of young suitors, who importuned her without ceasing. Jealousy therefore prevails over all other considerations, and makes him stifle his resentment. His whole thoughts are bent to discover, whether his wife had committed any error to make him entertain so bad an opinion of her. It is for this reason, that he hears all with patience. He waited to know whether *Tiresias's* answer might furnish any thing to inflame or dissipate his suspicions. *Dacier.*

19 That was a set. *Tiresias* gives *Ulysses* no other reason for the chastity of his wife, but the avarice of her lovers. That, however, was sufficient to satisfy him, that she was hitherto blameless: he therefore quietly

once taste of some rich old gentleman, and share with you the gains; like a hungry dog, she would never flinch from the inviting hide.

I will tell you a story that happened lately, since I grew old. A malicious old woman of Thebes ordered by her will, that her
 85 heir should anoint her body well with oil; and carry it naked on his shoulders to the funeral pile; probably that, when dead, she might slip out of his fingers, who had stuck so close by her while living. You must therefore behave discreetly; so as not to
 90 be wanting in what is necessary, nor officiously careful. Much prating gives offence to a surly morose temper; yet you must not be too silent. Copy Davus²⁰ in the comedy, stand near him with your head somewhat inclined, in the posture of a man that stands in awe and is full of respect: strive to gain him by your civilities: if it blows hard, caution him to cover his dear head: if pressed in the croud, make way for him with resolute shoulders.
 95 Does he talk eternally? Hear him with patience and attention. Is he fond of praise? Blow him up with empty applauses, till with hands lifted up to Heaven he cries, It is enough. When by his death he shall ease you of this heavy load of slavery and attendance, and broad awake you shall hear read, Let Ulysses
 100 be heir to the fourth part of my estate: then cry out, Alas! is then Demetrius my best friend no more? Where shall I find such another faithful and unshaken friend as Demetrius? If possible, let fall some tears. It is prudence to hide²¹ your joy under a face of grief. If his funeral is committed to your care,
 105 spare no cost; that the neighbourhood may commend the respect shewn your deceased friend in this last solemnity. If any of your co-heirs in years, and laboring under a dangerous cough, seems inclined to purchase any part of the heritage, be it land or houses, be sure to make an offer of your share, and tell him you will frankly resign it for what he pleases²². But imperious
 110 Proserpine withdraws me from you. Live, and be happy.

The

A N N O T A T I O N S.

quietly attends to the rest of the augur's discourse, which was founded on bare conjecture.

²⁰ *Copy Davus.* We have here an account of the posture that *Davus* appeared in on the theatre. He let his head fall inclining to one side, lengthened his neck, and raised his shoulders. This was what they properly meant by *caput obliquum*. This posture agreed mighty well to *Davus*, which was always the name of some cunning old slave.

²¹ *It is prudence to hide, &c. Est gaudia prodentem vultum celare.* We have a fine saying of *Publius Syrus* on this:

Hæredis fletus sub personâ risus est.
 The lamentations of heirs are no other than laughter hid under a mask. It is strange that interpreters have been so much puzzled with this passage. One should think it manifest at first sight. *Est celare vultum prodentem gaudia.* We must disguise a countenance that speaks us joy: i. e. instead of, we must not suffer our looks to betray our joy. What can be more simple or natural?

²² *For what he pleases. Nummo addicere.* *Nummo*, for any small piece of money, for a *sestertius*, that is, for nothing at all. But it was necessary that some piece of current coin

Sic tibi Penelope frugi est: quæ si semel uno
De sene gustârit, tecum partita lucellum;
Ut canis, à corio nunquam absterrebitur uncto.

Me sene, quod dicam, factum est. Anus improba
Thebis

Ex testamento sic est elata: cadaver
Unctum oleo largo nudis humeris tulit hæres;
Scilicet elabi si posset mortua; credo,
Quod nimium institerat viventi. Cautus adito;
Neu desis operæ, neve immoderatus abundes.
Difficilem & morosum offendet* garrulus; ultrò 90
Non etiam fileas. Davus sis comicus, atque
Stes capite obstipo, multum similis metuenti:
Obsequio grassare: mone, si increbuit aura,
Cautus uti velet carum caput: extrahe turbâ
Oppositis humeris: aurem substringe loquaci.
Importunus amat laudari? Donec, Ohe, jam
Ad cælum manibus sublatis dixerit, urge; &
Crescentem tumidis infla sermonibus utrem.
Cum te servitio longo curâque levârit,
Et certum vigilans, Quartæ sit† partis Ulysses, 100
Audieris, hæres: Ergo nunc Dama sodalis
Nusquam est? Unde mihi tam fortem tamque fi-
delem,

Sparge subinde? &, si paulum potes, illachrymare.
Est

Gaudia prodentem vultum celare. Sepulchrum
Permissum arbitrio sine fordibus extrue; funus 105
Egregiè factum laudet vicinia. Si quis
Fortè cohæredum senior malè tussiet, huic tu
Dic, ex parte tuâ, seu fundi sive domûs sit
Emptor, gaudentem nummo te addicere. Sed me
Imperiosa trahit Proserpina. Vive, valeque. 110

quartæ partis: tum exclama, Ergo nunc Dama sodalis nusquam est? Unde reperiam ami-
cum tam fortem tamque fidelem mihi, sparge subinde? & si potes, illachrymare paulum.
Est sapientis celare vultum prodentem gaudia. Extrue sepulchrum permissum arbitrio sine for-
dibus; vicinia laudet funus egregiè factum. Si fortè quis cohæredum senior malè tussiet, seu
emptor sit fundi sive domûs, dic tu huic, te gaudentem addicere ex tuâ parte nummo. Sed Pro-
serpina imperiosa trahit me. Tu vive, valeque.

* offendes, Benil.

† esto, Id.

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coin should be given, to render the sale money into the scale; which the seller
valid. The formality to be observed was took out, and declared that he received
this: The buyer and seller went before a it as satisfactory in full for what he sold.
public officer, called *libripens*, i. e. the And this was accounted a just and legal
balance-bearer: and there, in presence of sale,
witnesses, the purchaser put a piece of

The

Sic Penelope est frugi
tibi: quæ si semel gu-
stârit de uno sene, par-
tita tecum lucellum;
ut canis, nunquam ab-
sterrebitur à corio unc-
to. Dicam quod fac-
tum est, me sene. A-
nus improba, quæ
vixit Thebis, sic elata
est ex testamento: hæ-
res tulit cadaver unc-
tum largo oleo nudis
humeris; scilicet si
mortua posset elabi;
credo, quod institerat
nimium viventi. Tu
adito cautus; neu desis
operæ; neve abundes
immoderatus. Garru-
lus offendet difficilem
& morosum; non etiam
ultrò fileas. Sis Da-
vus comicus, atque stes
capite obstipo, similis
multum metuenti:
grassare obsequio: si
aura increbuit, mone
uti cautus velet carum
caput: extrahe illum
turbâ humeris oppo-
sit: substringe aurem
loquaci. An importu-
nus est, & amat lau-
dari? Urge, donec
manibus ad cælum sub-
latis dixerit, Ohe, jam
satis est, cessa; &
infla utrem crescentem
tumidis sermonibus.
Cum levârit te longo
servitio curâque, &
certum vigilans audi-
eris, Sit Ulysses hæres

The KEY.

THIS Satire is a dialogue in the taste which *Lucian* afterwards followed with so much success. Our poet, who was a mortal enemy to every species of vice, never thought himself better employed, than when he exposed it in its proper colors. *Rome* was at this time infested with a set of men, whom we may call will-catchers; who made it their business to insinuate themselves into the favor of rich old men that had no children, in hopes of being appointed their heirs. For this purpose they used a thousand little artifices, and tried by all the methods of officiousness and complaisance to gain their good-will. *Horace's* design in this Satire is, to paint these men in their true and proper characters, tear off the mask, under which they lurked, and detect all their frauds and impostures. The persons by whom the dialogue is maintained, are *Tiresias* and *Ulysses*; a choice extremely happy. *Homer*, in the eleventh Book of the *Odyssey*, makes *Ulysses* descend into hell, to consult *Tiresias* upon the subject

SATIRE VI.

He describes his contentment in a moderate fortune.
Retirement in the country is preferable to a tumultuous town-life.

THIS was always the height of my desire; a small measure of ground, where there was a garden, and crystal spring adjoining to the house, and along with all this a little wood.

Well: the Gods have given it me and more: I am contented;
5 nor demand any thing farther¹, son of Maia², than to ensure the possession³ of these blessings. If I have neither increased my wealth by base and unworthy means, nor am capable of dissipating it by debauchery or infamous neglect: if I give into no such foolish requests as these: O for that little corner of land, which so much disfigures[†] my farm! O that chance would throw
10 in my way an urnfull of silver! as to that happy peasant, who lighting

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¹ Nor demand any thing farther. *Nihil* happiness, to give into anxieties and perplexing pursuits. He tells *Mæcenas*, in the first Ode of his fifth Book,

Satis si perque me benignitas tua ditavit;
I am already over and above enriched by your bounty. *Horace* was moderate in his desires, and asked no more than a competency. He understood too well the value of life and

² Son of Maia. *Mercury*, whom he addresses, not only as the patron of poets, but also as the God who presides over fortune, and bestows riches.

³ To ensure the possession, &c. *Propterea*

The KEY.

subject of his voyage. *Horace* makes the best use of this circumstance, and under pretence that *Ulysses* was entirely ruined, either by the losses he had himself sustained, or by the disorders caused by his wife's suitors; continues the conversation in *Homer*; and makes *Ulysses* consult *Tiresias* farther, how to re-establish his affairs. It is very natural to suppose a man, such as was *Ulysses*, thoughtful not only of his return, but also of his broken fortunes. *Tiresias* gives him those very advices, which were so much followed in *Horace's* time. The poet very judiciously concludes the Satire, by supposing *Tiresias* forced to depart. There was good reason to avoid this on the part of *Ulysses*. For had he refused to follow the advices of *Tiresias*, such a conclusion had been flat, and unworthy of satire: and had he agreed to them, the poet would have erred against probability, and changed the known characters of persons.

This Satire must have been written soon after the year of the city 734, when *Augustus* recovered the *Roman* eagles from the *Parthians*.

S A T I R A VI.

Sorte suâ mediocri contentum se esse. Otium rusticum præstat urbanis tumultibus & molestiis.

O R D O.

HOC erat in votis; modus agri non ita magnus;
Hortus ubi, & tecto vicinus jugis aquæ fons;
Et paulum silvæ super his foret. Auctius atque
Dî melius fecere: benè est; nihil * ampliùs oro,
Maiâ nate, nisi ut propria hæc mihi munera faxis. 5
Si neque majorem feci ratione malâ rem,
Nec sum facturûs vitio culpâve minorem:
Si veneror stultus nihil horum: O si angulus ille
Proximus accedat, qui nunc denormat agellum!
O si urnam argenti fors quâ mihi monstret! ut illi, 10

ratione malâ, nec facturûs sum minorem vitio culpâve: si stultus veneror nihil horum: O si angulus ille proximus, qui nunc denormat meum agellum, accedat mihi! O si quâ fors mihi monstret urnam argenti! ut illi,

HOC erat in votis;
viz. modus agri
non ita (valdè) mag-
nus, ubi foret hortus,
& fons jugis aquæ
vicinus tecto, & super
his paulum silvâ. Dî
fecerem melius atque auc-
tius: benè est; O nate
Maiâ, nihil oro ampli-
ùs, nisi ut faxis hæc
munera propria (per-
petua) mihi. Si ne-
que feci rem majorem

* nil, Benè.

A N N O T A T I O N S.

hæc mihi munera. *Propria* certain, establish-
ed, out of the reach of being lost; as pro-
perty is the surest and best of all tenures.

4 *Disfigures, Denormat.* This word is no

where else to be met with, whence some con-
jecture we ought to read *deformat*. But this
cannot balance the authority of so many

MSS:

- lighting upon a treasure, and being enriched by the favor of Hercules⁵, bought that very field, which he had formerly tilled for hire: if in fine I am pleased with what I enjoy, and receive it with a grateful heart: let this my prayer be favorably heard; give fatness to my flocks, and whatever else belongs to me except my understanding⁶; and as heretofore, continue to
- 15 be still my conductor and guardian Deity. When I therefore retire from the city to my hills and little fort, how can I employ myself more agreeably than in writing Satires, and indulging the sallies of my humble Muse⁷? I suffer no anxieties from ambition, nor feel the weight of the south-wind⁸; I am fenced against the sickly autumn, so profitable to cruel Libitina⁹.
- 20 Father of the morning¹⁰, or Janus, if you are better pleased to be addressed by that name, under whose protection men engage in the toils and duties of life¹¹ (so the Gods have ordained), let me also begin with you, and implore your blessing upon these my verses. When at Rome you hurry me away to give bail for my friend: Make haste, say you, that none may prevent you in that kind good-
- 25 natured office: whether the north-wind deforms the earth, or winter contracts the circle of the snowy day¹², go I must. After declaring in clear and express words, what I may afterwards have cause to repent of; I am still left to struggle with the croud, and press violently upon those that stand in my way. What is the madman a doing? what is it you mean? says one.
- 30 Another surly fellow loads me with maledictions: Must you push down everyone you meet, because you have taken it into your head to hasten to Mæcenas? This indeed delights, and is agreeable to me,

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MSS. which agree in this reading. It is a term borrowed from the use of the rule in adjusting and measuring.

⁵ Hercules. He was Mercury's associate in distributing riches: industrious gains were ascribed to Mercury; sudden and unexpected benefits to Hercules.

⁶ And whatever else belongs to me except my understanding. Dacier is somewhat singular in his explication of this passage. He thinks the word *pinguis* low, and unworthy of Horace, especially in a matter so serious as a prayer. He tells us, that it was the sentiment of Horace, and many others of the ancients, that the Gods bestowed riches and health, *vitam & opes*; but that we ought not to apply to them either for virtue, wisdom, or a genius, because these wholly depended on ourselves. It is hard however to fancy that Horace would in this case have excepted his understanding; we may rather suppose, that he would have omitted the mention of it entirely. It is for this reason that I have preferred the literal translation.

⁷ My humble Muse. *Musæque pedestri*, as he says elsewhere of his Satires, that they were *sermoni propiora*.

⁸ Nor feel the weight of the south-wind. *Plumbeus auster, autumnusque gravis*. He joins the south-wind and autumn together, because it is at that time most dangerous, as he tells us, Ode 14. B. II.

Frustrâ per autumnos nocentem corporibus metuemus austrum: We shall in vain guard against the autumn south-wind, so hurtful to the constitution.

When Horace retired to his country-seat, he was screened from this danger; for he had the east on his right hand, and the west on his left. Before and behind he was guarded by mountains, which kept off the north and south winds. Hence his situation was so healthy. Our poet gives a full account of this in his 16th Epistle, where after having described the above situation he adds:

Hæ latebræ dulces, etiam, si credis, amant, Incolumem tibi me præstant Septembribus horis.

Thefauro invento qui mercenarius agrum
Illum ipsum mercatus aravit, dives amico
Hercule: si quod adest, gratum juvat: hac prece
te oro;

Pingue pecus domino facias, & cætera præter
Ingenium; utque soles, custos mihi maximus adsis.
Ergo ubi me in montes & in arcem ex urbe re-
movi,

Quid prius illustrem Satiris Musâque pedestri?
Nec mala me ambitio perdit, nec plumbeus Auster,
Autumnusque gravis, Libitinæ quæstus acerbæ.

Matutine pater, seu Jane libentiùs audis,
Unde homines operum primos vitæque labores
Instituunt (sic Dis placitum), tu carminis esto
Principium. Romæ * sponforem me rapis: Eia,
Ne prior officio quisquam respondeat, urge:
Sive Aquilo radit terras, seu bruma nivalem
Interiore diem gyro trahit, ire necesse est.
Postmodò quod mî obfit, clarè certumque locuto;
Luctandum in turbâ, † faciendâ injuria tardis.
Quid ‡ vis, insane, & quas res || agis? Improbis
urget

Iratis precibus: Tu pulses omne quod obstat,
Ad Mæcenatem memori si mente recurras?

deat officio: necesse est ire, sive Aquilo radit terras, seu bruma trahit diem nivalem gyro interi-
ore. Illo locuto clarè certumque, quod postmodò obfit mî; luctandum est in turbâ, injuria fa-
ciendâ est tardis. Quid vis, insane, increpat hic, & quas agis res? Quidam autem improbus
urget me iratis precibus: An pulses tu omne quod obstat, si recurras memori mente ad Mæce-
natem?

* Romam, Bentl. † et, Id. ‡ tibi, Id || quam rem, Id.

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It is in these agreeable, or, if you can be-
lieve me, delicious retreats, that I enjoy such a
healthful habit, during the sickly hours of
September. The epithet plumbeus here given
to the south-wind, imports the same as
gravis.

9 Cruel Libitina. Libitina was the God-
dess, who presided over funerals. In her
temple, a register was kept of all that died,
and a piece of money given for each. Thus
the sickness of the season increased the
revenues of that Goddess.

10 Father of the morning. This is pro-
perly the beginning of the Satire. What
goes before, is no other than a kind of
preface. Janus was the God of time, and
of consequence presided over the day. Some
tell us he was the world, others the hea-
vens: there are who make him the same
with the sun.

11 Men engage in the toils and duties of

life. For men begin their labours with
the morning; with him also they begin the
toils of life. For with Janus begin all
things that exist; he is the God of time
and motion.

12 Or winter contracts the circle of the
snowy day. Seu bruma nivalem interiore diem
gyro trahit. The circle, which the sun de-
scribes in his annual revolution round the
earth, called by astronomers the ecliptic,
obtains such a situation in the heavens, that
the northern part of it, through which the
sun passes in summer, is considerably more
removed from the earth, than the southern
part, where he is during winter. Hence
the days are shorter in this season, and the
sun, in respect of us, seems to describe a
narrower circle, when in reality he has
only changed his distance; whence by the
diurnal motion of the earth, the bounds of
his apparent motion are contracted. This is
what

me, it is in vain to dissemble. But no sooner have I reached the noxious Esquilæ, than I am head and foot beset with a hundred other men's affairs. Roscius begs that you will not fail to meet
 35 him to-morrow before eight at the prætor's tribunal¹³. The secretaries desired you would not forget that you was to return to-day to consult about some new affair of the last consequence. Be so good as procure Mæcenas to sign these papers. If I answer, that I will do my endeavour; You can, says he, if you are but willing, and persists in urging me, It is, let me see¹⁴, now
 40 almost eight years, since Mæcenas was first pleased to rank me among his friends; only to take me now and then¹⁵ into his chariot when he went into the country, and pass away the time in some few common trifling questions: as, What is it o'clock? Is the Thracian gladiator an equal match for the Sy-
 45 rian¹⁶? The morning-air begins now to pinch those who neglect to provide against it; with such like trifles as may be safely trusted with the greatest blab¹⁷. All this time I am the daily and hourly object of envy: This Horace, say they, is Fortune's favorite: he was at the play the other night with Mæcenas; they performed their exercises together in the Campus Martius.
 50 Some spreading rumor flies from the forum¹⁸; straight I am accosted by all I meet: Pray, good sir, what news of the Daci; sure you must know, who are in such credit with the great? None at all. Pshaw! you must be always playing the rogue! Let me die, if I hear a word about them. Well, but as to the distribution of the lands which Augustus has promised to his soldiers; is
 55 it to be made in Sicily¹⁹, or Italy? I protest I know nothing of the matter.

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what Horace calls revolving *interiore gyro*. The expression is in the highest degree poetical, and, by a figure taken from chariot-races, admirably well describes the course of the sun. For at the finishing of the race, the chariot that was nearest the goal, in turning round, was called *quadrige interior*. In like manner, among the horses, that which was next the *meta* was called *equus interior*, and the other *equus exterior*.

¹³ At the prætor's tribunal. *Sibi adesses ad puteal erat*. When thunder broke upon any place, the Romans immediately inclosed it, and covered it with a roof; and this they properly called *puteal*. There was one of these in the forum, near the statue of *Marsias*, and the two *Janus's*. This went by the name of *Puteal Libonis*, or *Scribonianum Puteal*, because *Scribonius Libo* had raised it by an order of the senate. Adjoining hereto was the prætor's tribunal; whence the request of *Roscius*, who had some cause probably depending before that court.

¹⁴ It is, let me see. *Septimus octavo prior*. This passage enables us to fix precisely the date of this Satire. Horace was presented to Mæcenas, about the beginning of the 716th year of the city; and towards the end of the same year was admitted to a nearer familiarity, or, to use his own words, *cœpit habere eum in numero suorum*. Our poet therefore, when he refers the writing of this Satire to the eighth year after, fixes it to the year of the city 723.

¹⁵ Only to take me now and then, &c. *Dutatur ad hoc*. There is no doubt but Horace is here, as he says in one of his Epistles, *diffimulator opis propriæ*. He declines owning all the confidence which Mæcenas put in him. That minister trusted him with secrets of the greatest importance, but Horace knew better than to avow it. Had Mæcenas's friends been equally discreet, Augustus would have had no cause to complain that secrets were ill kept. For we are told by Suetonius that that emperor *desideravit notitiamque Mæcenatis taciturnitatem*.

Hoc juvat, & melli est, non * mentiar. At simul
atras

Ventum est Esquiliæ, aliena negotia centum
Per caput & circa saliant latus. Ante secundam
Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad Puteal cras. 35

De re communi scribæ magnâ atque novâ te
Orabant hodiè meminisses, Quinte, reverti.

Imprimat his cura Mæcenas signa tabellis.

Dixeris, Experiar; Si vis, potes, addit, & instat.

Septimus octavo propior jam fugerit annus, 40

Ex quo Mæcenas me cœpit habere suorum

In numero; duntaxat ad hoc, quem tollere rhedâ

Vellet iter faciens, & cui concedere nugas

Hoc genus: Hora quota est? Thrax est Gallina

Syro par?

Matutina parum cautos jam frigora mordent; 45

Et quæ rimosâ benè deponuntur in aure.

Per totum hoc tempus subjectior in diem & horam

Invidiæ. Noster ludos spectaverat † unâ,

Luserat ‡ in campo, Fortunæ filius, omnes.

Frigidus à Rostris manat per compita rumor; 50

Quicumque obvius est, me consulit: O bone (nam te

Scire, Deos quoniam propius contingis, oportet),

Numquid de Dacis audisti? Nil equidem. Ut tu

Semper eris derisor! At omnes Dî exagitent me,

Si quidquam. Quid? militibus promissa Triquetra 55

Prædia Cæsar, an est Italâ tellure daturus?

tum tempus subjectior fui in diem & horam invidiæ. Omnes dicunt, Noster filius Fortunæ spectaverat ludos unâ, luserat in campo. Frigidus rumor manat à Rostris per compita; quicumque obvius est, consulit me: O bone (nam oportet te scire, quoniam propius contingis Deos), numquid audisti de Dacis? Equidem nil. Ut tu eris semper derisor! At omnes Dî exagitent me, si audivi quidquam. Quid? daturus est Cæsar prædia promissa militibus tellure Triquetra, an Italâ?

* ne, Bentl.

† spectaverit, Id.

‡ Luserit, Id.

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¹⁶ Is the Thracian gladiator an equal, &c. Thrax est Gallina Syro par? There were at Rome several kinds of gladiators, as the *Secutores*, *Retiarii*, *Thraces*, *Mirmillones*, and these several names were given them either on account of their different ways of fighting, their armour, or their country. The *Secutores* were commonly matched with the *Retiarii*, who were armed with a net; and the *Thracians* were opposed to the *Gauls*, who were called *Mirmillones*. Gallina is here for a *Thracian*, and Syrus for a *Mirmillon*.

¹⁷ With the greatest blab. Rimosâ benè deponuntur in aure. Rimosâ auris is opposed to *aures tutæ* of Ode 27. B. I. The ex-
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pression is borrowed from that of Terence. Plenus rimarum sum, hac et illuc perfluo.

¹⁸ From the Forum. Frigidus à Rostris. The *Rostra* was that part of the *Forum* whence the magistrates harangued the people. It was built of the beaks of ships, taken in a naval engagement with the *Antiates*.

¹⁹ Is it to be made in Sicily? Promissa Triquetra prædia. Sicily was called *Triquetra* by the *Latins*, as also *Trinacria*, because it was of a triangular figure, of which the three promontories were the three points. As *Augustus* had made himself master of Sicily, by the overthrow of *Pompey*, and after that victory, the soldiers had demanded the

M

rewards

matter. They wonder at me, as a mortal of astonishing secrecy and silence! It is thus that I spend, or rather lose the day, not without incessant wishes:

- 60 O my little farm! when shall I behold you again? when shall it be permitted me to taste, sometimes in reading the ancients, sometimes in sleep and indolence, a sweet forgetfulness of this tumultuous and harassed life? O when shall I feed upon the bean so nearly related to Pythagoras²⁰, or rejoice over my dish
65 of greens and bacon? O happy nights, O divine repasts; when seated by my own fire I regale my friends, and feast my pert domestics with what is left at table²¹. Every one drinks to his fancy, subject to no tyrannic laws; whether of a strong constitution he calls for large cups, or inclines rather to dilute
70 with small ones. In our conversations, we meddle not with the villas or mansion-houses of our neighbours, nor whether Lepos dances well or ill²²; but we discourse of things that concern us more nearly, and which it were criminal to be unacquainted
75 with: Whether virtue, or riches make men happy? What determines us to friendship, interest, or a sense of what is becoming? What is the nature of good, and wherein the sovereign good consists? Our neighbour Cervius never fails here to instruct us by some ancient fable much to the purpose. For instance; if any one commends the riches of Arellius, never reflecting on the cares and anxieties that attend them, he immediately tells
80 us a story. It is said that of old²³ a country-mouse received a city-mouse into his homely den, a known friend²⁴ whom he had often before entertained. The country-mouse was diligent and abstemious, and attentive to his industrious gains; but open and free when he entertained his friend. To be short; he produced his corn and pease, of which he had a good stock; nor spared his

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rewards promised to their services; they were in pain to know at Rome, whether the emperor would assign them lands in Italy or Sicily.

²⁰ Upon the bean so nearly related to Pythagoras. *Faba Pythagoræ cognata*. Pythagoras taught that the bean was formed at the same time with man, and of the same mold. In proof of this he observed, that if one put up a ripe bean into a vessel, shut it up close, and buried it in the earth, upon coming to look at it some days after, it would be found converted into flesh and blood. He therefore put it in the same rank with human flesh, and forbade the eating of it. Hence Horace pleasantly calls the bean *cognata Pythagoræ*.

²¹ What is left at table. *Libatis dapibus*. I have followed here the common inter-

pretation, though Dacier and Sanadon explain it otherwise. They tell us, that by *libatis dapibus*, is meant meats, of which the first fruits had been offered to the Household-gods. Our poet, they say, used his domestics with great good-nature, so as not only to make them eat with him, but he even treated them as friends and equals. He loved to be free, and diverted himself with their innocent mirth. The reader is at liberty to choose for himself.

²² Nor whether Lepos dances well or ill. This may serve as a picture of the ordinary table-talk of that age: and from it we may gather, that in the common articles of life at least, human nature is much the same at all times. This Lepos was a celebrated dancer of those days.

²³ It is said that of old. This fable is not

Jurantem me scire nihil mirantur *, ut unum
Scilicet egregii mortalem atque silenti.

Perditur hæc inter misero lux, non sine votis :
O rus, quando ego te aspiciam ? quandoque lice-
bit,

60

Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno & inertibus horis,
Ducere sollicitæ jucunda obliviam vitæ ?

O quando faba Pythagoræ cognata, simulque
Unctæ fati pingui ponentur oluscula lardo ?

Onoctes, cœnæque Deum ! quibus ipse meique 65

Ante Larem proprium vescor, vernasque procaces

Pasco libatis dapibus. Prout † cuique libido est,

Siccat inæquales calices conviva, solutus

Legibus insanis ; seu quis capit acria fortis

Pocula, seu modicis uvescit lætiùs. Ergo

Sermo oritur, non de villis domibusve alienis,

Nec malè necne Lepos saltet ; sed quod magis ad
nos

Pertinet, & nescire malum est, agitamur : utrùmne

Divitiis homines, an sint virtute beati :

Quidve ad amicitias, usus, rectumne, trahat nos : 75

Et quæ sit natura boni, summumque quid ejus.

Cervius hæc inter vicinus garrit aniles

Ex re fabellas. Si quis nam laudat Arellii

Solicitas ignarus opes, sic incipit. Olim

Rusticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur 80

Accepisse cavo, veterem vetus hospes amicum :

Asper, & attentus quæsitis ; ut tamen arctum

Solveret hospitii animum. Quid multa ? neque illi †

Sepositi ciceris, nec longæ invidit avenæ ;

quidve trahat nos ad amicitias, usus, rectumne ? & quæ sit natura boni, quidque ejus summum. Inter hæc vicinus Cervius garrit aniles fabellas ex re. Nam si quis ignarus laudat sollicitas opes Arellii, incipit sic. Olim rusticus mus fertur accepisse murem urbanum paupere cavo, vetus hospes veterem amicum : ille asper, & attentus quæsitis : tamen ita ut solveret arctum animum hospitii. Quid referam multa ? neque invidit illi partem sepositi ciceris, nec longæ avenæ ;

*Mirantur me juran-
tem scire nihil, scilicet
ut unum mortalem e-
gregii atque silentii.
Lux perditur mihi
misero inter hæc, non
sine votis : O rus,
quando ego aspiciam
te ? quandoque licebit
ducere jucunda obli-
viam vitæ sollicitæ,
nunc libris veterum,
nunc somno & horis
inertibus ? O quando
faba cognata Pytha-
goræ, simulque olus-
cula unctæ lardo fati
pingui ponentur ? O
noctes, cœnæque De-
um ! quibus ipse mei-
que vescor ante pro-
prium Larem, pasco-
que vernas procaces
dapibus libatis. Con-
viva, prout cuique
libido est, siccat calices
inæquales, solutus in-
sanis legibus ; seu quis
fortis capit acria po-
cula, seu lætiùs uves-
cit modicis. Ergo ser-
mo oritur, non de ali-
enis villis domibusve,
nec an Lepos saltet
malè necne ; sed agi-
tamur quod magis per-
tinet ad nos, & malum
est nescire : utrùmne
homines beati sunt di-
vitiis, an virtute ?*

* miratur, Bentl.

† cum, ut, Id.

‡ ille, Id.

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not found at present among those of *Æsop*. It is certain, however, that it belonged originally to him ; for it was in the collection, which *Babrius* made of his fables in verse, and began thus : *Two mice entered into a mutual friendship ; they led a very different kind of life, for the one haunted the deserts, and the other never stirred from the city, but sought a living in rich and opulent houses.* *Horace*, though not the author of this fable,

has yet made it his own, by his manner of relating it, and the graces he sets it off with.

24 A known friend, &c. We have here a clear proof of the great advantage which fable has over a plain simple narration. Change only the persons, and put two men instead of the two mice, and the whole beauty is lost ; so true it is, that images chiefly strike the imagination.

M 2

25 By

85 his dried raisins, or half-eaten slices of bacon, thinking by the variety of dishes to conquer the delicacy of his squeamish guest, whose haughty teeth could scarce bear to touch the offered provisions: while the master of the house, stretched upon some fresh straw, fed contentedly on chaff and wild oats, leaving the best morsels for his friend. At length the city-mouse thus addressed him: What pleasure can it give you, my friend, to live in this poor manner upon the ridge of a rugged mountain? Are not cities and men preferable to these pathless woods? Come, take a journey, and trust to me as your guide: 95 all that tread the earth are subject to mortality, neither great nor small can avoid death; therefore, my good friend, let us live merrily, and remember that our time is but short. These words roused the country-mouse; who immediately abandons his den with a light heart. Both begin the intended journey, 100 eager to reach unperceived the walls of the city. By this time night had half finished her course²⁵, when they set foot in a sumptuous palace; where purple carpets shone upon ivory beds, and where were plentifully heaped up in baskets the fragments of a delicious supper, that had been served up the night before. 105 The city-mouse then, placing his companion upon a purple couch, supplies him with store of provisions, and furnishes a succession of dishes; frankly doing the office of a servant, and 110 tasting every thing that he presented to him. He, indulging himself upon the rich tapestry, rejoices at the happy change of his lot, and feasts cheerfully upon the delicious fare: when a sudden noise of bolts and bars frightened both from the couches. They ran distracted through the spacious halls, and were almost dead with fear, when the house resounded with the barking of 115 mastiffs. Upon this the country-mouse said²⁶: Your way of life, my friend, has no charms for me; adieu: secure from harm in my little den, surrounded with woods, I can comfortably feed upon my humble stores²⁷.

The

A N N O T A T I O N S.

²⁵ By this time night had half finished her course. We have here three heroic verses, introduced with wonderful happiness. Horace in many places shews an admirable talent of augmenting the ridicule of his subjects, by an affected pomp of expression. The entrance of our worthy friends into the city was a matter of too great importance, not to be precisely marked.

²⁶ Upon this the country-mouse. The moral is beautiful to the last degree. It is not without reason, that the emperor Marc.

Antoninus, in the ninth book of his moral reflections, recommends to think often, and carefully of this fable. *I think then, says he, of the fable of the city-mouse and the country-mouse, of the fright the latter was put into, and the resolution taken upon it, &c.* By this means we shall learn to despise riches, and the tumults of cities, and to imitate the prudence of the country-mouse, who preferred the quiet enjoyment of

SAT. VI. QUINTI HORATII FLACCI. 181

Aridum & ore ferens acinum, semesaque lardi 85
 Frustra dedit, cupiens variâ fastidia cœnâ
 Vincere tangentis malè singula dente superbo :
 Cùm pater ipse domûs, paleâ porrectus in hornâ,
 Effet ador loliumque, dapis meliora relinquens. 90
 Tandem urbanus ad hunc, Quid te juvat, inquit,
 amice,
 Prærupti nemoris patientem vivere dorso !
 Vin' * tu homines urbemque feris præponere filvis ?
 Carpe viam, mihi crede comes : terrestria quando
 Mortales animas vivunt fortita, neque ulla est
 Aut magno aut parvo lethi fuga ; quo, bone, circa, 95
 Dum licet, in rebus jucundis vive beatus ;
 Vive memor, quàm lis ævi brevis. Hæc ubi dicta
 Agrestem pepulere ; domo levis exilit. Inde
 Ambo propositum peragunt iter, urbis aventes
 Mœnia nocturni subrepere. Jamque tenebat 100
 Nox medium cœli spatium, cùm ponit uterque
 In locuplete domo vestigia ; rubro ubi cocco
 Tincta super lectos canderet vestis eburnos,
 Multaque de magnâ superessent fercula cœnâ,
 Quæ procul extructis inerant hesternæ canistris. 105
 Ergo ubi purpuræ porrectum in veste locavit
 Agrestem, veluti succinctus cursitat hospes,
 Continuatque dapes ; necnon vernaliter † ipsis
 Fungitur officiis, prælambens ‡ omne quod offert.
 Ille cubans gaudet mutatâ sorte, bonisque 110
 Rebus agit lætum convivam : cùm subito ingens
 Valvarum strepitus lectis excussit utrumque.
 Currere per totum pavidi conclave, magisque
 Exanimes trepidare, simul domus alta Molossis
 Personuit canibus. Tum rusticus, Haud mihi vitâ 115
 Est opus hac, ait ; & valeas : me silva, cavusque
 Tutus ab insidiis tenui solabitur ervo.

& ferens ore dedit aridum acinum, frustra que semesa lardi, cupiens variâ cœnâ vincere fastidia amici tangentis singula malè superbo dente : cùm ipse pater domûs, porrectus in paleâ hornâ, ederet ador loliumque, relinquens meliora dapis. Tandem urbanus inquit ad hunc : O amice, quid juvat te vivere patientem dorso prærupti nemoris ? Vin' tu præponere homines urbemque feris filvis ? Carpe viam, ut comes mihi crede : quando animantia terrestria vivunt fortita animas mortales, neque est ulla fuga lethi aut magno aut parvo ; quo circa, bone, vive beatus in rebus jucundis, dum licet ; vive memor, quàm sis ævi brevis. Hæc ubi dicta sunt, pepulere agrestem ; exilit levis domo. Inde ambo peragunt iter propositum, aventes subrepere mœnia nocturni urbis. Jamque nox tenebat medium spatium cœli, cùm uterque ponit vestigia in domo locuplete ; ubi vestis tincta rubro cocco canderet super lectos eburnos, multaque fercula superessent de magnâ cœnâ, quæ hesternâ nocte procul inerant in extructis canistris. Ergo ubi mos

urbanus locavit agrestem porrectum in purpurâ veste, cursitat veluti succinctus hospes, continuatque dapes ; necnon fungitur ipsis vernaliter officiis, prælambens omne quod offert. Ille cubans gaudet sorte mutatâ, agitque convivam lætum bonis rebus : cùm subito ingens strepitus valvarum excussit utrumque lectis. Cœperunt pavidi currere per totum conclave, exanimesque magis trepidare, simul ac alta domus personuit canibus Molossis. Tum rusticus ait : Haud opus est mihi hac vitâ ; & valeas : silva, cavusque tutus ab insidiis solabitur me tenui ervo.

* Vis, Bentl.

† verniliter, Id.

‡ prælibans, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

of her wild oats and chaff, to the turbulent plenty of the city.

27 Humble stores. Tenui ervo, my frugal meal of beans or pulse.

M 3

The

The KEY.

HORACE seems to take peculiar pleasure in magnifying the happiness and quiet of a moderate fortune. It was of all others his favorite subject, and accordingly both his Odes and Satires, &c. are full of it. Though this is one of the most common subjects of morality, and has employed many thousand pens; yet our poet's manner of treating it gives it a dignity and grace, which it is a stranger to in the hands of other authors. He begins this Satire, by owning that he was now arrived at that situation in life, which had been always the height of his wishes, and that perfectly satisfied he aimed at nothing farther than the continuance of these blessings. He afterwards gives an account of his manner of life in town and country, and demonstrates how much the latter is preferable to the former. When in town, his life is a continued hurry and tumult, full of embarrassments, and distracted with a thousand

SATIRE VII.

Davus a slave, taking advantage of the liberty granted during the *Saturnalia*, taxes his master with his faults, and maintains that his own life is less blamable than his master's.

DAVUS.

HORACE.

DAV. **I** Have now heard you with patience ¹ a long time, and being desirous to tell you a few things, tremble because only a slave.

HOR. What! is this *Davus*?

DAV. Yes, *Davus*, his master's faithful slave, and honest as far as is needful; that is, so as not to be thought short-lived ².

HOR. Well then, since our ancestors would have it so, take
5 the liberty of the present month ³: speak what you will.

DAV. Part of mankind ⁴ persevere constantly in vice, and steadily

ANNOTATIONS.

¹ *I have now heard you with patience, &c.* *Jamdudum ausculto.* We must here suppose, that *Horace* had been in wrath with his servants, and loading them with a thousand reproaches. *Davus*, who had heard him for a long time, unable to keep his temper any longer, expostulates with him: *Jamdudum ausculto.*

² *So as not to be thought short-lived.* *Ut vitale putes.* The ancients had something of the like superstition that prevails nowadays. When one was, as we say, too good or too perfect, they imagined he would not live long. Thus *Cestius* in *Seneca*, speaking of *Alfius Flavius*, says, *Tam immature magnam*

The KEY.

thousand different cares at once; but when he retires to his calm rural retreat, he then knows how to enjoy himself, has his time in his own hands, and can model it at pleasure. There he can unlock the treasures of antiquity, run back into past ages, and gather useful instructions for the conduct of life. When weary of this, he can enjoy the company of a few choice friends, who meet, not to entertain one another with trifles, but matters of the highest moment and concern. He concludes the whole with a fable, artfully introduced, and in which are strongly painted the advantages of the country over the town. This Satire is full of morality and instruction.

We have already, in the notes, fixed the date of it to the year of the city 723; though commentators make some demur about it. The reasons may be seen in the note upon the verse *Septimus octavo propior*. Dacier refers it to the year of the city 620, and the 33d of the poet's age.

S A T I R A VII.

*Davus servus, libertate Saturnalium utens, heri vitia carpit,
vitamque suam quàm ejus rectiorem esse ostendit.*

DAVUS.

HORATIUS.

O R D O.

J Amdudum ausculto, & cupiens tibi dicere servus
Pauca, reformido. Davusne? Ita, Davus, amicum
Mancipium domino, & frugi quod sit satis; hoc est,
Ut vitale putes. Age, libertate Decembri
(Quando ita majores voluerunt) utere: narra. 5
Pars hominum vitiis gaudet constanter, & urget
& frugi quod sit satis; hoc est, ut putes vitale. HOR. Age (quando majores ita voluerunt)
utere libertate Decembri: narra. DAV. Pars hominum gaudet constanter vitiis, & urget

DAV. *A*Usculto
jamdu-
dum, & cupiens di-
cere pauca tibi, re-
formido, quia servus.
HOR. Davusne? DAV.
Ita, Davus, manci-
pium amicum domino,

A N N O T A T I O N S.

num ingenium non esse vitale: "That so great
"a genius in an age so little advanced
"could not live long." Davus therefore
explains what he means by *quod sit satis*.
He is very well, but not virtuous in such
a degree as may tempt the Gods to with-
draw him from the earth.

3 Take the liberty of the present month.
Libertate Decembri. We have on a for-
mer Satire explained the nature of the
feast of the Saturnalia; it began on the

17th of December: slaves were allowed at
this time to be free with their masters.
The design of it was to preserve the me-
mory of the golden age, when all men
were in a state of equality.

4 Part of mankind, &c. Davus here en-
ters upon his subject in the voice and man-
ner of his master. The character of *Pris-
tus* is of the same kind with that of *Tigellius*
in the second Satire of the first Book. What
is most diverting is, that Davus applies it

steadily pursue their aim: the greater number float in suspense; sometimes grasping at virtue, at other times obnoxious to vice. Priscus, the most changeable and inconstant man alive, was often observed with three rings upon his finger, sometimes he had none at all: he would take and quit the magistrate's robe every
 10 hour; and was of so fantastical a turn, that all of a sudden he would retire from his grand dwelling-house to some pitiful hole, which a decent freed-man would have been ashamed to come from: one while he was a man of gallantry at Rome, and in a trice he would be a philosopher at Athens: doubtless, Ver-
 15 tumnus⁵, in all his inconsistency, presided at his birth. Volan-
 nerius the buffoon, when a gout, the just effect of his intem-
 perance, had lamed his joints, maintained a servant by daily
 hire, to take up the dice for him, and shake the box⁶: the
 more obstinately he persisted in vice, the less wretched he was
 than that other⁷, who sometimes struggled with his passions⁸,
 and sometimes yielded to their violence.

20 HOR. Shall I never know to what all these wondrous deep
 reflections point, rascal?

DAV. I tell you, Sir, they are meant of yourself.

HOR. Of me! How d'ye mean, villain?

DAV. You praise the way of life and manpers of the an-
 cient Romans; and yet, were some God to make you an instant
 proffer of the same lot, you would refuse it: either because you
 25 do not really believe what you so much cry up to be the best;
 or because you want resolution to adhere firmly to truth;
 and stick fast, unable to pluck your foot out of the mire.
 When at Rome, you wish for the country; in the country,
 light as a falling leaf you extol the absent city to the skies.

If

ANNOTATIONS.

afterwards to his master. It may appear to
 some a little out of character, to meet with
 so much morality and good sense in the
 mouth of a slave; but we ought to consider
 what the times will admit of; slaves were
 then well educated, applied to the study
 of the sciences, and formed themselves
 by the same exercises as the Roman youth.

⁵ Doubtless, *Vertumnus*. *Vertumnus* was
 the God who presided over the regular
 changes of the universe; those that em-
 bellish nature, and constitute the estab-
 lished order of things. The changes and
 vicissitudes of *Priscus* were the pure effects
 of a fantastical humor. It is for this rea-
 son, *Davus* say, that he was born *Vertumnus*'s
iniquis. For so the ancients called it, when
 any confusion happened in nature, and the
 established order of things was disturbed
 by uncommon appearances; such as co-

rets, &c. *Horace* multiplies this God, be-
 cause of the different manners in which
 he was represented. The *Etrurians* first
 brought him to *Rome*, and raised a statue
 for him in the *Tuscan* ward. His feast
 was kept in *October*.

⁶ And shake the box. It was of a round
 figure, and long from the mouth to the
 bottom. They had several names for it, as
Phimus, *Fritillus*, *Turricula*, *Orca*, *Pyrgus*.

⁷ The less wretched than that other. I
 shall beg leave to transcribe here a paragraph
 from one of the politest writers of our
 own nation, as it happens to agree exactly
 with the judgment which *Davus* here
 passes. "It is not the accomplished knaves
 "who are so much envied or admired.
 "The moderate kind are the more taking,
 "with us. Yet had we sense, we should
 "consider, it is, in reality, the thorough pro-
 "figate

Propositum: pars multa natat; modò recta capef-

fens,
Interdum pravis obnoxia. Sæpè notatus
Cum tribus annellis, modò lævâ Priscus inani,
Vixit inæqualis, clavum ut mutaret in horas; 10
Ædibus ex magnis subito se conderet, unde
Mundior exiret vix libertinus honestè:
Jam mœchus Romæ, jam mallet doctus Athenis
Vivere; Vertumnis, quotquot sunt, natus iniquis.
Scurra Volanerius, postquam illi iusta chiragra 15
Contudit articulos, qui pro se tolleret, atque
Mitteret in phimum talos, mercede diurnâ
Conductum pavit: quanto constantior idem
In vitis, tanto leviùs miser ac prior ille,
Qui jam contento, jam laxo fune laborat. 20

Non dices hodiè, quorsum hæc tam putida ten-

dant,
Furcifer? Ad te, inquam. Quo pacto, pessime?

Laudas
Fortunam & mores antiquæ plebis; & idem,
Si quis ad illa Deus subito te agat, usque recuses:
Aut quia non sentis, quod clamas, rectius esse; 25
Aut quia non firmus rectum defendis; & hæres,
Nequicquam cœno cupiens evellere plantam.
Romæ rus optas; absentem rusticus urbem
Tollis ad astra levis. Si nusquam es fortè vocatus

propositum: pars mul-
ta natat; modò ca-
pessens recta, interdum
obnoxia pravis. Prif-
cus sæpè notatus est
cum tribus annellis,
modò lævâ inani: ita
vixit inæqualis, ut
mutaret clavum in
horas; ut subito con-
deret se ex ædibus
magnis, unde liberti-
nus mundior vix exi-
ret honestè: jam mal-
let vivere mœchus
Romæ, jam doctus
Athenis; natus Ver-
tumnis, quotquot sunt
iniquis. Volanerius
scurra, postquam chi-
ragra iusta contudit
illi articulos, pavit
mercede diurnâ con-
ductum, qui tolleret
talos pro se, atque
mitteret in phimum:
idem quanto constanti-
or in vitis, tanto le-
viùs miser ac ille pri-
or, qui jam laborat
fune contento, jam
fune laxo. HOR.
An non dices hodiè,
furcifer, quorsum hæc

tam putida tendunt? DAV. Inquam, ad te. HOR. Quo pacto, pessime? DAV. Laudas fortunam & mores plebis antiquæ; & tu idem, si quis Deus subito agat te ad illa tempora, recuses usque: aut quia non sentis illud esse rectius quod clamas; aut quia defendis rectum non firmus; & hæres, nequicquam cupiens evellere plantam cœno. Quando es Romæ, optas rus; quando rusticus, tu levis tollis absentem urbem ad astra. Si fortè vocatus es nusquam

ANNOTATIONS.

"*fligate knave*, the very complete un-
" *natural villain* alone, who can any way
" bid for happiness with the *honest* man.
" True interest is wholly on one side or the
" other. All between is inconsistency, ir-
" resolution, remorse, vexation, and an
" agree-fit; from hot to cold; from one
" passion to another quite contrary; a per-
" petual discord of life; and an alternate
" disquiet and self-dislike. The only rest
" and repose must be through one, deter-
" mined, considerate resolution; which,
" when once taken, must be courageously
" kept; and the passions and affections
" brought under obedience to it; the tem-
" per steered and hardened to the mind;
" the disposition to the judgment. Both
" must agree, else all must be disturbance
" and confusion, so that to think with

" one's self in good earnest, *Why may not*
" *one do this little villany, or commit this one*
" *treachery, and but for once?* is the most
" ridiculous imagination in the world,
" and contrary to common sense. For a
" common honest man, whilst left to
" himself, and undisturbed by philosophy
" and subtle reasonings about his inter-
" est, gives no other answer to the thought
" of villany, than that he cannot possibly
" find in his heart to set about it, or
" conquer the natural aversion he has
" to it. And this is natural and just."

8 *Who sometimes struggled with his pas-*
sions, &c. Qui jam contento, jam laxo fune
laborat. The explication which Dacier
gives of this verse, is very ingenious. He
tells us, that the poet alludes to a certain
play in use among the boys of Greece and
Italy,

If nobody invites you out to supper, you are ravished with your
 30 quiet plate of herbs; and seem so pleased and happy to be by
 yourself, that one would think you never went any where abroad,
 unless when forced. But let Mæcenas send for you, though late in
 the evening, about the time of the first lamps⁹; in a moment
 you fill the house with noise¹⁰ and confusion: What, does
 nobody hear? none bring me essence? and you run off in all
 35 haste. Milvius¹¹ and the buffoons, who expected to sup with you,
 depart, after cursing heartily both you and your patron. Some
 one may¹² perhaps tell me, that I am very attentive to the de-
 mands of my stomach, and have a wonderful quick scent after
 good fare; that I am a sluggard, lazy in executing your com-
 mands, and a haunter of alehouses: I own it all. Yet if you
 40 are equally bad, or perhaps worse; how come you to chide me
 as if yourself were wholly blameless, and to varnish over your
 faults with specious names? What if you should be found more
 a fool than your poor slave, bought for five hundred drachms?
 Come, away with that angry look; restrain, I pray, your hand
 45 and your indignation, till I tell you all I have learned from Cris-
 pinus's porter¹³.

You are taken with another man's wife; Davus can content
 himself with any common girl: which, I pray, think you most
 deserves the cross? When nature pushes me on, I can contented-
 ly retire to known haunts, and take up with the first I meet;
 50 without any fears on account of my reputation, or anxieties,
 that another richer and more agreeable may be better received.
 But as for you, when laying aside all the badges that might distin-
 guish you, the equestrian ring, and Roman habit¹⁴, instead of
 the judge you come out disguised like a vile slave, having your
 55 finely perfumed head hid under a tattered cloak: in what, pray,
 do you belie your appearance? You are admitted all trembling,
 your bones shaking with the alternate struggles of fear and de-
 fire. What matters it, that you are soundly lashed with rods,
 or slain upon the spot; that you escape after shameful sub-
 60 missions¹⁵; or shut up in a nasty chest, by your mistress's con-
 fidant,

ANNOTATIONS.

Italy, they took a cord by one end, and gave the other to their comrade, and tried, with all their strength, each to draw his fellow. When the effort on both sides was equal, the cord was kept always upon the stretch. But when one yielded, the cord was relaxed, and he who gave way drawn towards the other. This serves admirably well to express *Horace's* sentiment; who means to paint a man that sometimes gives way to his passions, and sometimes resists them.

⁹ *About the time of the first lamps.* Sub

lumina prima. That is, late in the evening, when they began to light candles. A first minister of state, such as was *Mæcenas*, intrusted with the administration of a wide empire, could not observe so seasonable an hour as others who commonly supped at four o'clock.

¹⁰ *Fill the house with noise.* *Cum magno blateras clamore*. *Blaterare*, signifies properly to scream out like a fool, without sense or measure. The word is derived from the Greek *βλάττειν*, signifying a fool.

¹¹ *Milvius*. This *Milvius* was a buffoon,

Ad cœnam, laudas securum olus; ac, velut us-
quam

Vinctus eas, ita te felicem dicis, amasque
Quòd nusquam tibi sit potandum. Jusserit ad se
Mæcenas serum sub lumina prima venire
Convivam: Nemon' oleum feret * ocius? ecquis
Audit? cum magno blateras clamore, fugisque. 35
Milvius & scurræ, tibi non referenda precati,
Discedunt. Etenim fateor, me dixerit ille
Duci ventre levem; nasum nidore supinor;
Imbecillus, iners; si quid vis, adde popino.

Tu, cum sis quod ego, & fortassis nequior, ultrò
Infectere velut melior? verbisque decoris 41
Obvolvas vitium? Quid si me stultior ipso,
Quingentis empto drachmis, deprènderis? Aufer
Me vultu terrere; manum stomachumque teneto,
Dum quæ Crispini docuit me janitor edo. 45

Té conjux aliena capit; meretricula Davum:
Peccat uter nostrum cruce dignius? Acris ubi me
Natura incendit; sub clâra nuda lucernâ
Quæcunque excepit turgentis verbera caudæ,
Clunibus aut agitavit equum lasciva supinum, 50
Dimittit, neque famosum, neque sollicitum, ne-
Ditior aut formæ melioris meiat eodem.

Tu, cum projectis insignibus, annulo equestri,
Romanoque habitu; prodis ex judice Dama
Turpis, odoratum caput obscurante lacernâ; 55
Non es quod simulas? Metuens induceris, atque
Altercante libidinibus tremis ossa pavore.
Quid refert, uri virgis, ferroque necari;
Auctoratus eas; an turpi clausus in arcâ
(Quò te demisit peccati conscia herilis), 60

ad cœnam, laudas se-
curum olus; ac ita
dicis te felicem, amas-
que quòd potandum sit
tibi nusquam, velut
eas usquam vinctus.
Verum si Mæcenas
jusserit te serum con-
vivam venire ad se
sub lumina prima;
blateras cum magno
clamore, fugisque:
Quid, nemone feret
oleum ocius? ecquis
audit? Milvius &
scurræ invitati ad
cœnam, precati non
referenda tibi, disce-
dunt. Ille dixerit me
levem duci ventre;
quòd supinor nasum
nidore; imbecillus, i-
ners; si quid vis, ad-
de popino: etenim fa-
teor. Sed tu, cum sis
quod ego, & fortassis
nequior, cur velut
melior ultrò infectere?
obvolvasque vitium
verbis decoris? Quid
si deprènderis stultior
me ipso, empto quin-
gentis drachmis? Au-
fer terrere me vultu;
& teneto manum
stomachumque, dum
edo quæ janitor
Crispini docuit me.
Conjux aliena capit te;
meretricula capit Da-
vum: uter nostrum
peccat dignius cruce?
Ubi atris natura in-
cendit me; quæcunque nuda excepit verbera turgentis caudæ sub clarâ lucernâ, aut lasciva
agitavit equum supinum clunibus, dimittit me, neque famosum, neque sollicitum, ne aliquis
ditior aut formæ melioris meiat eodem. Tu, cum insignibus projectis, equestri annulo, babi-
tuque Romano, ex judice prodis turpis Dama, lacernâ obscurante odoratum caput; an non es
quod simulas? Induceris metuens, atque tremis quòd ad ossa pavore altercante libidinibus.
Quid refert, uri virgis, necarique ferro; an eas auctoratus; an clausus in turpi arcâ (quò
conscia peccati herilis demisit te),

cendit me; quæcunque nuda excepit verbera turgentis caudæ sub clarâ lucernâ, aut lasciva
agitavit equum supinum clunibus, dimittit me, neque famosum, neque sollicitum, ne aliquis
ditior aut formæ melioris meiat eodem. Tu, cum insignibus projectis, equestri annulo, babi-
tuque Romano, ex judice prodis turpis Dama, lacernâ obscurante odoratum caput; an non es
quod simulas? Induceris metuens, atque tremis quòd ad ossa pavore altercante libidinibus.
Quid refert, uri virgis, necarique ferro; an eas auctoratus; an clausus in turpi arcâ (quò
conscia peccati herilis demisit te),

* fert, Bentl.

ANNOTATIONS.

foen, who, with some of his fraternity,
had come to sup with Horace: but were
told at the gate, he did not sup at home.

¹² Some one may, &c. Me dixerit ille.
Ille is hear put for Quispiam.

¹³ Crispinus's porter. Some think this ig-
norance in Davus, who takes Crispinus's
porter for a great philosopher. Others call

it a stroke of ill-natured satire; as if our
poet's faults were so remarkable, that the
very lowest servants, in houses which he
but little frequented, took notice of them.

¹⁴ The equestrian ring, and Roman Ha-
bit. Augustus had granted to Horace the li-
berty of wearing a ring and the angusticlave

¹⁵ That you escape after shameful submis-
sion.

fidant, lie hush and squeezed up with your head between your knees? Has not the husband of the frail matron a just power over both? Yea, even a juster over the seducer? And yet after all, she neither changes her habit, nor leaves her house: she makes none of these concessions I have from my partner; because she fears you, nor are all your protestations of love able to gain her confidence. You knowingly thrust your neck into the collar, and trust your estate, your life, your reputation, every thing that is dear to you, with a furious provoked master. Have you come off safe? Well: I fancy you'll dread such another encounter, and being wise from experience keep at a distance from danger. On the contrary, you plunge yourself into the same terrors, and never rest till you are again upon the
70 brink of ruin. O slave of slaves! what beast will madly return to its chain, after having once broke loose and escaped?

You say, I am no adulterer. Nor am I thief, when I wisely pass by the vessels of silver. Only take away the danger, and impetuous nature will soon break out when all restraints are removed. Are you fit to be my master, you the slave of so
75 many men and passions? you, whom the prætor's rod¹⁶ thrice, yea, four times laid upon your head cannot yet free from fears and alarms? Add to all this, what is of equal weight: for whether he, who obeys another slave, be an underling¹⁷, as
80 you are pleased to call him, or a fellow-slave: what then am I in respect of you? it is true, you have authority over me; yet are yourself a slave to others, and no more to be accounted of than a piece of clock-work, moved by weights and powers not its own¹⁸.

HOR. Who then is free?

DAV. The wise man: he who is his own master; and whom
85 neither poverty, nor death, nor chains terrify: who has courage to combat his passions, and despise titles; smooth, even, and regular¹⁹ within himself, and fenced against all the attacks of external violence: upon whom the severest strokes of fortune make

ANNOTATIONS.

sons. Auctoratus eas. He says before, *uri virgis, ferroque necavi*. These were the usual terms on which gladiators sold themselves: they were bound to submit to every thing, fire, sword, chains, and death: and this was properly called *auctoramentum*, and the person so bound *auctoratus*. Hence the word was transferred to signify any kind of low infamous engagement; as when one surprised in adultery got off by a round sum of money.

¹⁶ *Whom the prætor's rod.* *Quem ter vindicta.* *Vindicta* was the rod wherewith the prætor touched the head of the person

that was set free. The prætor might make the body free, but not the mind: it was wisdom only that could do this.

¹⁷ *An underling.* *Sive vicarius est* In every house there was commonly a master-slave, to whom was committed the oversight of the rest. He was called *Servus Atrienfis*, the under-slaves *Vicarii*. To hear men speak, we should think them born to liberty: but if we examine their actions, they make chains for themselves, and every day multiply their bonds. In this universal thralldom great men are, as it were, the master-slaves; yea, they are rather more slaves than

Contractum genibus tangas caput? Estne marito
Matronæ peccantis in ambos iusta potestas?
In corruptorem vel iustior? Illa tamen se
Non habitu, mutative loco, peccatve supernè;
Cum te formidet mulier, neque credat amanti. 65
Ibis sub furcam prudens, dominoque furenti
Committes rem omnem, & vitam, & cum corpo-
re famam.

Evāsti? Credo, metues*, doctusque cavebis.

Quæres quando iterum paveas, iterumque perire

Possis. O toties servus! quæ bellua ruptis, 70

Cum semel effugit, reddit se prava catenis?

Non sum mœchus, ais. Neque ego, hercule, fur,
ubi vasa

Prætereo sapiens argentea. Tolle periculum,

Jam vaga proflit frænis natura remotis. 74

Tunc mihi dominus, rerum imperiis hominumque

Tot tantisque minor? quem ter vindicta quaterque

Imposita haud unquam miserâ formidine privet?

Adde supradictis †, quod non leviùs valeat: nam

Sive vicarius est, qui servo paret (ut mos

Vester ait), seu conservus: tibi quid sum ego?
nempe 80

Tu, mihi qui imperitas, aliis servis miser, atque

Duceris, ut nervis alienis mobile lignum ‡.

Quisnam igitur liber? Sapiens, sibi que impe-
riosus;

Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vin-
cula terrent:

Respondere cupidinibus, contemnere honores 85

Fortis; & in seipso totus teres atque rotundus,

Externi ne quid valeat per leve morari:

In quem manca ruit semper fortuna. Potesne

vester ait), seu conservus: quid sum ego tibi? nempe tu, qui imperitas mihi, miser servis a-
liis, atque duceris, ut lignum mobile nervis alienis. HOR. Igitur quisnam est liber? DAV.
Sapiens, imperiosusque sibi; quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula terrent: fortis
respondere cupidinibus, contemnere honores; & totus teres atque rotundus in seipso, ne quid
externi valeat morari per leve: in quem fortuna ruit semper manca. Potesne

* metues, credo, Bentl. † supra dictis, Id. ‡ signum, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

than others: for, in proportion to their
rank and riches, are the tribute they must
pay to ambition, vanity, and the other
tyrannizing passions. They are only
more extensive slaves, and disguise it under
specious names.

¹⁸ Moved by weights and powers not its
own. Nervis alienis mobile lignum. Hel

means the little statues of wood, which
the Latins called after the Greeks, Sigil-
laria, and Neurospasta. They were much
the same as our puppets. This compa-
rison was frequent among the Stoics, who
had it from Socrates.

¹⁹ Smooth, even, and regular. Totus teres
atque

make no impression. Can you claim any of these qualities, as
 90 belonging to yourself? A mistress asks you for five talents, teazes
 you without ceasing, thrusts you out of doors, and from her win-
 dows throws cold water upon you, and then relenting calls
 you back. For shame, slip your neck out of the collar; and
 boldly say, I am, and will be free. In vain you attempt it: an
 unrelenting master pushes you on, urges you with the spur, and
 95 in spite of yourself turns and manages you as he pleases. When
 you stop to gaze ²⁰ at a picture done by Pausias, and seem lost in
 admiration; are you less to be blamed than I, when I stand to
 wonder at the lively portraiture of Fulvius ²¹, Rutuba, or Pla-
 cideianus, the gladiators, painted with charcoal on some sign-
 post, with straitened hams, and the same movements and at-
 titudes, as if in close combat they actually gave and warded off
 100 blows. Mean time Davus is a knave and loiterer; whereas
 you pass for a connoisseur, and fine judge of ancient paintings.
 If I am led by the scent of a smoking cake, I am a good for
 nothing rascal: but pray does your mighty courage and virtue
 resist the temptation of a good supper? My bias to my belly
 indeed is more fatal to me: why so? because my back must pay
 105 for it: and do you fancy that you obtain with impunity those
 rare and exquisite dishes, for which, alas, you pay but too dear?
 Those endless repasts create bitterness and distaste; and the
 enfeebled feet cannot sustain the load of your over-pampered
 carcase. A slave, who privately in the night exchanges a
 stolen comb for a bunch of grapes, is deemed worthy of the
 whip: and is he, who sells his estate to gratify his palate,
 110 guilty of nothing mean and servile? Add to all this, that you
 cannot be at any hour by yourself; nor lay out agreeably your lei-
 sure-moments: like an exile and fugitive you shun yourself;
 thinking sometimes by wine, and sometimes by sleep, to drive
 away care: but all in vain: the wayward guest presses hard,
 105 and closely pursues your flight.

HOR.

A N N O T A T I O N S.

atque rotundus. This metaphor is taken from a globe, and extremely just. Our defects are so many inequalities and roughnesses, which wisdom polishes and rubs off.

²⁰ *When you stop to gaze.* *Vel cum Pausiaca tarpes.* It is not by men only that we are held in slavery: we are the slaves also of whatever we wish for, or admire. A statue, a piece of plate, a medal, a picture, is sufficient to captivate us. Cicero had said before *Horace*, *Ecbionis tabula te stupidum detinet,*

aut signum aliquod Polycleti. Omitto unde sustuleris, & quomodo habeas. Intuentem te, admirantem, clamores tollentem cum vides, seruum te esse ineptiarum omnium judico. Nonne igitur sunt ista festiva? Sunt, nam nos quoque oculos eruditos habemus. Sed obsecro te, ita venusta habentur ista, non ut vincula virorum sint, sed ut oblectamenta puerorum.
 “A picture of Ecbion, or any statue of Polycletus, attracts your admiration so as to
 “make you motionless. I speak nothing of
 “where

Ex his, ut proprium, quid noscere? Quinque ta-
lenta

Poscit te mulier, vexat, foribusque repulsum 90

Perfundit gelidâ, rursus vocat. Eripe turpi

Colla jugo; Liber, liber sum, dic age. Non quis:

Urget enim dominus mentem non lenis, & acres

Subjectat lasso stimulos, versatque negantem.

Vel cùm Pausiacâ torpes, insane, tabellâ; 95

Quippeccas minùs atque ego, cùm Fulvî, Rutubæque,

Aut Placideiani contento poplite miror

Prælia, rubricâ picta aut carbone, velut si

Reverâ pugnent, feriant, vitentque moventes

Arma viri? Nequam & cessator Davus; at ipse 100

Subtilis veterum judex & callidus audis.

Nil ego, si ducor libo fumante: tibi ingens

Virtus atque animus cœnis responsat opimis.

Obsequium ventris mihi perniciosius est: cur?

Tergo plector enim: quî tu impunitior illa, 105

Quæ parvo sumi nequeunt, obsonia captas?

Nempe inamarefcunt epulæ sine fine petitæ;

Illusque pedes vitiosum ferre recusant

Corpus. An hic peccat, sub noctem qui puer uvâ

Furtivam mutat strigilem? qui prædia vendit, 110

Nil servile, gulæ parens, habet? Adde, quòd idem

Non horam tecum esse potes; non otia rectè

Ponere: teque ipsum vitas fugitivus & erro;

Jam vino quærens, jam somno fallere curam:

Frustrâ: nam comes atra premit, sequiturque fu-

gacem.

115

nequeunt sumi parvo? Nempe epulæ petitæ sine fine inamarefcunt; pedesque illi recusant ferre corpus vitiosum. An hic puer peccat, qui mutat furtivam strigilem uvâ sub noctem? qui verò parens gulæ vendit prædia, habet nil servile? Adde, quòd idem non potes esse tecum per horam; non potes ponere otia rectè: vitasque te ipsum fugitivus & erro; quærens jam fallere curam vino, jam somno; sed frustrâ: nam atra comes premit, sequiturque te fugacem.

noscere quid ex his, ut proprium tibi? Mulier poscit te quinque talenta, vexat, perfunditque repulsum foribus gelidâ aquâ, rursus vocat. Eripe colla turpi jugo; age dic, Sum liber, liber. Non quis: dominus enim non lenis urget mentem, & subjectat acres stimulos tibi lasso, versatque negantem. Vel cùm, insane, torpes Pausiaca tabellâ; quippeccas minùs atque ego, cùm miror prælia Fulvî, Rutubæque, contento poplite, aut Placideiani, picta rubricâ aut carbone, velut si reverâ viri pugnent, feriant, vitentque moventes arma? Davus est nequam & cessator; at ipse audis subtilis & callidus judex veterum operum. Ego, si ducor libo fumante, sum nil: virtus atque animus ingens responsat tibi cœnis opimis. Obsequium ventris est perniciosius mihi: cur? plector enim tergo: quî impunitior captas tu illa obsonia, quæ

ANNOTATIONS.

"where you had it, or in what manner you came by it. When I see you with all your attention up, looks full of admiration, and unable to forbear exclaiming, I judge you the slave of every trifle that comes in your way. But are they not, say you, agreeable and charming? Doubtless, for we are not insensible to art. But withal remember, that we think them agreeable, as what may

"serve to amuse children, but not hold men in bondage." Pausias, here mentioned, was a famous painter of Sicione, the disciple of Pamphilus, and cotemporary with Apelles. One of his best pieces, was that wherein he represented his mistress sitting and dressing a crown of flowers.
21 Fulvius, &c. These were three famous gladiators, whose figures, because well known, were often painted upon sign-posts.

HOR. Where shall I find a stone?

DAV. What mean you to do with it?

HOR. Where is my bow?

DAV. The man is always either mad, or making verses.

HOR. Out of my sight this moment, or you shall be sent the ninth ²² to labour at my farm in the country.

ANNOTATIONS.

²² You shall be sent the ninth to labour, &c. eight thus employed already, and threatens that *Davus* should make the ninth. Those who
Accedes opera agro nona Sabino. Opera nona
 is here the same as *nonus servus*. Horace had

THE KEY.

IT was the custom amongst the *Romans*, during the *Saturnalia*, to allow very great liberties to their slaves; insomuch, that they might speak their mind freely to their masters, and declare their thoughts of them without fear of punishment. *Horace* is always wonderfully happy in his manner of handling subjects, and improving every circumstance to add beauty and ornament to them. The Satire now before us is a remarkable instance of this, whose plan is founded upon the above-mentioned custom. The main design of it is, to shew that the wise man alone is exempt from slavery; and that true liberty consists in having the command of our passions, and a blameless behaviour. *Cicero*, before *Horace*, had treated of the same subject in his fifth Paradox; and *Perfius* had also taken it in hand

SATIRE VIII.

He ridicules the affected luxury of a supper given by *Nasidienus*.

HORACE. FUNDANIUS.

HOR. **P**RAY how did you like your supper with happy *Nasidienus*¹? for sending yesterday to beg your company at my table, I was told you had been there a-drinking from noon².

FUND. Verily, my friend³, I was never better pleased with any thing in my life.

HOR.

ANNOTATIONS.

¹ *Nasidienus*. *Nasidienus Rufus*, of whom we know nothing more than what can be learned from this Satire. The epithet *happy*, given him here, is in a way of irony. *Nasidienus*, who is so rich, a man of such importance, and famed for his good taste.

² From noon. *Nasidienus*, to give his entertainment the air of a debauch, had desired his guests to be with him at noon; which was three or four hours before the ordinary time of sitting down to table.

³ Verily

SAT. VIII. QUINTI HORATII FLACCI. 193

Unde mihi lapidem? Quorsum est opus? Unde
 sagittas?
 Aut insanit homo, aut versus facit. Ociùs hinc te
 Ni rapis, accedes opera agro nona Sabino.

HOR. Unde inveniam
 mihi lapidem? DAV.
 Quorsum est opus?
 HOR. Unde habebō
 sagittas? DAV. Homo
 aut insanit, aut facit

versus. HOR. Ni rapis te hinc ociùs, accedes nona opera agro Sabino.

ANNOTATIONS.

who labored in the fields were for the fore great enough to break off this free
 most part chained: the menace was there- conversation.

The KEY.

hand in his fifth Satire, which *Casaubon* prefers to this of *Horace*: but any one of the least justness of taste will soon discover the mistake. He must certainly have shut his eyes to the beauties of this piece, when he passed so preposterous a judgment. But the censure of *Julius Scaliger* is something yet more surprising: *The Davus of Horace* (says he) *is far from pleasing all the world, when he aims at the philosophic character; for although he only repeats what he heard from Crispinus's porter, yet I remember to have heard many things debated of by philosophers, which I would be far from pretending myself capable to repeat.* After all, we meet with nothing, in what *Davus* says, above his capacity. His reasonings are so natural and home, that the poet takes refuge in menaces, and imposes silence.

It was written in the year of the city 723.

SATIRA VIII.

Cœnæ Nasidieni luxum minimè lautum irridet.

HORATIUS. FUNDANIUS.

ORDO.

UT Nasidieni juvit te cœna beati?
 Nam mihi quærenti convivam * dictus herè, illic
 De medio potare die. Sic, ut mihi nunquam
 In vitâ fuerit meliùs. Da (si grave non est)

HOR. UT (quomodo) cœna Nasidieni beati juvit te?
 nam dictus es herè mihi
 quærenti te convivam,
 potare illic de medio die.

FUND. Sic, ut nunquam fuerit meliùs mihi in vitâ. HOR. Da (si non est grave)

* convivam quærenti, Bentl.

ANNOTATIONS.

3 Verily my friend, &c. *Horace* could not have put this recital in the mouth of a properer person, or one who was like to acquit himself better than *Fundanius*; who was the best comic poet of his time, had a fine talent of raillery, and was remarkable for his dexterity in finding out the ridicule of every thing that occurred to him. Commentators differ greatly as to the design of this Satire; some pretending that it gives the picture of a miser, others of a man profuse, but with a bad taste. But we shall

HOR. If it is not disagreeable, be so good as tell me what dish
5 was first served up to appease your raging stomachs.

FUND. Why it was a Lucanian boar taken, as the master of
the feast told us, when little or no South-wind was stirring⁴; it
was garnished with small turnips⁵, lettuce, and roots, all ad-
mirable to give a keen appetite: we had also skirret-root,
10 pickle of anchovies, and lees of Coan wine. When this first
course was removed, a spruce footman came and wiped the
maple table⁶ with a purple napkin; while another gathered up
the useless fragments, and whatever might give offence to the
guests at supper: mean time, Hydaspes his black, loaded with
Cecuban wine, enters with a solemn pace, after the manner of
15 an Athenian virgin bearing the sacred ensigns of Ceres; and
Alcon followed with wine of Chios unmixed with sea-water⁷.
Here our host addressing himself to Mæcenas: If you choose
Alban or Falernian wine rather than these now brought, both are
in the house.

HOR. Wretched plenty⁸! But I want of all things to know,
good Fundanius, what company were with you at this feast,
where you spent the evening so agreeably.

20 FUND. I was at the top of the uppermost⁹ bed, next to me was
Viscus Thurinus, and below him, if I remember right, Varius.
Mæcenas was on the next bed, between Vibidius¹⁰ and Servilius
Balatro, whom he had brought along with him. On the lowest
bed was Nasidienus himself, between Nomentanus and Porcius;
the office of this latter was to divert the company by swallowing
25 whole cakes at a morsel. Nomentanus, if there was any thing
rare and exquisite which escaped our notice, pointed it out with
his finger. For, by his account, we, the rest of the company, eat
of

ANNOTATIONS.

refer the treating of this more fully to
the key.

4 Little or no south-wind was stirring. A
Lucanian boar was, no doubt, an agreeable
dish, and what the guests might fall to with
a good appetite: but this, unhappily, was
musty. Nasidienus, to hide this fault, pre-
tends it was taken when there was little or
no south-wind blowing; and that this was
the reason of its being so tender. The
south-wind was reckoned bad for all kinds
of meat, as is evident from Satire second of
this Book.

At vos, presentes Auspici, coquite horum opsonia.

5 It was garnished with small turnips.
When a Lucanian boar was served up, the
edges of the plate were commonly garnished
with apples done up in pyramids. Seneca,
in his Book upon Providence; *Quid ergo felici-
or esset, &c. si ingenti pomorum strue cin-*

*geret primæ formæ feras, captas multâ eade
venantæum?* "What then could it add to
his happiness, Fabricius, that he caused
a great boar, which had cost the lives of
many hunters, to be served up to him in
a plate garnished with pyramids of ap-
ples?" But Nasidienus was not satisfied
to garnish it simply with apples; he added,
moreover, things of a strong and high taste,
to correct and overpower the bad smell it
sent forth.

6 Wiped the maple table, &c. The ridi-
cule lies in this, that a purple napkin was
made use to wipe a table of maple, which
was a very common wood. It might also
have been expected, that, as the table was
so indifferent, common sense should have
directed Nasidienus to put a cloth upon it.

7 Unmixed with sea-water. Chium maris
expers. There are several ways of explain-
ing

Quæ prima iratum ventrem placaverit esca.

In primis Lucanus aper leni fuit Austro
Captus, ut aiebat cœnæ pater; acriâ circum
Rapula, lactucæ, radices, qualia lassum
Pervellunt stomachum: sifer, alec, fæcula Coa.
His ubi sublatis, puer altè cinctus acernam
Gaufape purpureo mensam perterfit; & alter
Sublegit quodcunque jaceret inutile, quodque
Posset cœnantes offendere: ut Attica virgo
Cum sacris Cereris, procedit fuscus Hydaspes,
Cæcuba vina ferens; Alcon, Chium maris
pers.

Hic herus: Albanum, Mæcenæ, five Falernum
Te magis appositis delectat, habemus utrumque.

Divitias miseras! sed quæis cœnantibus unâ,
Fundani, pulchrè fuerit tibi, nôsse laboro.

Summus ego, & prope me Viscus Thurinus, &
infra,

Si memini, Varius: cum Servilio Balatrone
Vibidius, quos Mæcenæ adduxerat umbras.
Nomentanus erat super ipsum, Porcius infra,
Ridiculus totas simul absorbere placentas.
Nomentanus ad hoc, qui, si quid fortè lateret,
Indice monstraret digito. Nam cætera turba,

quæis unâ cœnantibus, fuerit pulchrè tibi. FUND. Ego fui summus, & prope me erat Viscus
Thurinus, & si memini, Varius fuit infra: Vibidius cum Servilio Balatrone, quos Mæcenæ
adduxerat umbras, erant cum illo. Super ipsum Nasidienum erat Nomentanus, infra Porcius,
ridiculus absorbere simul totas placentas. Nomentanus ad hoc, qui monstraret indice digito, si quid
fortè lateret. Nam cætera turba,

5 quæ esca prima placaverit ventrem iratum.
FUND. In primis aper
Lucanus captus fuit,
ut pater cœnæ aiebat,
Austro leni; rapula a-
cria, lactucæ, radices,
10 qualia pervellunt las-
sum stomachum, erant
circum: etiam sifer,
alec, fæcula Coa. Ubi
his sublatis, puer altè
cinctus perterfit men-
sam acernam gaufape
purpureo; & alter
15 sublegit quodcunque
jaceret inutile, quod-
que posset offendere
cœnantes: fuscus Hy-
daspes, ut Attica virgo
cum sacris Cereris, pro-
cedit, ferens vina Cæ-
cuba; Alcon ferens
20 Chium expers maris.
Hic herus dixit: Si,
Mæcenæ, vinum Al-
banum five Falernum
delectat te magis ap-
positis, habemus utrum-
que. HOR. Proh mi-
25 seras divitias! sed
laboro nôsse, Fundani,

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ing this passage: *Maris expers* may here be made to signify wine that had never been upon the sea; as if *Nasidienus* had here presented them with *Cbian* wine of his own growth. But it seems a little strained to make *maris expers* stand for wine that had never passed the sea. I am rather inclined to think he means wine of *Cbios*, that had a mixture of sea-water in it: for all *Greek* wines were commonly mixed with sea-water, to correct their too great harshness.

8 *Wretched plenty!* It is doubtful whether these words are to be ascribed to *Horace* or *Nasidienus*. If to the latter, we must suppose that he, in a laughing way, begs the company to excuse their bad entertainment; and that he could offer them nothing better: for *Alban* and *Falernian* wine were the most esteemed of any in *Italy*. If we apply them to *Horace*, they are to be supposed as

spoken with indignation, that riches should be so ill bestowed.

9 *Uppermost.* It is worth while to remark the manner in which the guests were placed; for upon this depends the right understanding of the passage now before us. This table of *Nasidienus* had three beds round it: that in the middle was accounted the most honorable, the uppermost was next in rank, and the lowest was held of least repute. On the uppermost bed was *Fundanius*, *Viscus Thurinus* and *Varius*. *Mæcenæ* was on the middle bed, between *Servilius Balatro* and *Vibidius*. On the lowest was *Nasidienus*, between *Nomentanus* and *Porcius*, his constant parasites.

10 *Vibidius.* *Viscus*, *Varius*, and *Balatro*, have all been mentioned before. *Vibidius* we can say nothing of. *Porcius* is known by

- of fish, oysters, and fowl, that had a taste very far different from what was common: this he soon convinced me of, by helping me to part of a roasted flounder and turbot. Never had I tasted any thing like it before. He then acquainted me, that
- 30 apples of paradise took on a fine red colour, if gathered in the moon's decrease. How this difference happens, he himself can best inform you. Then said Vibidius turning himself to Balatro; We shall die unrevenge'd, unless we drink this eternal talker dumb; and calls for larger glasses. A paleness immediately spread itself
- 35 over the countenance of our host, who dreaded nothing so much as hard drinkers: either because they indulge themselves in too great a freedom of raillery; or because excessive drinking spoils their relish for good cheer. Vibidius and Balatro soon emptied
- 40 the bottles¹¹ with their large cups, the rest of the company following their example; all but those of the lowest bed, who did very little hurt to the wine. Mean time a lamprey was served up in a large dish amidst a vast number of shrimps that were swimming in the sauce. Upon which said the lord of the repast: This lamprey was taken when big with young, and would be abundantly less pleasant to the taste if taken after spawning.
- 45 The sauce you see about it is made of the purest Venafrian oil, the pickle of the Spanish mackerel¹², and some Italian wine full five years old, poured into it when a-boiling; after it is boiled, nothing suits it better than a little Chian wine; to this you add some white pepper, and vinegar of the best Lesbian¹³ grape.
- 50 I was the first that found out the secret of boiling green roquets, and elecampane; but Curtillus¹⁴ first contrived to boil craw-fish without washing them in fresh water, as much better than the common oyster-pickle. As he thus harangued us, the canopy¹⁵

by

A N N O T A T I O N S.

an epigram of Catullus, who speaks of him as one of the greatest rakes in Rome.

¹¹ Bottles. *Invertunt Aliphanis vinaria tota.* *Aliphana* were properly great earthen mugs or bottles, and had their name from a city of the *Samnites*, where they were made. *Vinaria* we are to understand here, as signifying the same with *ænophora*. From these the wine was emptied into the *aliphana*, and thence poured into the *cyathi*, which they used to drink out of.

¹² Spanish mackerel. *Garum de succis piscis Iberi.* *Garum* was the juice or pickle of certain fishes called *gari*, which were suffered to dissolve in salt. Instead of these they sometimes made use of the mackerel, which were found in great quantities on the coast of Spain; hence our poet's *piscis Iberi*.

¹³ Lesbian. *Quod Methymnæam vitio mutaverit uvam.* The manner of expression here

used is indeed somewhat singular. *Acetum quod mutavit vitio uvam Methymnæam*, instead of *Acetum quod uva Methymnæa mutavit vitio*. Vinegar made of the *Methymnæan* grape, so called from a city of that name in *Lesbos*. *Nasidienus* thinks this gives a particular value to his vinegar, as it was of *Lesbos*; but his taste, in this, is somewhat singular, for vinegar of *Chius* and *Antia* was commonly held the best.

¹⁴ Curtillus. He was a noted debauchee of those times, who laid out his chief study in making refinements upon eating and sauces. He taught the way of boiling craw-fish unwashed, because by washing them they lost much of their juice and substance. The verse that goes before this, and gives the invention to *Nasidienus*, has occasioned great disputes among commentators; as to the manner of its being connected

Nos, inquam, cœnamus aves, conchylia, pisces,
 Longè dissimilem noto celantia succum :
 Ut vel continuò patuit, cùm passeris atque *
 Ingustata mihi porrexerit † ilia rhombi.
 Post hoc me docuit, melimela rubere, minorem
 Ad lunam delecta. Quid hoc interfit, ab ipso
 Audieris meliùs. Tum Vibidius Balatroni ;
 Nos, nisi damnosè bibimus, moriemur inulti ;
 Et calices poscit majores. Vertere pallor
 Tum parochi faciem, nil sic metuentis ut acres
 Potores : vel quòd maledicunt liberiùs ; vel
 Fervida quòd subtile exfurdant vina palatum.
 Invertunt Aliphanis vinaria tota
 Vibidius Balatroque, secutis omnibus ; imi
 Convivæ lecti nihilum nocuere lagenis.
 Affertur squillas inter muræna natantes
 In patinâ porrecta. Sub hoc herus, Hæc gravida,
 inquit,
 Capta est, deterior post partum carne futura.
 His mistum jus est oleo, quod prima Venafri
 Pressit cella, garo de succis piscis Iberi,
 Vino quinquenni, verùm citra mare nato,
 Dum coquitur (cocto Chium sic convenit, ut non
 Hoc magis ullum aliud), pipere albo, non sine aceto,
 Quòd Methymnæam vitio mutaverit uvam.
 Erucas virides, inulas ego primus amaras
 Monstravi incoquere ; illutos Curtillos echinos,
 Ut meliùs muriâ quam testa marina remittat.
 Intereâ suspensa graves aulæa ruinas

garo de succis piscis Iberi, vino quinquenni, dum coquitur, verùm nato citra mare (sed vinum Chium sic convenit illi cocto, ut non ullum aliud magis hoc), cum pipere albo, non sine aceto, quod mutaverit vitio uvam Methymnæam. Ego primus monstravi incoquere virides erucas, & inulas amaras ; Curtillus verò primus monstravit incoquere illutos echinos, ut meliùs muriâ quam marina testa remittat. Intereâ aulæa suspensa fecere graves ruinas

* affi, &c, Bentl.

† porrexerat, Id.

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nected with this of Curtillus. The whole passage runs in the original thus :

*Erucas virides, inulas ego primus amaras
 Monstravi incoquere ; illutos Curtillus echinos,
 Ut meliùs muriâ quam testa marina remittat.*

The *eruca* and *inula* were so disagreeable to the taste, and hurtful to the stomach, that the Romans never used them, unless prepared after some particular manner, to remove these noxious qualities. It is for this reason, that *Nassidienus* boasts of this as his invention, which *Dacier* saith has been hitherto misunderstood by all that have written upon *Horace*, and which he thinks ought to be

explained in this manner : *Ego primus monstravi incoquere erucas virides, & inulas amaras muriâ quam remittit testa marina : Curtillus monstravit incoquere eadem muriâ echinos illutos, &c.* " I was the first who taught the way of boiling green roquets and elecampane, in pickle made of shell-fish : as *Curtillus* was the first who taught to boil in the same pickle craw-fish unwashed." Though I have not chosen to agree entirely with this celebrated critic, in interpreting the passage in question ; yet I have given his remark at full length, that the reader may be able to judge for himself.

15 The campy. These few lines in the

nos, inquam, cœnamus aves, pisces, conchylia, celantia succum longè dissimilem noto : ut vel patuit continuò, cùm porrexerit mihi ilia ingustata passeris atque rhombi. Post hoc docuit me, melimela, delecta ad minorem lunam, rubere. Quid hoc interfit, meliùs audieris ab ipso. Tum Vibidius dixit Balatroni ; Nos moriemur inulti, nisi bibimus damnosè ; & poscit majores calices. Tum pallor cœpit vertere faciem parochi, metuentis nil sic ut acres potores : vel quòd maledicunt liberiùs ; vel quòd fervida vina exfurdant subtile palatum. Vibidius Balatroque invertunt tota vinaria Aliphanis, omnibus secutis ; sed convivæ imi lecti nihilum nocuere lagenis. Muræna affertur porrecta in patinâ inter squillas natantes. Sub hoc herus inquit : Hæc est capta gravida, futura deterior carne post partum. Jus mistum est bis oleo, quod prima cella Venafri pressit,

- 55 by ill luck giving way made dreadful havoc in the dish, and raised a greater cloud of dust, than did ever the North-wind in the plains of Campania. We dreading some greater disaster, after we saw there was no farther mischief, took courage. Nasidienus throwing himself back upon the bed, as if he had lost an only son in the flower of his age, began to lament, and demand in a piteous tone, when he might expect to see an end put to his misfortunes? He would have gone on with his complaints, if Nomentanus had not wisely interrupted him. Ah! envious Fortune, what God persecutes us more cruelly than you? whence so great a pleasure to baffle and overturn the best concerted human projects? Varius clapped his napkin to his mouth, and with great difficulty stifled his laughter. Balatro, whose humor was to rally every thing that passed, observed, that it was the unavoidable condition of this unhappy life; it is therefore in vain for you to hope that your fame will ever equal your merits. Is it necessary that you vex and teaze yourself so unmercifully to entertain me? to lose all patience, if the bread is burnt, the sauce ill-seasoned, or your domestics fail to appear neat and proper?
- 70 Add to this innumerable other casualties; if, for example, as fell out just now, the canopy should give way; or an awkward footman by stumbling break a dish. But in this case it is with the master of a feast, as with a general¹⁶; success only serves to hide his abilities, whereas adversity often gives him an opportunity to discover them. To this Nasidienus replied: May the Gods grant you whatever you desire; so good you are, and complaisant to your host; and straightway called for his sandals. Upon this a confused murmur arose, each whispering to his companion what might be the matter. No comedy could be more diverting.
- 80 HOR. Go on, good Fundanius, in relating what you had further to laugh at.

FUND. How, says Vibidius, are the bottles broke too, that I can have no wine though so often called for? We mean time were laughing under various pretences, being admirably well seconded by Balatro; when just at this juncture enters Nasidienus, with a smiling countenance, having had the address to repair his misfortune. He was followed by a train of servants, who carried in a huge plate a crane curiously carved, and well seasoned with flower and salt; the liver of a white goose fatted with figs, and the shoulders of several hares, which, our host assured us, eat much sweeter,

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heroic way, are of admirable effect to heighten the ridicule. *Aulæa*, signifies properly the tapestry wherewith people of rank hung their apartments, and sometimes the streets, when they gave a public entertainment. But here we are to take it

more strictly for a canopy, under which the guests sat at table.

¹⁶ General. *Paulus Æmilius*, the same that triumphed over *Perseus*, king of *Macedonia*, is the first who compared the master of a feast to the general of an army, by saying,

In patinam fecere, trahentia pulveris atri,
 Quantum non Aquilo Campanis excitat agris.
 Nos majus veriti, postquam nihil esse periculi
 Sensimus, erigimur. Rufus posito capite, ut si
 Filius immaturus obisset, flere. Quis esset
 Finis, nî sapiens sic Nomentanus amicum
 Tolleret? Heu, Fortuna, quis est crudelior in nos
 Te Deus? ut semper gaudes illudere rebus
 Humanis! Varius mappâ compescere risum
 Vix poterat. Balatro suspendens omnia naso,
 Hæc est conditio vivendi, aiebat; eoque
 Responsura tuo nunquam est par fama labori.
 Tene, ut ego accipiar lautè, torquerier omni
 Solitudine districtum, ne panis adustus,
 Ne malè conditum jus apponatur, ut omnes
 Præcincti rectè pueri comptique ministrent?
 Adde hos præterea casus; aulaea ruant si,
 Ut modò; si patinam pede lapsus frangat agaso.
 Sed convivatoris, uti ducis, ingenium res
 Adversæ nudare solent, celare secundæ.
 Nasidienus ad hæc: Tibi Dî quæcunque preceris
 Commoda dent; ita vir bonus es, convivaque comis;
 Et soleas poscit. Tum in lecto quoque videres
 Stridere secretâ divisos aure susurros.

Nullos his mallem ludos spectâsse. Sed illa
 Redde, age, quæ deinceps risisti. Vibidius dum
 Quærit de pueris, num sit quoque fracta lagena,
 Quòd sibi poscenti non dentur pocula: dumque
 Ridetur fictis rerum, Balatrone secundo;
 Nasidiene, redis mutatæ frontis, ut arte
 Emendaturus fortunam. Deinde secuti
 Mazonomo pueri magno discerpta ferentes
 Membra gruis sparsi sale multo, non sine farre;
 Pinguibus & ficiis pastum jecur anseris albi,
 Et leporum avulsos, ut multò suavius, armos,

soleas. Tum videres in quoque lecto susurros divisos stridere secretâ aure. HOR. Mallem spectâsse nullos ludos his. Sed age, redde illa quæ risisti deinceps. FUND. Dum Vibidius quærit de pueris, num lagena sit quoque fracta, quòd pocula non dentur sibi poscenti: dumque ridetur fictis rerum, Balatrone secundo; tu, Nasidiene, mutatæ frontis redis, ut emendaturus fortunam arte. Deinde pueri secuti sunt ferentes magno mazonomo discerpta membra gruis sparsi multo sale, non sine farre; & jecur alci anseris pastum pinguibus ficiis, & armos leporum avulsos, ut multò suavius,

55 in patinam, trahentia tantum atri pulveris, quantum non Aquilo excitat agris Campanis. Nos veriti majus, postquam sensimus nihil esse periculi, erigimur.
 60 Rufus Nasidienus posito capite cepit flere, ut si filius immaturus obisset. Quis esset finis, nî sapiens Nomentanus sic tolleret amicum? Heu, Fortuna, quis Deus est crudelior in nos te? ut semper gaudes illudere rebus humanis! Varius vix poterat compescere risum mappâ. Balatro suspendens omnia naso aiebat, Hæc est conditio vivendi; eoque fama par nunquam est responsura tuo labori.
 70 Decet ne te, ut ego accipiar lautè, torquerier districtum, ne panis adustus, ne jus conditum malè apponatur, ut omnes pueri ministrent rectè præcincti comptique? Adde præterea hos casus; si aulaea, ut modò, ruant; si agaso lapsus pede frangat patinam. Sed res adversæ solent nudare, secundæ celare ingenium convivatoris, uti ducis. Nasidienus respondit ad hæc: Dîdant tibi quæcunque commoda preceris; ita es vir bonus, convivaque comis; & poscit

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saying, That it required the same genius to draw up an army, so as to render it formidable to the enemy, as to contrive an entertainment to the taste of our friends. Balatro makes use of the same comparison, but brings it in in such a manner, as to make the whole appear in the highest degree ridiculous.

90 sweeter, when cut off from the loins. We had also a dish of roasted blackbirds, and pigeons without rumps¹⁷; all which it must be owned were excellent¹⁸, had not the master tired us so unmercifully with his long lectures upon their nature and properties: which at length provoked us to that degree, that we left him without tasting a morsel; as if they had been infected by Canidia's breath, more poisonous than that of an African serpent.

AN NOT A T I O N S.

¹⁷ *Pigeons without rumps.* This passage, as well as a great many others, which I have purposely omitted to take notice of, put it beyond dispute, that *Fundanius* describes here a shocking feast, in which there is nothing either good or tolerable. *Nasidienus* presents them with pigeons without rumps, that is, without what is best and most delicate in them. These are paradoxes, worthy a man who valued himself

so much on being a connoisseur in tastes, and what was best in good cheer. As to what some assert, that the whole of this description speaks *Nasidienus* a covetous wretch, who wanted to entertain his friends at as little expence as possible; it seems not to agree so well with this passage, unless we suppose that *Fundanius* means by this to hint to us, that the pigeons were musty and old-tasted, which *Nasidienus* knowing, caused

The KEY.

THIS Satire, as it is managed by the poet, presents us with one of the most diverting scenes in nature. *Nasidienus* a Roman knight of great riches, but extremely narrow-spirited, and of a wretched taste, invites *Mæcenas*, and some of his friends, to supper. The entertainment is such as might be expected from a miser, but who at the same time affected magnificence, and would fain be thought a judge of good eating. There is a profusion, but with the worst taste in the world. All that is served up, is either musty, or ill chosen, or spoiled in the dressing. There are, however, a great many critics, men of genius and penetration, who think avarice makes no part of the character of *Nasidienus*, that he was very elegant and liberal in his entertainments, but spoiled all by his ridiculous comments, and a foolish affectation of making every dish pass for something extraordinary in its way. However specious this opinion may be,

Quàm si cum lumbis quis edit. Tum pectore ad-
usto

Vidimus & merulas poni, & sine clune palumbes;

Suaves res, si non causas narraret earum &

Naturas dominus: quem nos sic fugimus uli,

Ut nihil omninò gustaremus; velut illis*

Canidia afflasset, pejor serpentibus Afris†.

nihil omninò; velut Canidia, pejor Afris serpentibus, afflasset illis.

* veluti si, *Benil.*

† atris, *Id.*

90 quàm si quis edit eos
cum lumbis. Tum &
vidimus poni merulas
adusto pectore, & pa-
lumbes sine clune;
95 suaves res omnes, si
dominus non narraret
causas & naturas ea-
rum: quem nos uli sic
fugimus, ut gustaremus

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caused them to be served up without rumps, because that part would have more sensibly betrayed them than any other.

18 *Excellent.* *Suaves res.* Fundanius does not mean, that the entertainment was really good, as his words seem to imply, but that

they were yet less insupportable than the master, who never ceased teasing them with his long speeches, and comments upon them.

Bad as they were, they would have thought themselves regaled, had *Nasidienus* but held his peace.

The KEY.

be, yet, upon a narrow view of the whole piece, it will be found incompatible with several strokes scattered here and there in it, which put it beyond dispute, that the repast itself was as wretched, as the master was impertinent and ridiculous. The poet's address, in particular, deserves our notice, who puts this recital in the mouth of a man of infinite delicacy, and of a humor the fittest in the world to point out the ridicule of a scene so every way diverting.

As to the date of this piece, it is very uncertain, as we meet with no circumstance in it, from which we can form so much as a probable guess. All we can say upon the matter is, that it was written before the second Epistle of the second Book, that is, before the year of the city 744. For *Varius* was dead, when *Horace* wrote to *Augustus*, whereas he is here mentioned as present at the entertainment given by *Nasidienus*.

THE FIRST BOOK OF E P I S T L E S.

E P I S T L E I.

Against the inconstancy of men, and their mistaken notions of honor and wealth.

MÆCENAS¹, who have been the subject of my earliest, and have a right to be the subject of my latest Muse, after appearing so often in the field, and having obtained at last an honorable discharge², you yet would again engage me to act over the old part. But neither my age nor inclinations are the same. Vejanus³, after hanging up his arms in the temple of Hercules⁴,
5 is now wisely retired into the country, to avoid the misery of so many applications to the people from the area of the theatre⁵. I hear a voice frequently sounding in my ears⁶; Cease, if you are wise, contending with a horse that now begins to grow old, left flagging⁷ in the course he expose you to laughter, and lose all the glory he hath already acquired. I therefore lay aside poetry, and
10 such-like trifling amusements: my cares and researches aim at what is true and comely⁸, and in this am I now wholly taken up: I bring together and digest⁹ my treasures, that they may be
always

A N N O T A T I O N S.

¹ *Mæcenæ.* We may consider this Epistle in the same light as the last Ode of the third Book: *Exegi monumentum, &c.* The one was designed as a conclusion to his lyric, the other to his moral poems. But it would be a great error to argue hence, that these pieces were the last he wrote. It is certain, however, that this is among the last of his compositions, and put at the head of his Epistles as a kind of dedication.

² *And having obtained at last an honorable discharge. Et donatum jam rude.* Such gladiators, as had often appeared with honor in the theatre, were rewarded with the *rudis*, a kind of rod, which implied a discharge from any farther performance. They were called *rudarii*; and if such as having been free had hired themselves out to these shews, they were restored to a full enjoyment of their liberty: but as to slaves, it

only discharged them from farther performance in public; upon which they commonly turned *lanistæ*, and were employed in training up young fencers. The design of the comparison is obvious.

³ *Vejanus.* Horace excuses his retreat, by the example of *Vejanus*, a celebrated gladiator; who, having come off several times with honor, and merited a discharge, retired into the country, and prudently avoided exposing himself any more to danger.

⁴ *In the temple of Hercules.* Upon renouncing any trade or profession, it was the custom to dedicate the instruments of it to the God who was supposed to have presided over it. Hence we have the reason why *Vejanus* hung up his arms in the temple of *Hercules*; for *Hercules* was the God of gladiators. Behind every amphitheatre there

EPISTOLARUM

LIBER PRIMUS.

EPISTOLA I.

Contra hominum inconstantiam, & prævum de opibus & honoribus judicium.

ORDO.

PRIMA dicte mihi, summâ dicende Camenâ,
Spectatum satîs, & donatum jam rude, quæris,
Mæcenas, iterum antiquo me includere ludo.
Non eadem est ætas, non mens. Vejanus, armis
Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus agro,
Ne populum extremâ toties exoret arenâ.
Est mihi purgatam crebrò qui personet aurem;
Solve senescentem maturè sanus equum, ne
Peccet ad extremum ridendus, & ilia ducat.
Nunc itaque & versus, & cætera ludicra pono: IO
Quid verum atque decens curo & rogo, & omnis in
hoc sum:

O Mæcenas, dicte
mibi primâ, &
dicende summâ Camenâ,
quæris includere iterum
antiquo ludo me satîs
spectatum, & jam do-
natum rude. 5 *Ætas non
est eadem, non mens.
Vejanus, armis fixis ad
postem Herculis, latet
abditus in agro, ne
toties exoret populum
extremâ arenâ. Est
vox qui crebrò personet
aurem purgatam mihi;
Solve sanus maturè e-*

*quum senescentem, ne ad extremum peccet ridendus, & ducat ilia. Nunc itaque pono (depono) &
versus, & cætera ludicra: curo tantum & rogo quid verum est atque decens, & sum omnis in hoc:*

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was a chapel sacred to this God, and in all places of public exercise a statue of him with his club. Not gladiators only, but soldiers also, *bonestâ missione demissi*, made this dedication to Hercules.

⁵ *From the area of the theatre. Extremâ toties exoret arenâ.* The arena was properly the middle part or area of the theatre; and was so called, because it used to be strown with sand to hinder the performers from slipping. It was also named *cavea*, as being considerably lower than the other parts. Sometimes the whole theatre went by these names.

⁶ *Sounding in my ears. Auris purgata.* The expression used in the original signifies properly *an ear well cleaned*, that hears every

thing distinctly. It is a way of speaking taken from the Socratical philosophy.

⁷ *Lest flagging. Ilia ducat. Ducere ilia,* to be out of breath, to be short-winded, to blow and flag.

⁸ *Aim at what is true and comely.* These are the two things which ought chiefly to engage the study and application of men. The first depends upon that part of philosophy which consists in speculation and the knowledge of things; the other upon that which teaches the practice of virtue. This last is plainly the offspring of the other; for truth drives away vice, and implants virtue, as Plato admirably well expresses it in the sixth Book of his Republic.

always ready when wanted. But lest perhaps you may ask, under what leader, or in what sect I enlist: know, that blindly addi-
 ed¹⁰ to the tenets of no master, I wander unrestrained, wherever
 15 the tempest hurries me. Sometimes busy and active, I plunge into the waves of public life¹¹, a strict adherer to virtue¹², and watchful guardian of her rights: at other times I insensibly slide into the precepts of Aristippus¹³, and endeavour to make things
 20 suit my wishes, rather than suit myself to the circumstances of things. As night seems long to the lover whose mistress has deceived him, and the day to a labourer whose work is hired; as the year is tedious to pupils, under the hard tutorage of avaricious mothers: in like manner do the times flow heavy and irksome to me, while they retard my design and hopes of pursuing
 25 resolutely what equally concerns rich and poor¹⁴; and what neglected will be equally hurtful to young and old. After so much time lost, there remains only now the consolation to govern myself by these maxims and elements of wisdom. It is true, you are not able to reach with your eyes¹⁵ as far as Lynceus; yet when they are sore you gladly apply some proper remedy: nor,
 30 though you despair to equal in strength of limbs the invincible Glycon, are you less solicitous to guard your joints from the knotty gout. It is always in our power to arrive at a certain point of wisdom, if we are not permitted to go farther. Does the heart boil with avarice, or restless desires? there are
 maxims

ANNOTATIONS.

9 *I bring together and digest my treasures, &c.* It is a vain and frivolous pursuit to hunt after knowledge, when it influences not our actions, which is the main end of it. Horace understood better what he owed himself; and if he was careful to lay in a stock of provisions, it was that they might be serviceable to him in time of need. But we ought not to pass by, without notice, the terms he makes use of, *condo* & *compono*. He is not satisfied with saying, *condo*, I lay up, I bring together; for riches heaped without order or regularity are no better than poverty: but adds, *compono*, I digest them; I range my knowledge under distinct heads, that I may know where to apply for it, when wanted.

¹⁰ *Blindly addicted to the tenets, &c.* *Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri.* Addicti were those, who having been cast in any sum, unless they gave surety to pay it in a little time, were brought by the plaintiff before the prætor, who delivered him into his disposal, to be committed to prison, or otherwise secured, till satisfaction was made. Soldiers were also called ad-

dicti, who, when they enrolled, took an oath to their commander. It is in this last sense that Horace uses the word here, which idea probably came from the *duce* of the preceding verse. *Theodorus Marcellus* fancies that the poet alludes to the custom of philosophers, who exacted an oath of their disciples, when they received them into their schools. But we have no reason to believe that this was the practice either among the *Greeks* or *Romans*, or it is not to be imagined, that *Aristophanes* would have overlooked it in ridiculing *Socrates*. The conduct of Horace in this particular is just, and what every wise man will strive to imitate. He had learned from long experience the strong and weak side of each, and knew well how to make a right use of his knowledge.

¹¹ *The waves of public life.* *Et mersor civilibus undis.* By *civilibus undis*, we are to understand those cares and engagements, which he speaks of in the sixth Satire of his second Book.

*Aliena negotia centum
Per caput, & circa saliant latus.*

Condo & compono, quæ mox depromere possim.
 Ac ne fortè roges, quo me duce, quo lare tuter :
 Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri,
 Quò me cunque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes. 15
 Nunc agilis fio, & merfor civilibus undis,
 Virtutis veræ custos, rigidusque satelles :
 Nunc in Aristippi furtim præcepta relabor,
 Et mihi res, non me rebus, submittere conor.
 Ut nox longa, quibus mentitur amica, diesque 20
 Longa * videtur opus debentibus ; ut piger annus
 Pupillis, quos dura premit custodia matrum :
 Sic mihi tarda fluunt ingrataque tempora, quæ spem
 Consiliumque morantur agendi gnaviter id, quod
 Æquè pauperibus prodest, locupletibus æquè ; 25
 Æquè neglectum pueris senibusque nocebit.
 Restat, ut his ego me ipse regam solerque elementis.
 Non possis oculo † quantum contendere Lynceus ;
 Non tamen idcirco contemnas lippus inungi :
 Nec, quia desperes invicti membra Glyconis, 30
 Nodosâ corpus nolis prohibere chiragrâ.
 Est quodam ‡ prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.
 Fervet avaritiâ, miseroque cupidine pectus ?

condo & compono ea, quæ possim mox depromere. At ne fortè roges, quo duce, quo lare tuter me : addictus jurare in verba nullius magistri, deferor hospes, quocunque tempestas rapit me. Nunc fio agilis, & merfor undis civilibus, custos, satellesque rigidus veræ virtutis : nunc relabor furtim in præcepta Aristippi, & conor submittere res mihi, non me rebus. Ut nox videtur longa iis, quibus amica mentitur, diesque videtur longa servis debentibus opus ; ut annus videtur piger pupillis, quos dura custodia matrum premit : sic tempora fluunt tarda ingrataque mihi, quæ morantur spem consiliumque agendi id gnaviter, quod prælitutum æquè prodest

pauperibus, æquè locupletibus ; neglectum æquè nocebit pueris senibusque. Restat, ut ego ipse regam solerque me his elementis. Non possis contendere oculo quantum Lynceus ; tamen lippus non idcirco contemnas inungi : nec, quia desperes membra invicti Glyconis, nolis prohibere corpus nodosâ chiragrâ. Est (licet) prodire tenus quodam, si non datur ultra. Pectus fervet avaritiâ, miseroque cupidine ?

* Lenta, Benti. † oculos, Id. ‡ quadam, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

12 *A strict adherer to virtue.* The meaning is, that he engaged in public affairs with an unshaken virtue, and as a severe rigid Stoic. For the Stoics allowed their wise man to concern himself in the government of the state, yea, even exhorted him to it. *Quintilian : Hi nos ad administrationem rei publicæ hortantur.* Hence Cicero makes Cato say in his third Book *De Finibus* : *Cum autem ad tuendos conservandosque homines hominem natum esse videamus, consentaneum est huic naturæ, ut sapiens velit gerere & administrare rempublicam.* "As it is evident then, that men are born to defend and preserve one another, it is perfectly agreeable to the dictates of nature, that the wise man meddle in public affairs, and aim at offices of the first rank."

13 *Precepts of Aristippus.* Aristippus was the founder of the Cyrenaic sect, whose philosophy directed men to live for themselves, to make the best use of every thing, and seek pleasure wherever it could be met with. His picture is drawn at large in the

17th Epistle of this Book. By the precepts of *Aristippus*, we are here to understand the doctrine of *Epicurus*, which *Horace* had always a great bias to. This is farther confirmed by a passage of *Lucian*, who says that *Epicurus* had been the disciple of *Aristippus* ; but he made several changes in his philosophy.

14 *What equally concerns rich and poor.* These two lines contain a true and well-judged praise of wisdom : for as it is what equally concerns rich and poor, and what neglected is equally hurtful to young and old ; it naturally follows, that the study of it ought to be our first care, as being essential to our happiness.

15 *You are not able to reach with your eyes.* We have here what *Horace* calls the elements of wisdom. His reasoning is the most simple and natural in the world, and obvious to every capacity. *Lynceus* was the son of *Apheareus*, and the first who discovered metals ; whence he was said to have eyes that

35 maxims¹⁶ and sayings to allay this fire, and carry off a great part of the distemper. Are you inflamed with a love of praise? there are undoubted remedies in philosophy, which, by being carefully read over and attended to will soften your anxieties. The envious, the wrathful, the sluggard, the drunkard, and gentleman of pleasure; no man is so thoroughly wild and brutal,
 40 but he is capable of being tamed, provided he but lend a patient ear to instruction. Virtue begins in the forsaking of vice, and the first part of wisdom is not to be a fool. Only observe with what labour of mind and body you strive to shun those two evils, which of all others appear to you the most dreadful, a small
 45 revenue, and a shameful repulse. As an unwearied merchant you run to the farthest Indies, flying poverty through seas, through rocks, through fire: but refuse to hear, or learn, or give credit to a wiser friend, who strives to draw off your attention from what you so foolishly admire and long for. What wrestler, accustomed to contend only in villages and small towns, would
 50 think light of being crowned at the great Olympic¹⁷ games, if fired by the hopes of obtaining the glorious prize, without danger or opposition?

Silver is less precious than gold¹⁸, and gold than virtue. O citizens, citizens, let wealth claim our first care; virtue comes in the next degree: this cry runs through Janus¹⁹ from
 55 one end to the other; these maxims are sung by young and old, carrying on their left arms²⁰ their counters and tables. You are a man, let us suppose, of courage, good morals, eloquence, and unshaken fidelity; yet if but six or seven thousand²¹ sesterces are wanting to four hundred thousand; you are no more than a plebeian. But children in their little innocent diversions say
 60 much more wisely, Do well, and you shall be a king. Let this be our ultimate resort, and a wall of brass to surround us; a conscience unstained, and a countenance that never changes from a sense of crimes.

Tell

A N N O T A T I O N S.

that could see into the bowels of the earth. *Gylcon* was a philosopher, who, by frequently engaging with wrestlers, had acquired an incredible strength of limbs.

¹⁶ *There are maxims.* This is taken word for word from the *Hippolytus* of *Euripides*. Both the tragedian and our poet allude to the spells and enchantments made use of by the first physicians, who joined magic to medicine. For they thought the disorders of the body came from the soul, as a defluxion upon the eyes from the head. Hence where bodily remedies were required, they applied also remedies to the soul; that is, *verba & voces*. *Horace* means

by them here, such discourses as were proper to settle and calm a troubled mind.

¹⁷ *Being crowned at the Olympic, &c.* He tacitly compares the men, who expose themselves to the greatest dangers for light and inconsiderable rewards, to those gladiators, who contended in the villages and small towns for a sordid maintenance: and the men, who, full of a noble ambition, aspired to gain renown by virtuous actions, to those who combated at the Olympic games for a crown that raised them to honors almost divine. The comparison is both beautiful and just. *Coronari Olympia*, the expression used in the original, is in imitation

Sunt verba & voces, quibus hunc lenire dolorem
Possis, & magnam morbi deponere partem.
Laudis amore tumes? sunt certa piacula, quæ te
Ter purè lecto poterunt recreare libello.
Invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, amator;
Nemo adeò ferus est, ut non mitescere possit,
Si modò culturæ patientem commodet aurem.

Virtus est vitium fugere, & sapientia prima
Stultitiâ caruisse. Vides, quæ maxima credis
Essè mala; exiguum censum, turpemque repulsam,
Quanto devites animi capitisque labore.
Impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos,
Per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes:
Ne cures ea, quæ stultè miraris & optas,
Discere, & audire, & meliori credere non vis?
Quis, circum pagos & circum compita pugnax,
Magna coronari contemnat Olympia, cui spes,
Cui sit conditio dulcis sine pulvere palmæ?

Vilius argentum est auro*, virtutibus aurum.
O cives, cives, quærenda pecunia primùm est;
Virtus post nummos: hæc Janus summus ab imo
Perdocet†; hæc recinunt juvenes dictata senes-

que,

Lævo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto.
Si || quadringentis sex septem millia defunt‡;
Est animus tibi, sunt mores, & ** lingua, fidesque;
Plebs eris. At pueri ludentes, Rex eris, aiunt,
Si rectè facies. Hic murus aheneus esto,
Nil conscire sibi, nullâ pallefcere culpâ.

tum est vilius auro, aurum vilius virtutibus. O cives, cives, pecunia est primùm quærenda; post
nummos virtus: Janus summus ab imo perdocet hæc; juvenes senesque, suspensi loculos tabulam-
que lævo lacerto, recinunt hæc dictata. Si sex aut septem millia defunt quadringentis millibus;
est tibi animus, sunt mores, & lingua, fidesque; tamen eris plebs. At pueri ludentes aiunt, Eris
rex, si facies rectè. Esto hic murus aheneus, conscire nil sibi, pallefcere nullâ culpâ.

* Est auro argentum, Bentl. † prodocet, Id. || sed, Id. ‡ defint, Id. ** est, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

imitation of the Greeks, who said *σεφανῶσθαι*
'Ολύμπιζ, for to be crowned at the Olympic
games: where the word *ἀεθλα*, certamina,
was always understood.

18 Silver is less precious than gold, &c.
That is what wisdom dictates to us. O citi-
zens, citizens, is again the cry of worldly
foolish men.

19 Runs through Janus, &c. Hæc Janus
summus ab imo. There was in Rome a street
inhabited chiefly by bankers, which was
called the street of the Janus's, because at
each end of it was a statue of that God.

I refer the reader for farther satisfaction
to the remark upon these lines of Sat. 3.
B. II.

Postquam omnis res mea Janum
Ad medium fracta est, aliena negotia curo.

20 Carrying on their left arms.

Lævo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto.

This verse is exactly the same with the
74th of Sat. 6. Book I. to which we refer
the reader.

21 If but six or seven thousand, &c. This
passage is easy enough of itself, but a little
obscure as to its connexion with what goes
before.

35 sunt verba & voces,
quibus possis lenire hunc
dolorem, & deponere
magnam partem morbi.
Tumes amore laudis?
sunt certa piacula, quæ
libello lecto ter purè,
poterunt recreare te.
40 Invidus, iracundus,
iners, vinosus, amator;
denique nemo est adeò
ferus, ut non possit mi-
tescere, si modò commo-
det patientem aurem
culturæ. Virtus est
45 fugere vitium, & pri-
ma sapientia caruisse
stultitiâ. Vides ea, quæ
credis esse maxima ma-
la, viz. exiguum cen-
sum, turpemque repul-
sam, quanto labore
50 capitis animique de-
vites. Impiger mer-
cator curris ad extre-
mos Indos, fugiens
pauperiem per mare,
per saxa, per ignes:
non vis discere, & au-
55 dire, & credere meliori,
ne cures ea, quæ stultè
miraris & optas?
Quis, qui pugnât cir-
cum pagos & circum
compita, contemnat co-
ronari ad magna Olym-
60 pia, cui sit spes, cui
conditio dulcis palmæ
sine pulvere? Argen-

Tell me then which is better of the two, the law of Roscius²², or the song of children, which offers a kingdom to them that do well; a song so famous by the practice²³ of the gallant Curii and Camilli? Can he be said to advise you best, who urges
 65 you to pursue wealth, if possible, by just and fair means; if not, in whatever manner you can, that you may see from the nearest benches the moving tragedies of Puppius²⁴: or it is not rather he, who excites and encourages by his example to oppose with
 70 bravery and resolution the boldest attacks of fortune? But if the people of Rome should take the fancy to ask me, why as I walk in the same porticos with them, I do not also make the same judgments of things, and fly or pursue what they love or hate? I return the same answer, as did of old the cunning fox to the
 75 sick lion: I am terrified at the footsteps, which all look towards you, but none the contrary way. You are a many-headed monster: what then, or whom can I imitate? Some desire nothing so much as to farm part of the public revenues: others strive by little presents to curry favour with covetous widows, or rich old men, and if possible secure them in their traps: many increase
 80 their wealth by hidden usury. It is after all nothing so strange, that different men give into different pursuits: but can you shew me the person who continues an hour in the same mind? If some great man happens²⁵ to say; There is not in the world a spot which for beauty and pleasantness can vie with Baiæ: straightway the Lucrine lake and Tuscan sea feel the eager haste of a
 85 new master: who, if taken with some ridiculous fancy of following an augury, will next day order his workmen to carry their tools and materials to Teanum. Is he married? nothing appears so happy and comfortable as a single life. Is he single? he swears it is only well with married men. How is it possible to
 90 hold, but for a moment, this changeable Proteus? But how, will you

ANNOTATIONS.

before. *Horace* is endeavouring to shew the falshood of that maxim, *Virtus post nummos*. To do this he proves that they who enacted the law, requiring such an estate to qualify for public offices, shewed less wisdom than children in their little pastimes, who by a natural unbiassed impulse bestowed the chief command upon those who deserved well. According to the *Roscian* law, one that was worth four hundred thousand sesterces, might be taken into the equestrian order. Eight hundred thousand was the estate of a senator, which *Augustus* afterwards altered to twelve hundred thousand, the equestrian continuing the same.

²² *Roscius*. Tribune of the commons, who enacted the above law.

²³ *By the practice, &c.* *Et maribus Curii, & decantata Camillis*. This may either mean, that the *Curii* and *Camilli* sung this song in their infancy, or that their after-practice gave a sanction to it. The last is more poetical, and has a better effect. The persons referred to, are *M. Curius Dentatus* and *M. Furius Camillus*. The first triumphed over the *Samnites*, *Sabines*, and *Lucanians*; the last saved *Rome* from the *Gauls*.

²⁴ *Puppius*. He was a tragic poet, whose works are now lost. He excelled chiefly in moving the passions.

²⁵ *If some great man happens*. The poet, after enlarging upon the inconsistent and variable humor of the people, gives here some

Roscia, dic sodes, melior lex*, an puerorum
Nænia, quæ regnum rectè facientibus offert,
Et maribus Curiis & decantata Camillis?
Isne tibi melius suadet, qui ut rem facias; rem;
Si possis rectè; si non, quocunque modo rem;
Ut propius spectes lacrymosa poemata Puppî:
An qui fortunæ te respondere superbæ
Liberum & erectum præfens hortatur & optat?

Quod si me populus Romanus fortè roget, cur
Non, ut porticibus, sic judiciis fruar isdem,
Nec sequar aut fugiam, quæ diligit ipse vel odit;
Olim quod vulpes ægroto cauta leoni
Respondit, referam: Quia me vestigia terrent
Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.
Bellua multorum es † capitum: nam quid sequar,
aut quem?

Pars hominum gestit conducere publica: sunt qui
Cruſtis & pomis viduas venentur avaras,
Excipiantque senes, quos in vivaria mittant:
Multis occulto crescit res fœnore. Verùm
Esto, aliis alios rebus studiisque teneri:
Iidem eadem possunt horam durare probantes?
Nullus in orbe sinus Baiis præluet amœnis,
Si dixit dives: lacus & mare sentit amorem
Festinantis heri: cui si vitiosa libido
Fecerit auspicium, cras ferramenta Teanum
Tolletis fabri. Lectus genialis in aulâ est?
Nil ait esse prius, melius nil cœlibe vitâ:
Si non est, jurat benè solis esse maritis.
Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?
Quid pauper? ride ‡: mutat cœnacula lectos,

Dic sodes, an lex Roscia melior, an nænia puerorum, quæ offert regnum facientibus rectè, decantata & maribus Curiis & Camillis? Isne suadet tibi melius, qui suadet ut facias rem; rem, inquam, si possis rectè; si non, ut facias rem quocunque modo; ut spectes poemata lacrymosa Puppî propius: an is, qui præfens hortatur & optat te liberum & erectum respondere superbæ fortunæ? Quod si populus Romanus fortè roget me, cur ut porticibus, sic non fruar isdem judiciis, nec sequar aut fugiam, quæ ipse diligit vel odit: referam idem, quod cauta vulpes olim respondit ægroto leoni: Quia vestigia omnia spectantia adversum te, nulla verò retrorsum, terrent me. Bellua es multorum capitum: nam quid sequar, aut quem? Pars hominum gestit conducere vœtigalia publica: sunt qui venentur avaras viduas cruſtis & pomis, excipiantque senes, quos mittant in vivaria: res crescit multis occulto

fœnore. Verùm esto, alios teneri aliis rebus studiisque: an possunt iidem durare horam probantes eadem? Si dives dixit; Nullus sinus in orbe præluet amœnis Baiis: lacus & mare sentit amorem heri festinantis: cui si libido vitiosa fecerit auspicium, cras fabri tolletis ferramenta Teanum. Lectus genialis est in aulâ? ait nil esse prius, nil melius vitâ cœlibe: si non est, jurat esse benè maritis solis. Quo nodo teneam hunc Protea mutantem vultus? Quid facit pauper? ride: mutat cœnacula, lectos;

* est, Benth.

† est, Id.

‡ ride: ut mutat, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

some instances of it. *Baie*, now *Baiæ*, is still one of the most pleasant spots in *Italy*, not far from *Naples*. Let but a great man commend this, and immediately numbers flock to it; who again, upon the most trifling occasion in the world, will change their mind, and fix upon some other place; as *Teanum*, one of the finest cities in *Campania*.
Vol. II. 26 Lodg-

you say, does the poor man behave? why even laugh: he changes his lodgings²⁶, beds, baths, and barbers; he grows impatient, and tires in his little hired bark as much as the great man, who sails in state in a sumptuous barge.

If I happen to meet you with my hair unequally cut; pre-
 95 sently you fall a laughing: if you see a tattered shirt²⁷ under a smart new tunic, or my gown hanging too much on one side, still you laugh: but if my mind changes every moment; despises now what lately it was so fond of; and hunts after what but just now it rejected; pulls down, and builds up, and is upon the whole a heap of contradictions; changing square for round, and
 100 round for square: you look upon this as the current madness²⁸, and never offer to laugh; nor think that I stand in need either of a physician or guardian: you, I say, who are my patron and protector, and cannot bear to see so much as an ill-cut nail in your friend, whose whole dependence and hopes are in you.
 105 To conclude, the wise man²⁹ has no superior but Jupiter; he is rich, free, honorable, handsome, and in fine king of kings; always wonderfully healthful, unless when by ill luck he is troubled with phlegm³⁰.

ANNOTATIONS.

²⁶ Lodgings. *Cœnacula*, properly the highest chambers of any house, those immediately under the roof; which at *Rome*, as well as with us, were filled by the poorer sort of people.

²⁷ Shirt. *Subucula* was a kind of under-vestment, commonly of linen, which the *Romans* wore below the tunic.

²⁸ Current madness. *Insanire putas solennia*. You think me seized with a madness common to all the world.

²⁹ To conclude, the wise man. He returns to his subject, and instead of troubling *Mæcenas* with a long catalogue of reasons for leaving off his vain amusements, and applying to the study of virtue, he tells him in
 one

THE KEY.

MÆCENAS was incessantly reproaching *Horace*, that he wrote nothing in the lyric way, and seemed to have quite laid aside the composing of Odes. *Horace* in this Epistle excuses himself to his patron, and tells him, that he was now arrived at that stage of life, which required a more serious study and employment. His Odes had already gained him a considerable reputation, and he was unwilling to risk it by new adventures. He looks upon morality and virtue as a study better fitting his years, and thence takes occasion to expatiate upon the great advantages, which this study brings along with it. It calms the passions, quiets the mind, and frees men from innumerable anxieties. Amongst other obstacles, which

Balnea, tonfores; conducto navigio æquè
Nauseat ac locuples, quem ducit priva triremis.

Si curtatus * inæquali tonfore capillos
Occurri †, rides: si fortè subucula pexæ
Trita subest tunicæ, vel si toga diffidet impar,
Rides: quid, mea cùm pugnat sententia secum?
Quod petiit, spernit; repetit quod nuper omisit;
Æstuat, & vitæ disconvenit ordine toto;

Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis?

Insanire putas solennia me, neque rides;

Nec medici credis, nec curatoris egere

A prætore dati: rerum tutela mearum

Cùm sis, & pravè sectum stomacheris ob unguem

De te pendentis, te respicientis ‡ amici.

Ad summum, sapiens uno minor est Jove, dives,

Liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum;

Præcipuè sanus, nisi cùm pituita molesta est.

balnea, tonfores; æquè
nauseat conducto na-
vigio ac locuples, quem
priva triremis ducit.

95 Si occurri curtatus ca-
pillis inæquali tonfore;
rides: si fortè trita su-
bucula subest pexæ tu-
nicæ, vel si toga diffi-

100 det impar, rides: quid
verò, cùm mea senten-
tia pugnat secum?

spernit quod petiit; re-
petit quod nuper omisit;
æstuat, & disconvenit
toto ordine vitæ; di-
ruit, ædificat, mutat

105 quadrata rotundis?
putas me insanire so-
lennia, neque rides;
nec credis me egere
medici, nec curatoris
dati à prætore: cùm

sis, O Mæcenæ, tutela mearum rerum, & stomacheris ob unguem pravè sectum amici pendentis
de te, & respicientis te unicum. Ad summum, sapiens est minor Jove uno, dives, liber, ho-
noratus, pulcher, denique rex regum; sanus præcipuè, nisi cùm pituita est molesta.

* curatus, Bentl.

† occurro, Id.

‡ suspicientis, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

one word, that the wise man knows no
superior but Jupiter.

30 Troubled with phlegm. The Stoics
carried their notions of their wise man to
a ridiculous length, asserting that he was
not only happy amidst the greatest tor-
ments, but that he even enjoyed a perfect

health, when seized with a complication of
disorders. Horace, who though he em-
braced what was good in the Stoical philo-
sophy, yet could not give into their ridi-
culous paradoxes; concludes with a piece
of raillery upon a notion so contrary to
nature.

The KEY.

which oppose themselves to our happiness, he makes particular men-
tion of two, avarice and ambition. He then proves that virtue de-
serves our first care, as being what nature herself points out to be best.
It is almost incredible how much morality, how many fine maxims
are included in the short compass of this Epistle, and all of them
placed in that happy point of view, as to force our assent at first
hearing. Never was the cause of virtue in hands that knew better
how to make her appear amiable, or set her off with all those at-
tractive charms, that never fail to gain the hearts of the beholders.

The time when this Epistle was written has not been determined
by commentators: all however agree in this, that it was one of his
latest works.

EPISTLE II.

By a short explication of the subject of each work, he shews Homer to have been an excellent philosopher: then follow some precepts for the conduct of life.

WHILE you, great Lollius¹, distinguish yourself by your eloquence² at Rome, I have again read over at Præneste³ the writer of the Trojan war⁴; who teaches what is praise-worthy, what is base, what profitable, and what pernicious, better and with greater plainness than either Crantor or Chrysippus⁵. If you are not too much taken up in matters of greater weight, attend
 5 a moment to the reasons of my belief. The poem, in which we are told that the love of Paris for Helen engaged Greece in an obstinate and tedious war against the Barbarians⁶, gives a faithful picture of the foolish heats both of the kings and people. Antenor⁷ advises to restore Helen, and put an end to the war.
 10 What answers Paris? He will never yield to purchase, at that price, the security of his realm, and happiness of his subjects. Nestor⁸ bends all his thoughts to settle the differences between Agamemnon and Achilles: the first is blinded by love, but an ungovernable wrath equally inflames both. The unhappy people
 15 always suffer for the faults of their leaders. In fine, both within and without the Trojan walls, nothing is to be seen but sedition, fraud, villany, rage, and disorder.

The Odyssey⁹ on the other hand proposes to our imitation, in the character of Ulysses, an excellent model of virtue and wisdom:

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¹ *Lollius*. One who made a considerable figure at that time: he was consul, had the command of the army, and afterwards was appointed governor to *Caius Caesar*, the grandson of *Augustus*. But, with all those great qualities, which gained him the confidence of his prince, and esteem of his countrymen, he was one of the most corrupt and vicious characters to be met with in any age. But he knew well how to disguise his faults; nor, till long after the death of our poet, did he appear in his proper colors.

² *Distinguish yourself by your eloquence*. It was a practice of citizens of the first quality to frequent the bar, and plead the causes of particular persons. This was a popular employment, and one of the principal steps by which they advanced them-

selves to the highest offices. In a free state, such as was that of *Rome*, where the supreme direction of affairs belongs to the people, eloquence is the surest road to preferment. For this reason the *Roman* youth made it their great study, and were at incredible pains to qualify themselves so as to make a figure in the public assemblies.

³ *Præneste*. A city of *Latium*, upon a rising ground, about eighteen miles from *Rome*.

⁴ *The writer of the Trojan war*. The war of *Troy* is not properly the subject of the *Iliad*, but only the anger of *Achilles*. But as *Homer* has found means to interweave, in his poem, the chief actions performed during the siege, he may, in some sense, be called *scriptor belli Trojani*.

⁵ *Crantor, Chrysippus*. The first we have

EPISTOLA. II.

Homerum optimè philosophatum docet, expositione argumentorum utriusque operis : cui ad vitam degendam utilissima præcepta subjicit.

TROJANI belli scriptorem, maxime Lolli,
Dum tu declamas Romæ, Præneste relegi ;
Qui, quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid
non,

Pleniùs * ac meliùs Chryippo & Crantore dicit.
Cur ita crediderim, nisi quid te detinet, audi.

Fabula, quâ Paridis propter narratur amorem
Græcia Barbariæ lento collisa duello,
Stultorum regum & populorum continet æstus.
Antenor censet belli præcidere causam.

Quid † Paris ? Ut salvus regnet, vivatque beatus, 10
Cogi posse negat. Nestor componere lites
Inter Peleiden festinat & inter Atreiden :

Hunc amor, ira quidem communiter urit utrumque.
Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.
Seditione, dolis, scelere, atque libidine, & irâ, 15
Iliacos intra muros peccatur, & extra.

Rursus || quid virtus, & quid sapientia possit,
Utile proposuit nobis exemplar Ulysssem :

bunc, ira quidem communiter urit utrumque. Quicquid reges delirant, Achivi plectuntur. Et intra muros Iliacos, & extra, peccatur seditione, dolis, scelere, atque libidine, & irâ. Rursus proposuit nobis Ulysssem utile exemplar, quid virtus, & quid sapientia possit :

* Planius, Bentl.

† quod, Id.

|| rursus, Id.

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have already given the history of upon the Satires ; he was the successor of Zeno. Crantor, a celebrated Academic, and disciple of Xenocrates. Cicero commends very much a short treatise he had written *De Luctu*. Sed ego (says he in his piece *De Consolatione*) Crantorem sequor, cujus legi brevem illum quidem, sed verè aureum, & ut Panætius placuit, ad verbum ediscendum, de luctu librum, quo acutè universam doloris medicinam complexus est. "As to myself, I incline to follow the opinion of Crantor, of whom I have read a treatise, small indeed, but of inestimable value, and, as Panætius judged, worthy to be entirely got by heart, written upon the subject of grief, in which he has collected together the best remedies against that passion."

6 *Barbarians*. The word here signifies no more than strangers, and is meant of the *Phrygians* : for the *Greeks* gave this name to all other nations but their own. Horace gives here a short view of the design and moral of the *Iliad*.

7 *Antenor*. A Trojan chief, who advised the restoring of Helen, and putting an end to the war. His speech may be seen at large in the 7th Book of the *Iliad*.

8 *Nestor*. As he had mentioned on the side of the *Trojans*, a man of moderate and wise counsels ; so, in like manner, he takes notice of one upon the side of the *Greeks*, who was at no less pains to heal the divisions among the leaders.

9 *The Odyssey*. After speaking to the *Iliad*, he gives us the plan of the *Odyssey*, which teaches that virtue and wisdom ought to be

dom: this great hero, who had the chief honor of subduing Troy, travelled through many cities, narrowly observed their
 20 manners, and sustained incredible hardships, while he was obliged to traverse vast seas, in returning to Ithaca with the companions of his victory, yet could never be overwhelmed in the waves of adversity. You have heard of the songs of the Sirens¹⁰, and philtres of Circe: had he with his foolish companions greedily
 25 swallowed the draught, he must have become the slave of an infamous prostitute; or led the life of a dog or sow, that delights in nothing but dirt and nastiness.

The bulk of men¹¹ may there discover themselves to be mere numbers, and born to eat and drink; suitors of Penelope, rakes, or like the youth of the court of Alcinoüs¹², who made pleasure and good cheer their chief study; who gloried in sleeping till
 30 noon, and quieting their cares¹³ by the sound of their harp.

Thieves will rise at midnight to cut men's throats: and will not you awake, when your own safety requires it? If you refuse to run when in full health, necessity will oblige you
 35 when dropfical: and unless before day-break you call for a book and a light; if you do not apply your mind to study and the pursuit of honest purposes; love or envy will torture and keep you awake. Why are you so uneasy to get rid of what hurts your eyes; and yet can delay for years to cure the disorders of the mind? The work is half finished¹⁴, if once well
 40 begun. Dare to be wise; begin: he that defers the hour of entering upon a good life, is like the rustic¹⁵ in the fable, who being stopt by a river waited till it should have done flowing; but it flows, and will continue to flow through all ages.

We employ our cares in heaping up wealth, and seeking after a wife who may bless us with a numerous offspring; and our
 45 uncultivated woods are made arable by the plough. But ought not he who is blest¹⁶ with a sufficient provision, to give over all pursuit of more? Neither houses, nor lands, nor heaps of gold and silver, can fence the body against the attacks of a fever, or free the mind from anxiety and cares. Without
 50 health we can have no relish for the provisions and enjoyments of

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our principal care, and that by their help we may be enabled to master the greatest difficulties.

¹⁰ Songs of the Sirens, and philtres of Circe. What Horace refers to here, is related at large in the twelfth Book of the *Odyssy*.

¹¹ The bulk of men, &c. *Nos numerus sumus*. *Numerus* here is a word of contempt, and spoken of men as mere cyphers, who served no other end but to fill up places,

¹² Youth of the court of Alcinoüs. *Juventus Alcinoi*. The youth belonging to the court of Alcinoüs, king of the *Pheacians*. They were remarkable for effeminacy and softness. See the eighth Book of the *Odyssy*.

¹³ Quieting their cares. Some read *ad spiritum cibare cessantem ducere somnum*. *Ducere cessantem somnum*, must here signify *somnum tardantem allucere*. But *Dacier*, with a good deal of reason, conjectures, that we ought to read *cessatum ducere curam*. *Cessatum ducere*,

Qui domitor Trojæ, multorum providus urbes
 Et mores hominum inspexit; latumque per æquor,
 Dum sibi, dum sociis reditum parat, aspera multa
 Pertulit, adversis rerum immerfabilis undis.

Sirenium voces, & Circes pocula nôsti:
 Quæ si cum sociis stultus cupidusque bibisset,
 Sub dominâ meretrice fuisset turpis & excors;
 Vixisset canis immundus, vel amica luto sus.

Nos numerus sumus, & fruges consumere nati;
 Sponsi Penelopes, nebulones, Alcinoique
 In cute curandâ plûs æquo operata juvenitus;
 Cui pulchrum fuit in medios dormire dies, &
 Ad strepitum citharæ cessatum* ducere curam†.

Ut jugulent homines, surgunt de nocte latrones:
 Ut teipsum serves, non expergisceris? Atqui
 Si noles sanus, curres hydropicus: & ni
 Posces ante diem librum cum lumine; si non
 Intendes animum studiis & rebus honestis;

Invidiâ vel amore vigil torquebere. Nam cur,
 Quæ lædunt oculos‡, festinas demere; si quid
 Est animum, differs curandi tempus in annum?
 Dimidium facti, qui cœpit, habet. Sapere aude; 40
 Incipe: vivendi rectè qui prorogat horam,
 Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis; at ille
 Labitur, & labetur in omne volubilis ævum.

Quæritur argentum, puerisque beata creandis
 Uxor; & incultæ pacantur vomere silvæ.
 Quod satis est cui contingit, nihil ampliùs optet.
 Non domus, & fundus, non æris acervus & auri,
 Ægroto domini deduxit corpore febres,
 Non animo curas. Valeat possessor oportet,
 Si comportatis rebus benè cogitat uti.

num, differs tempus curandi in annum? Qui cœpit, habet dimidium facti. Aude sapere; incipe: qui prorogat horam vivendi rectè, is ut rusticus expectat dum amnis defluat; at ille labitur, & labetur volubilis in omne ævum. Argentum quæritur, uxorque beata creandis pueris; & silvæ incultæ pacantur vomere. Cui quod est satis contingit, optet nihil ampliùs. Non domus, & fundus, non acervus æris & auri, deduxit febres ægroto corpore domini, non deduxit curas animo. Oportet ut possessor valeat, si cogitat uti benè rebus comportatis.

* cessantem, Bentl.

† somnum, Id.

‡ oculum, Id.

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to lull asleep, to soften and quiet. I have followed this reading in the translation, as the most natural and easy.

14 The work is half finished, &c. Men are naturally so slothful, and meet with so many obstacles from their passions in entering upon a course of virtue, that, when once they have resolved in good earnest to set about encountering these, and begun

the arduous task, the main difficulty is over.

15 Like the rustic. This comparison is wonderfully just, and the image it presents simple and natural. This was probably some fable well known at that time.

16 But ought not he who is blest, &c. Quod satis est cui. This is one of the plainest and most obvious maxims of morality, and yet, of all others, the least followed. Men, after

- of life. Where the mind is enslaved to desires or fears, there a house or fine estate gives the same pleasure, as beautiful pictures to painful eyes, fomentations to one tortured with the gout, or music to ears suffering under the torments of an abscess. If the vessel is not sweet, whatever enters it must become
- 55 four. Despise pleasures: we pay too dear for them when they are purchased with pain. The covetous man is always in want: learn therefore to set bounds to your desires. The envious man pines at the prosperity of another. The Sicilian tyrants¹⁷ never devised a crueller torment than envy. The man that cannot moderate his anger, will repent giving way to the dictates of wrath
- 60 and resentment, when they urged him to a speedy and barbarous revenge of his enemy. Anger is a short madness: know how to master your rage, which, if not kept under, will make you its slave: hold it with a steady rein, and chain it down to the voice of reason. A skilful groom trains up the tender pliable
- 65 horse to follow the motions of his rider. A young hound, from the time he has been exercised to bark at deer-skins in a court-yard, eagerly rushes to the forest. Now, while you are young, and your mind pure and untainted, lend an ear to these maxims; now give yourself up to be guided by the best masters. A new vessel retains long¹⁸ the favour of that, wherewith it was
- 70 first seasoned. But if you either lag behind¹⁹, or outrun me; I will neither wait for you, nor strive to overtake you.

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gaining what is sufficient for their wants, are so far from sitting down contented with it, that it only redoubles their pursuits after more. The poet, however, shews it to be the highest degree of folly, inasmuch as the greatest possessions avail nothing to happiness, without a mind duly regulated, and free from all immoderate passions. We should therefore first learn to govern our own desires, and have such command of them, that they may not be able to disturb us in the enjoyment of what we may come at with ease.

¹⁷ *The Sicilian tyrants:* Sicily, of all countries in the world, has been the most remarkable for tyrants; each city had one: they were no less noted for their cruelty

than number; *Horace*, doubtless, here alludes to the famous brazen bull, invented by *Phalaris*, tyrant of *Agrigentum*. Wretches doomed to execution were inclosed therein, and a fire put under it. It was made in such a manner, that the cries of the criminals, who expired in inexpressible tortures, resembled exactly the roaring of a bull.

¹⁸ *A new vessel retains long.* *Horace* resumes here the metaphor of a vessel, to which he had compared the soul in the 54th verse. If the soul is early tinctured with good principles, it will retain them long, and even be able to defend itself against an inroad of corruption. It is for this reason, that the education of youth has been looked upon by all

wife

The KEY.

HORACE, having retired for some time into the country, had taken the opportunity of that solitude, to read over *Homer* with a particular attention, and, writing to his friend *Lollius* at *Rome*, sends him

Qui cupit aut metuit, juvat illum sic domus & res,
 Ut lippum pictæ tabulæ, fomenta podagram*,
 Auriculas citharæ collectâ forde dolentes.
 Sincerum est nisi vas, quodcunque infundis, acescit.
 Sperne voluptates: nocet empta dolore voluptas. 55
 Semper avarus eget: certum voto pete finem.
 Invidus alterius macrescit rebus opimis.
 Invidiâ Siculi non invenere tyranni
 Majus tormentum. Qui non moderabitur iræ,
 Infectum volet esse, dolor quod suaserit & mens, 60
 Dum pœnas odio per vim festinat inulto.
 Ira furor brevis est: animum rege, qui, nisi paret,
 Imperat: hunc frænis, hunc tu compesce catenâ.
 Fingit equum tenerâ docilem cervice magister
 Ire viam quam monstrat † eques. Venaticus, ex quo
 Tempore cervinam pellem latravit in aulâ, 66
 Militat in sylvis catulus. Nunc adhibe puro
 Pectore verba, puer; nunc te melioribus offer.
 Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem
 Testa diu. Quod si cessas, aut strenuus anteis; 70
 Nec tardum opperior, nec præcedentibus insto.

Qui cupit aut metuit
 domus & res sic juvat
 illum, ut tabulæ pictæ
 lippum, fomenta po-
 dagram, citharæ auri-
 culas dolentes collectâ
 forde. Nisi vas sin-
 cerum est, quodcunque
 infundis, acescit. Sperne
 voluptates: voluptas
 empta dolore nocet. A-
 varus eget semper: pete
 certum finem voto. In-
 vidus alterius macrescit
 opimis rebus. Siculi
 tyranni non invenere
 tormentum majus invidiâ.
 Qui non modera-
 bitur iræ, volet illud
 esse infectum, quod do-
 lor & mens suaserit,
 dum per vim festinat
 pœnas odio inulto. Ira
 est brevis furor: rege
 animum, qui imperat,
 nisi paret: compesce tu
 hunc frænis, hunc ca-
 tenâ. Magister fingit
 equum docilem tenerâ

cervice ire viam quam eques monstrat. Catulus venaticus, ex quo tempore latravit pellem cervinam in aulâ, militat in sylvis. O puer, adhibe nunc verba puro pectore; offer te nunc melioribus. Testa recens diu servabit odorem, quo est semel imbuta. Quod si cessas, aut strenuus anteis; nec opperior tardum, nec præcedentibus insto.

* podagram, Benti.

† monstret, Id,

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wise legislators, as a thing deserving their particular care. *Lycurgus*, in his establishment at *Sparta*, was scrupulously exact in this article, and the *Romans*, in the more ancient and better times of the republic, were no less attentive to it, from a sense of its importance and necessity. The reader may see further, what we have said on these lines, B. 1. S. 3.

At nos virtutes ipsas inverteimus, atque Sincerum cupimus vas in crustare.

19 But if you lag behind. The poet here tells *Lollius*: If you will walk with me in the paths of wisdom, we shall advance equally, and make the same progress; but if

you either stay behind, or proceed with greater haste, I'll neither wait for you, nor strive to overtake you: This seems at first to be only a piece of raillery; but, at the same time, includes one of the finest precepts of morality. Such as are once in a good way, ought to hold on without regard to others; for to wait for those behind is a mark of slowness, and to bear too eagerly upon those before us denotes envy. It is a fine reflection of *Marcus Antoninus*: The perfection of manners consists in being neither too forward, nor too indolent. For wisdom avoids extremes, and is to be found only in a due medium between these.

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him his remarks upon that poet, and an explication of what he took to be the main design of his two fables. He finds that the works of this admirable poet are one continued lesson of wisdom and virtue, and that he gives the strongest picture of the miseries of vice, and the

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the fatal consequences of ungoverned passion. From thence he takes occasion to launch forth in praise of wisdom and moderation; and shews that to be really happy, we must learn to have the command of ourselves. The passions are headstrong, unwilling to listen to advice, and always push us on to extremities. To yield to them, is to engage in a series of rash and inconsiderate steps, and create matter of deep regret to ourselves in time to come. A present gratification thus

EPISTLE III.

TO JULIUS FLORUS.

He inquires of several things he wanted to know; and concludes by advising him to the study of wisdom, and agreement with his brother.

JULIUS FLORUS¹, I desire much to know, in what part of the world Tiberius² is at present with his army: whether in Thrace, and on the borders of the Hebrus³ bound with chains of ice, or near the straits⁴ that storm between the neighbouring towers, or is he detained among the fertile plains and delicious hills of Asia? What projects have the studious tribe⁵ in hand? I should also be fond to hear; who has undertaken to write the mighty acts of Augustus? or transmit his wars and treaties of peace to succeeding ages? What is Titius⁶ upon, whose praise will soon be in every Roman's mouth; who boldly disdain the lakes and
 10 common brooks, is not afraid to drink of the Pindaric stream? Is he well? Does he sometimes think of me? Favored by the Muses,

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¹ *Julius Florus*. This is the same as he to whom he addresses the second Epistle of Book II. and whom he there calls the faithful friend of Nero; whence we may conclude, that he was a man of consideration at court.

² *Tiberius*. *Claudius Augusti privignus*. *Claudius Tiberius Nero*, the son of *Tiberius Nero* and *Livia*, who was afterwards married to *Augustus*. *Tiberius* was, at this time, gone into the East with a powerful army; and as that expedition was made with great dispatch, it was not sometimes known at Rome where the army was.

³ *Hebrus*. A river of *Thrace*, which country is almost always covered with snow and ice; and this river, in particular, is remarkable for being often frozen up. Hence *Horace*, Book I. Ode 25. calls it the companion of winter.

*Aridas frondes biemis sodali
 Dedicet Hebro.*

⁴ *Straits*. This is meant of the *Hellepont*, on the borders of which are the two castles, *Sestos* on the side of *Europe*, and *Abydos* on the side of *Asia*; so famous for the loves of *Hero* and *Leander*. They are

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thus obtained is a dear purchase, and what no wise man will covet. The whole Epistle is almost, if not altogether, beyond example, full of morality and good sense, and a complete lesson of prudence and moderation. One is at a loss which to admire most, the discerning candid critic, or the sincere honest man. *Horace* was remarkable for both. We farther meet with a great many useful instructions, as to reading with profit the best poets, and above all, *Homer*.

Sanadon fixes the date of it to the 725, or 726th year of the city.

EPISTOLA III.

Ad JULIUM FLORUM.

De variis rebus agit; hortaturque ad sapientiæ studium, & cum fratre concordiam.

O R D O.

JULI Flore, quibus terrarum militet oris
Claudius Augusti privignus, scire laboro.
Thracane vos, Hebrusque nivali compede vinctus,
An freta vicinas inter currentia turres *,
An pingues Asiæ campi collesque morantur ?
Quid studiosa cohors operum struit ? Hæc † quoque
curo ;

Quis sibi res gestas Augusti scribere sumit ?
Bella quis & paces longum diffundit in ævum ?
Quid Titius, Romana brevè venturus in ora ;
Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus,
Fastidire lacus & rivos ausus apertos ?
Ut valet ? Ut meminit nostri ? Fidibusne Latinis

JULI Flore, labore
scire, quibus oris
terrarum Claudius pri-
vignus Augusti militet:
Thracane tellus, He-
brusque vinctus nivali
compede, an freta cur-
rentia inter vicinas
turres, an pingues campi
collesque Asiæ morantur
vos ? Quid operum co-
hors studiosa struit ?
Curo hæc quoque ; quis
sumit sibi scribere res
gestas Augusti ? Quis
diffundit bella & paces
in longum ævum ? Quid
Titius facit, venturus

brevè in ora Romana ; qui ausus fastidire lacus & rivos apertos, non expalluit haustus Pindarici fontis ? Ut valet ? Ut meminit nostri ? Studetne, Musæ auspice, aptare Thebanos modos fidibus Latinis ?

* Terras, Benth.

† hoc, Id.

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are now called, the Straits of the Dardanelles.

5 *Studios tribe. Studiosa cohors.* The old scholiast tells us, that this is meant of the prætorian cohort, of the legion of Drusus, which was wholly made up of such as were of the family of the Neros. *Literata, laboriosa Drusi legio, in qua cohors erat prætoriana de familiâ Neronum, qui literarum erant amantes.* But this is a conjecture without

foundation. How comes the legion of Drusus to be in the army of Tiberius ? The prætorian cohort were properly the life-guards of the emperor ; whereas *Horace* is speaking here of the men of letters, as is evident from what follows. Who undertakes, says he, to write the history of Augustus, &c. ?

6 *Titius.* Dacier thinks this to be the same

- Muses, is he employed in fitting the Theban measures⁷ to the Roman lyre? Or does he rage and swell⁸ in the pompous tragic strain? How is Celsus⁹ employed? so often admonished, and still to be admonished, that he seek wealth of his own, and forbear to pilfer the writings in the library of Palatine Apollo¹⁰: lest, if at any time the tribe of birds come each to demand his own feathers, this jackdaw divested of her borrowed plumes become the jest of all the world. And you, what are you upon?
- 20 What thyme do you flutter round like the nimble bee? You have a fine genius, well formed and cultivated. Whether you try your strength in pleading of causes, or give advice in matters of right and property, or amuse yourself in the more pleasing tasks of poetry; you are still sure to carry off the ivy-crown. Could you with all these advantages renounce such pursuits as serve
- 25 only to inflame your cares, you would advance as far as celestial wisdom could lead you. This is the great work, this the study, which we all high and low ought to set our hearts upon, if
- 30 we would live dear to ourselves, or our country. You ought also to write me word, whether you have still that concern for Munatius¹¹, which becomes you; or if the old difference has been so ill made up, as frequently to be breaking out afresh? But whether heat of blood, or want of experience inflames two youths, both headstrong and impatient of restraint; wherever you are,
- 35 doubly blamable for breaking so strict an union¹², I feed a young heifer which I have vowed to sacrifice at your return.

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same with *Septimius Titius*, who wrote several tragedies and lyric poems.

⁷ *Theban measures*. That is, the measures of *Pindar*, who was of *Thebes*. *Horace* does not mean to ask whether he translated *Pindar*; but whether he wrote lyric poems in imitation of *Pindar*.

⁸ *Rage and swell, &c.* *An tragica desectio & ampullatur in arte?* *Ampulla* is properly a phial, or hollow glass vessel. Hence the *Romans* transferred the word to signify those bubbles which are made of water im-

pregnated with soap, by blowing in a pipe; because they, in some measure, resemble the above-named phials: and, as these bubbles are blown up as much as possible, and full of wind, we may suppose they applied the word to tragedy, because it was written in a pompous swelling strain; and that *oratio ampullata* is the same as *oratio tumida*, vel *inflata*, as in the *Art of Poetry*,

Projeit ampullas:

To which we refer the reader for a further explication of the word.

9 *Celsus*

The KEY.

IN the year of the city 731, *Tiberius* was sent at the head of an army into *Dalmatia*. *Julius Florus*, to whom this Epistle is addressed, was in his train. He continued visiting and regulating the pro-

EPIST. III. QUINTI HORATII FLACCI. 221

Thebanos aptare modos studet, auspice Musâ?
An tragicâ defævit & ampullatur in arte?
Quid mihi Celsus agit? monitus, multumque monendus,

Privatas ut quærat opes, & tangere vitet
Scripta Palatinus quæcunque recepit Apollo:
Ne, si fortè suas repetitum venerit olim
Grex avium plumas, moveat cornicula risum
Furtivis nudata coloribus. Ipse quid audes?
Quæ circumvolitas agilis thyma? Non tibi parvum
Ingenium, non incultum est, nec * turpiter hirtum.
Seu linguam caufis acuis, seu civica jura
Respondere paras, seu condis amabile carmen;
Prima feres hederæ victricis præmia. Quòd si
Frigida curarum fomenta relinquere posses,
Quò te cœlestis sapientia duceret, ires.
Hoc opus, hoc studium parvi properemus & ampli,
Si patriæ volumus, si nobis vivere cari.

Debes hoc etiam rescribere, si tibi curæ †,
Quantæ conveniat, Munatius; an malè facta
Gratia nequicquam coit, & rescinditur? At ‡ vos
Seu calidus sanguis, seu rerum inscitia vexat,
Indomitâ cervice feros; ubicunque locorum
Vivitis, indigni fraternum rumpere fœdus,
Pascitur in vestrum reditum votiva juvenca.

An potiùs defævit & ampullatur in tragicâ arte? Quid Celsus agit mihi? monitus, multumque monendus, ut quærat opes privatas, & vitet tangere quæcunque scripta Apollo Palatinus recepit: ne, si fortè grex avium olim venerit repetitum suas plumas, cornicula nudata furtivis coloribus moveat risum. Quid tu ipse audes? Quæ thyma agilis circumvolitas? Non est tibi ingenium parvum, non incultum, nec turpiter hirtum. Seu acuis linguam caufis, seu paras respondere civica jura, seu condis carmen amabile; feres prima præmia victricis hederæ. Quòd si posses relinquere frigida fomenta curarum, ires quò sapientia cœlestis duceret te. Parvi & ampli properemus hoc opus, hoc studium, si volumus vivere cari patriæ, si cari nobis. Debes etiam

rescribere hoc, si Munatius est tibi tantæ curæ, quantæ conveniat eum esse tibi; vel an gratia malè facta nequicquam coit, & rescinditur? At seu calidus sanguis, seu inscitia rerum vexat vos, feros indomitâ cervice; ubicunque locorum vos, indigni rumpere fraternum fœdus, vivitis, votiva juvenca pascitur mihi in vestrum reditum.

* &, Bentl.

† est, Id.

‡ ac, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

9 Celsus. Celsus Abinovanus, the secretary of Tiberius, as appears from the eighth Epistle.

10 Palatine Apollo. Augustus had built a library upon the Palatine hill, where was the temple of Apollo Palatinus.

11 Munatius. This is doubtless the son of that Munatius Plancus to whom he addresses the seventh Ode of the first Book. The difference between him and Florus related, probably, to some domestic concern. They had been reconciled, but, as appears

from this, still bore each other a grudge.

12 So strict an union. Fraternum rumpere fœdus. Dacier thinks, that Florus and Munatius were brothers by the mother's side; and sees no reason, from the difference of names, why they might not also be brothers by the father's side, as well as Murena and Proculeius. But Sanadon makes them of entirely different families; and says, the expression here means no more, than that they had formerly loved one another as brothers.

The KEY:

provinces till the year 734, when he received orders from Augustus to march to Armenia, and replace Tigranes. It is at this time that Horace writes to Florus, as if to inquire news concerning the army: but

The KEY.

but the true design was, to make him sensible how prejudicial to him his ambition and avarice were, which he does in the softest and most friendly manner imaginable, in these lines,

Quod si frigida curarum, &c.

and

EPISTLE IV.

TO ALBIUS TIBULLUS.

He makes honorable mention of his endowments, and advises him to make the best of a short life.

DEAR Albius¹, thou impartial judge of my performances², how shall I say you employ yourself in your rural retreat³? In writing more numerous volumes than did ever Cassius of Parma⁴; or wandering silently in the healthful woods, and attending to the duties that become a wise and good man? You are no mere carcase without a soul. The Gods have given you beauty, they have given you riches, and the art to enjoy them. What can a tender nurse wish more for her darling care, than to be wise, and to express his thoughts with elegance; to have esteem, reputation, and a vigorous health; clean food, and money sufficient for all his wants?

Imagine every day to be⁵ the last⁶ of a life surrounded with hopes, cares, anger, and fear. The hours, that come unexpectedly, will be so much the more grateful. When you have a mind to laugh at one of Epicurus's herd, you may visit me, whom you will find plump, smooth, and in good condition.

A N N O T A T I O N S.

¹ *Albius*. *Albius Tibullus*, a Roman knight of the *Albian* family, which was of consular dignity. He was a considerable poet of that age, some of whose works are yet preserved.

² *Performances*. *Sermones*, the word used in the original, is a general term, that includes both his Satires and Epistles.

³ *Rural retreat*. *Regione Pedanâ*. *Pedum* was a small town of *Latium*, between *Prænestæ* and *Tivoli*. Near to this *Tibullus* had a country-seat.

⁴ *Cassius of Parma*. This *Cassius* was a versifier rather than a poet, who, valuing himself more upon the number than goodness of his pieces, boasted, that he had a fertility of genius superior to any of his time. As *Tibullus* was of a very different

character, this of *Horace* is to be taken as a piece of pleasant raillery.

⁵ *Imagine every day to be, &c.* Upon the right understanding of this verse, according to *Dacier*, depends that of the whole Epistle: for from it one may learn what was the situation of *Tibullus* at this time, and the reason of the poet's writing to him. He had, after consuming the best part of his estate, retired into the country, to avoid the importunity of his creditors, and squander away what remained. A man in this condition, we may easily suppose, would be full of chagrin, fears and anxieties. He has given us his picture himself in the panegyric upon *Messala*; where, after speaking of the great riches he had formerly possessed, he adds;

The KEY.

and to advise him to live in good friendship with *Munatius*, and not break an union, which had formerly been so strong, and ought to be inviolable.

EPISTOLA IV.

Ad ALBIUM TIBULLUM.

Dotes ejus prædicat, & ad vitam mortis memorem hortatur.

ORDO.

ALBI, nostrorum sermonum candide judex,
Quid nunc te dicam facere in regione Pedanâ?
Scribere quod Cassi Parmensis opuscula vincat;
An tacitum silvas inter reptare salubres,
Curantem quicquid dignum sapiente bonoque est? 5
Non tu corpus eras sine pectore. Dî tibi formam,
Dî tibi divitias dederant, artemque fruendi.

Quid voveat dulci nutricula majus alumno,
Quàm * sapere, & fari ut possit quæ sentiat; utque
Gratia, fama, valetudo contingat abundè,
Et mundus || victus, non deficiente crumenâ? 10

Inter spem curamque, timores inter & iras,
Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum.
Grata superveniet, quæ non sperabitur hora.

Me pinguem & nitidum benè curatâ cute vîses,
Cum ridere voles Epicuri de grege porcum. 16

abundè, & victus mundus, crumenâ non deficiente? Quoniam autem vivimus inter spem curamque, inter timores & iras, crede omnem diem diluxisse supremum tibi. Hora, quæ non sperabitur, superveniet grata. Vîses me pinguem & nitidum cute benè curatâ, cum voles ridere porcum de grege Epicuri.

* Qui, Bentl.

|| domus &, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

Nunc desiderium superest; nam cura novatur, Quum memor anteactos semper dolor admonet annos.

Sed licet asperiora cadant, spolierque relinquitis, &c.

"There only now remains the regret of
"what I have lost; for my chagrin is
"daily renewed; and mindful grief ceases
"not to set before my eyes the years al-
"ready past. But although I am still
"threatened with greater calamities, and
"in danger of being despoiled of what still
"remains, &c." In such a case what bet-
"ter advice could *Horace* give, than that con-
"tained in these few lines? It was the surest
"way to banish from his breast tormenting
"care, and to arrive at a calm and equal tem-
"per.

⁶ Every day to be the last. This was the

maxim of the Epicureans. Seneca, explain-
ing that saying of Heraclitus, *Unus dies par
omni est*, says, *Epist. 12. In somnum ituri,
læti hilaresque dicamus, Vixi, & quem dederat
cursum fortuna peregi. Crastinum si adjecerit
Deus, læti recipiamus. Ille beatissimus & se-
curus est sui possessor, qui crastinum sine sollicitu-
dine expectat. Quisquis dixit, Vixi, quotidie
ad lucrum surgit.* "When we go to sleep,
"let us calmly say, I have lived and
"finished the course allotted me by fate.
"If Heaven adds another day to our life,
"let us receive it with joy. He only
"is truly happy, and calmly possesses
"himself, who expects to-morrow with-
"out anxiety. Whoever can say, when
"he goes to sleep, I have lived, enjoys
"the following day as so much pure
"gain."

¹ Upon

The KEY.

TIBULLUS was a *Roman* knight of an ancient family, and a considerable estate. He was remarkable for the gracefulness of his person, had a fine wit, and elegant taste, but, withal, was immoderately profuse and expensive in his manner of living. By this means he soon squandered away his paternal estate, and was obliged to retire into the country, to avoid the importunity and persecution of his creditors. *Horace*, who knew that he labored under a great deal

EPISTLE V.

TO TORQUATUS.

He invites him to a frugal but cheerful supper.

IF you can resolve to lie with me upon a homely bed¹, or be satisfied to sup upon a small plate of herbs, I shall expect you, *Torquatus*², in the evening about sunset. You shall drink of wine that was sealed up in the second consulship of *Taurus*³, the juice of the grapes between the marshes of *Minturnæ*⁴ and the craggy cliffs of *Sinuessa*. If yours at home is better, make me your guest⁵; or answer my call. My house is in the best order, and every thing ready for your reception. Lay aside, for a time, your uncertain hopes, and unwearied struggles after wealth, and put off to another day the cause of *Moschus*⁶. To-morrow is the feast of *Cæsar's* nativity⁷, when it is allowable to indulge sleep and

ANNOTATIONS.

¹ Upon a homely bed. *Si potes archaïcis. Lecti archaïci*, as *Dacier* observes, are properly old-fashioned beds, such as were in use among the ancient *Romans*, enriched neither with gold nor silver, as were the latter inventions of luxury. The word is of Greek derivation, and used in the same sense by *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*.

² *Torquatus*. This probably is the same to whom he addresses the Ode, *Diffugere nives*. As to any thing farther about him, commentators are wholly at a loss. Some take him to be the grandson of that *Lucius Manlius Torquatus*, who was consul when *Horace* was born.

³ In the second consulship of *Taurus*. In the original *iterum Tauro*, that is *Tauro iterum consule*. This *Statilius Taurus* was a man

of obscure birth, who yet, by his merit and the favor of *Augustus*, rose to the highest dignities of the state. He overcame *Lepidus*, triumphed over *Africa*, was governor of *Rome* and *Italy*, and twice consul: first with *Agrippa*, in the year of the city 716, and again with *Augustus* in 727. *Dacier* thinks this Epistle was written the year following, and that *Horace* intends a piece of raillery in it. *Torquatus* might, possibly, expect that *Horace* would regale him with good old wine; but the poet tells him he had no better than that of one year.

⁴ *Minturnæ*. *Horace* here, in a pleasant way, acquaints *Torquatus*, that he had no other wine than what grew in the marshy territories of *Minturnæ*, upon the borders of *Campania*, and consequently none of the best.

THE KEY.

deal of anxiety, writes this Epistle to strengthen and encourage him, yet, at the same time, with a delicacy that was necessary to be used with a man of his discernment and taste. He speaks as if the ill state of his affairs were not known at Rome, and that his retreat was judged owing to a love of study, and strong bent to poetry. Yet he makes him sensible that he may still be happy with the little wealth that remained to him.

It is thought to have been written about the 47th year of Horace's age.

EPISTOLA V.

Ad TORQUATUM.

Ad cœnam invitât genialem & frugalem.

ORDO.

SI potes archaïcis* conviva recumbere lectis,
Nec modicâ cœnare times olus omne patellâ,
Supremo te sole domi, Torquate, manebo.
Vina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa, palustres
Inter Minturnas Sinuessanumque Petrinum.
Sin melius quid habes, arcesse; vel imperium fer.
Jamdudum splendet focus, & tibi munda supellex.
Mitte leves spes, & certamina divitiarum,
Et Moschi causam. Cras nato Cæsare festus

SI potes recumbere
conviva lectis ar-
chaïcis, nec times cœ-
nare omne olus modicâ
patellâ, manebote, Tor-
quate, domi supremo
5 sole. Bibes vina dif-
fusa Tauro iterum con-
sule, inter palustres
Minturnas Petrinum-
que Sinuessanum. Sin
habes quid melius, ar-
cesse; vel fer impe-

rium. Focus jamdudum splendet, & supellex munda est tibi. Mitte spes leves, & certamina divitiarum; & causam Moschi. Dies cras festus nato Cæsare

* Archiacis, Benth.

ANNOTATIONS.

best. But to disguise the matter a little, he adds, that it was near to Sinuessa, where the wine was very much esteemed.

5 Make me your guest, &c. Arcesse; vel imperium fer. The sense generally fixed to these words, is, *If you have better of your own, bring it; or put up with mine.* But this can never, with any propriety, be drawn out of the words arcesse; vel imperium fer. The most natural and obvious meaning seems to be, *If your wine is better, invite me to supper, and be yourself king of the feast; if not, come to me, and allow that I be master.* Imperium fer, that is, *fire me regem esse cœna.*

VOL. II.

6 Moschus. This Moschus, as we are told by the old scholiast, was an orator of Pergamus, who, being accused of having poisoned one, applied to Torquatus, whose eloquence was, at that time, in great esteem, to defend his cause.

7 Cæsar's nativity. Commentators are not agreed who can be meant here by Cæsar. Some contend for Augustus. Dacier rejects this, because that prince was born on the 23d of September; whereas the poet speaks of prolonging the summer-night. He therefore thinks it must be meant of Julius Cæsar, whose nativity was on the 12th of July.

P

Sanders

10 and a free social humor: we may safely prolong the summer-night with jollity and mirth.

To what end is an opulent fortune, if we are not at liberty to enjoy it? He who is sparing, and starves himself to enrich his heirs, differs little from a madman. Let me be the first to call for wine and scatter flowers, I can even bear to pass for a
15 frantic debauchee⁸. What miracles are not daily performed by wine? it reveals the deepest secrets, turns hope into enjoyment, gives bravery to the coward, relieves the mind from anxieties, and teaches in a moment the whole circle of arts. Whom has not a cheerful glass inspired with eloquence? What wretch
20 has it not made joyful in the midst of poverty?

The task that best suits me, and which I willingly undertake, is to see that the carpets⁹ and table-napkins are clean, and such as can give no offence to the guests; that the pots and vessels are so bright that you may see yourself in them; that no false friend is present, to betray the freedom of conversation; and
25 that all the company is such as to be pleased with each other. Brutus and Septimius are both to be here, as also Sabinus¹⁰, if not pre-engaged to a better supper or a more inviting mistress. There will be also room for what other guests you are pleased to bring: only remember that the present season forbids too great a
30 croud¹¹. Let me only know how many you incline to have; and postponing business for a little time, escape by a back-door from your watchful client who keeps close guard in the hall.

ANNOTATIONS.

Sanadon again fancies it rather to refer to Caius Caesar, the son of Agrippa and Julia, who was born on the 1st of September, in the year of the city 734; and that the expression in the original, *nato Cesare*, signifies *ob Casarem recens natum*. This Caius

was the grandson of Augustus, and presumptive heir to the empire.

⁸ Frantic debauchee. *Patiarque et inconsultus baberi*. See Ode 12. Book IV.

Misce stultitiam consilii brevem.

Dulce est desipere in loco.

⁹ Carpets.

The KEY.

THIS Epistle, like all the rest of our poet's, is written in a natural and simple style. He invites *Torquatus* to come and sup with him, upon occasion of the feast of *Cæsar's* nativity. He promises him a homely entertainment, but a welcome reception, and that what is wanting in magnificence, shall be made up in neatness and cleanliness. We here and there meet with several moral strokes, which were probably intended for *Torquatus*, and may give us a hint

Dat veniam somnumque dies: impunè licebit
 Æstivam fermone benigno tendere * noctem.
 Quò mihi fortuna †, si non conceditur uti?
 Parcus ob hæredis curam, nimumque severus,
 Affidet infano. Potare & spargere flores
 Incipiam, patiarque vel inconsultus haberi.
 Quid non ebrietas designat? operta recludit,
 Spes jubet esse ratas, in prælia trudit inermem,
 Solicitis animis onus eximit, addocet artes.
 Fœcundi calices quem non fecere disertum?
 Contractâ quem non in paupertate solutum?
 Hæc ego procurare & idoneus imperor; & non
 Invitus; ne turpe toral, ne sordida mappa
 Corruget nares; ne non & cantharus & lanx
 Ostendat tibi te; ne fidos inter amicos
 Sit, qui dicta foras eliminet; ut coeat par
 Jungaturque pari. Brutum ‡ tibi Septimiumque ||,
 Et nisi cœna prior potiorque puella Sabinum
 Detinet, assumam. Locus est & pluribus umbris:
 Sed nimis arcta premunt olidæ convivia capræ.
 Tu, quotus esse velis, rescribe; & rebus omiffis,
 Atria servantem postico falle clientem.

10 dat veniam somnumque:
 licebit impunè tendere
 æstivam noctem benigno
 fermone. Quò fortuna
 mihi, si non conceditur
 uti eâ? Homo parvus,
 nimumque severus ob
 15 curam hæredis, affidet
 infano. Incipiam potare
 & spargere flores, pa-
 tiarque haberi vel in-
 consultus. Quid ebri-
 etas non designat? re-
 cludit operta, jubet spes
 20 esse ratas, trudit inermem
 in prælia, eximit
 onus animis, sollicitis,
 addocet artes. Quem
 fœcundi calices non fe-
 cere disertum? Quem
 25 non fecere solutum in
 contractâ paupertate?
 Ego & idoneus, & non
 invitus, imperor pro-
 curare hæc; ne toral
 29 tarpe, ne mappa sordi-
 da corruget nares; ne
 non (ut) & cantharus
 & lanx ostendat te tibi;
 ne sit aliquis inter a-

micos fidos, qui eliminet dicta foras, ut par coeat jungaturque pari. Assumam tibi Brutum
 Septimiumque, & Sabinum, nisi cœna prior potiorque puella detinet eum. Est & locus pluribus
 umbris: sed capræ olidæ premunt convivia nimis arcta. Rescribe tu, quotus velis esse; &
 omiffis rebus, falle postico clientem servantem atria.

* Extendere, Benti. † fortunam, Id. ‡ Butram, Id. || Septimiumque, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

9 Carpets. Ne turpe toral. See Satire 4.
 Book II.

Et Tyrias dare circum illota toralia vestes?

10 Sabinus. Probably Aulus Sabinus the
 poet, whose elegies were held in so great
 esteem.

11 Forbids too great a crowd. By olidæ
 capræ, the expression in the original, we
 are to understand that noisome smell that
 arises when crowds of people get together
 in a hot season.

The KEY.

of his character. There is also an elogium of wine, short, but lively,
 and full of spirit. From this Epistle we may form a notion of that
 mirth and jollity which reigned among the Romans of that age, when
 they met together on any joyful occasion.

Dacier refers it to the year of the city 728, and 40th of Horace's
 age: Sanadon, as we have already seen, to the birth of Caius Cæsar
 in 734.

EPISTLE VI.

TO NUMICIUS.

He shows that happiness does not arise from those things which men are apt to admire, but from virtue, and a mind not subject to admiration.

TO admire nothing¹, Numicius², is almost the only way to make and continue us happy. There are who can view without astonishment³ the sun, stars, and stated variations of the seasons. What judgment then ought we to form of the gifts of the earth? What of the treasures of the sea, that enrich the distant Indians and Arabians? What are we to think of the public shows, the applauses and favor of the people? In what manner, or with what face are we to regard them? Believe me, he who fears the contrary to these⁴, is possessed with the same admiration as the man who desires them: an equal terror seizes both, when any thing sudden and unexpected alarms them. For whether we joy or grieve, dread or desire; where is the difference; if whatever happens better or worse than looked for, straight engages all our attention, as if neither sense nor reason were left us? Even a wise man may pass⁵ for a fool, a just for an unjust; if he pursues virtue itself with too excessive a zeal.

Go then, if you can; gaze on riches, ancient statues, figures of brass, and other works of art: admire the blaze of diamonds, or brightness of Tyrian purple: rejoice to see the eyes of thousands fixed upon you when you speak in public:

active

A N N O T A T I O N S.

¹ To admire nothing. There is a reasonable and just admiration, called by *Plato*, the mother of wisdom, which pushes men on to virtue. But the poet here speaks of that foolish and vicious admiration which springs from ignorance, and leads men to desire or fear almost every object that presents itself. To be exempt from this, a man must have a great and generous soul, improved by an exact knowledge of the world, and thorough acquaintance with the examples of past ages. A judgment, thus formed, will be able, at first sight, to discern what is really good and worthy of notice in life, and allow every thing its due measure of esteem.

² Numicius. Commentators have not been able to determine who this Numicius was. We meet with a patrician family of Numicians at Rome, who derived their name

from the river Numicius in Latium, whence they originally came; and we read of a consul of that name in the year of the city 284. Some, instead of Numici, read Munatii, meaning Munatius Plancus, but without foundation.

³ Can view without astonishment, &c. Sunt qui formidine nullâ, &c. Formido here is not to be interpreted fear, but wonder, amazement, admiration. He probably means, that they regard them with ease and unconcern; knowing them to be governed by regular and stated laws, under the direction of a wise and benevolent superintendent. In much the same sense may we take these remarkable lines of *Virgil*, *Geor.* ii. 490.

*Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Atque metus omnes, & inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus.*

⁴ Happy the man, who can look through
“ into

EPISTOLA VI.

Ad NUMICIUM.

*Vitam beatam non in iis rebus quas homines admirantur, sed in
ejus admirationis vacuitate, & solâ virtute sitam esse docet.*

NIL admirari propè res est una, Numici,
Solaque, quæ possit facere & servare beatum.
Hunc solem, & stellas, & decedentia certis
Tempora momentis, sunt qui formidine nullâ
Imbuti spectent. Quid censes munera terræ?
Quid maris, extremos Arabas ditantis & Indos?
Ludicra quid, plausus, & amici dona Quiritis?
Quo spectanda modo, quo sensu credis & ore?
Qui timet his adversa, ferè miratur eodem
Quo cupiens pacto: pavor est utrobique molestus,
Improvisa simul species exterret utrumque.
Gaudeat, an doleat; cupiat, metuatne; quid ad rem;
Si quicquid vidit melius pejusse suâ spe,
Defixis oculis, animoque & corpore torpet?
Insani sapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui;
Ultrâ quàm satis est virtutem si petat ipsam.

I nunc; argentum, & marmor vetus, æraque, &
artes

Suspice: cum gemmis Tyrios mirare colores:
Gaude quòd spectant oculi te mille loquentem:

*an doleat; cupiat, metuatne; si quicquid vidit melius pejusse spe suâ, torpet defixis oculis, ani-
moque & corpore? Sapiens ferat nomen insani, æquus iniqui; si petat ipsam virtutem ultrâ quàm
est satis. I nunc; suspice argentum, & vetus marmor, æraque, & artes: mirare colores Tyrios
cum gemmis: gaude quòd mille oculi spectant te loquentem:*

ORDO.

O Numici, nil ad-
mirari est propè
res una solaque, quæ
possit facere & servare
hominem beatum.
Sunt qui imbuti nullâ
formidine spectent hunc
solem, & stellas, &
tempora decedentia cer-
tis momentis. Quid
censes quòd ad munera
terræ? Quid quòd ad
munera maris, ditân-
tis extremos Arabas &
Indos? Quid quòd ad
ludicra, plausus, &
dona amici Quiritis?
Quo modo credis spec-
tanda sunt, quo sensu
& ore? Qui timet ad-
versa his, miratur ferè
eodem pacto quo cupi-
ens: pavor est molestus
utrobique, simul ac
species improvisa ex-
terret utrumque. Quid
ad rem, num gaudeat,

ANNOTATIONS.

"into the causes of things, who has got
"above idle fears, and the notion of in-
"exorable fate."

⁴ He who fears the contrary to these. Ho-
race, after speaking of those whose admi-
ration runs out after riches, public shows,
popular applause, &c. turns his discourse
upon men of a less declared ambition, who
seem not so much to desire these things,
as to fear their contraries, poverty, soli-
tude, disgrace: and shows, that both pro-
ceed from the same wrong principle, a vi-
cious and ill-placed admiration. For fear
always implies desire, as desire is ever ac-
companied with fear. The thought is

beautiful and just, and of great use for
regulating the moral conduct.

⁵ Even a wise man may pass, &c. To show
that there is no exception to this rule, and
that the admiration which excites fear and
desire is always vicious and hurtful, he ob-
serves, that were even virtue its object, it
would not cease to be blamable, if it raises
too violent desires even after virtue itself.
For virtue can never consist in excess of any
kind. So Cicero, in the fourth Book of his
Tusculan Questions, *Studia vel optimarum rerum
sedata tamen & tranquilla esse debent.* "The
"study even of the best things ought to be
"pursued with moderation and calmness."

- 20 active and restless hurry early to the forum⁶, and return not home till it is late, and all that Mutius may not increase his rents by a richer match; seeing you hold it scandalous, that one so much below you in birth, instead of admiring, should be admired by you. Time will bring to light what⁷ is now hid in obscurity; and plunge in oblivion whatever is most conspicuous.
- 25 However pompous your appearance in the portico of Agrippa⁸, or the Appian way; you are yet doomed to follow, whither Numa and Ancus have gone before you.

- If tormented with an aking side or the sharp anguish of the stone, strive to rid yourself of the malady. Would you live happy
- 30 and at ease? as who would not? If virtue alone can effect this, pursue her steadily, and bravely relinquish low effeminate joys. Are you one that thinks virtue a mere name, as a sacred grove is but barely wood⁹? Haste that no other may reach the port before you, or supplant you in the commerce of Cicyra or Bithynia¹⁰: make up a round sum of a thousand talents; add yet another thousand; increase it by a third, and still by a fourth,
- 35 to square the sum. For all-powerful wealth will give a wife with a dower, credit, friends, birth, and beauty; Venus herself and the Goddess of persuasion make their court to the rich man. The king of Cappadocia¹¹ is rich in slaves, but without money: take care you be not like him. It is related of Lucullus¹², that being asked whether he could lend a hundred cloaks
- 40 for the use of the stage, surprised at the question, How can I, answered he, let you have so many? however I will inquire, and send as many as I can: soon after he writes, that he had no less than five thousand; and they were welcome to part, or all of them.

That

A N N O T A T I O N S.

For, says he, a little afterwards, *Etiam si virtutis ipsius vehementior appetitus sit, eadem sit omnibus ad deterrendum adhibenda oratio.*

"Should even the desire that virtue itself excites in us prove too violent, we ought to use the same means to moderate it."

⁶ *Hurry early to the forum.* This, and all before from *Inunc*, is spoken in a way of irony. This, and the three following verses, have created commentators a world of trouble. Not to tire the reader with their various conjectures, I shall content myself with observing, that the natural and obvious meaning of the passage seems to be this: Go plead causes at the bar from morning to night, that none may outdo you in reputation, or be more successful in addressing rich heiresses.

⁷ *Time will bring to light what, &c.* *Quicquid sub terrâ.* These metaphorical expressions are intended to mean, that the most ancient and illustrious families fall into

obscurity; and that others rise, as it were, out of the earth, and build upon the ruins of the former. Such is the ordinary course of nature.

⁸ *Portico of Agrippa.* Agrippa had two porticos at Rome; the one called the *Portico of Neptune*, and of the *Argonauts*, because Agrippa had adorned it with pictures representing the history of Jason's expedition; the other, what went properly under the name of the *Portico of Agrippa*, near the Pantheon, at the entrance to the *Campus Martius*: it was called afterwards, *Porticus boni eventus*. It is of this last that Horace speaks, being a place of the greatest resort at Rome, because of its neighbourhood to the field of Mars; which, like the *forum*, was the ordinary place of rendezvous for all that came to see and be seen. The *Appian way* was also much frequented, being the great road to *Brundisium*.

⁹ *Barely wood.* The ancient philosophers,

Gnavus manè forum, & vespertinus pete tectum,
 Ne plus frumenti dotalibus emetat agris
 Mucius*; indignum, quòd sit pejoribus ortus,
 Hic tibi sit potius, quàm tu mirabilis illi.
 Quicquid sub terrâ est in apricum proferet ætas;
 Defodiet condetque nitentia. Cùm benè notum
 Porticus Agrippæ, & via te conspexerit Appi;
 Ire tamen restat, Numa quò devenit & Ancus.
 Si latus aut renes morbo tentantur acuto,
 Quære fugam morbi. Vis rectè vivere? quis non?
 Si virtus hoc una potest dare, fortis omiffis
 Hoc age deliciis. Virtutem verba putas, ut †
 Lucum ligna? Cave ne portus occupet alter,
 Ne Cibyrica, ne Bithyna negotia perdas:
 Mille talenta rotundentur; totidem altera; porrò
 Tertia succedant, & quæ pars quadret acervum.
 Scilicet uxorem cum dote, fidemque, & amicos,
 Et genus, & formam, regina pecunia donat;
 Ac benè nummatum decorat Suadela Venusque.
 Mancipiis locuples, eget æris Cappadocum rex:
 Ne fueris hic tu. Chlamydes Lucullus, ut aiunt,
 Si posset centum scenæ præbere rogatus,
 Qui possum tot? ait: tamen & quæram, & quot
 habebo
 Mittam: post paulò scribit, sibi millia quinque
 Esse domi chlamydem; partem, vel tolleret omnes.

21 gnavus pete forum ma-
 ne, & vespertinus pete
 tectum, ne Mucius eme-
 tat plus frumenti agris
 dotalibus; indignum,
 quòd sit ortus pejoribus,
 sit hic potius mirabilis
 tibi, quàm tu illi. Æ-
 tas proferet quicquid est
 sub terrâ in apricum;
 defodiet condetque ni-
 tentia. Cùm via Ap-
 pi, & porticus Agrip-
 pæ conspexerit te benè
 notum; tamen restat ire,
 quòd Numa & Ancus
 devenit. Si latus aut
 renes tentantur morbo
 acuto, quære fugam
 morbi. Vis vivere rec-
 tè? quis non vult? Si
 virtus una potest dare
 hoc, fortis age hoc, o-
 miffis deliciis. An pu-
 tas virtutem esse ver-
 ba, ut lucum ligna?
 Cave ne alter occupet
 portus, ne perdas nego-
 tia Cibyrica, ne
 Bithyna; talenta mille
 rotundentur; altera
 totidem; porrò tertia
 succedant, & pars quæ
 quadret acervum. Scilicet
 regina pecunia do-
 nat

not uxorem cum dote, fidemque, & amicos, & genus, & formam; ac Suadela Venusque decorat
 hominem benè nummatum. Rex Cappadocum, locuples Mancipiis, eget æris: ne fueris tu hic.
 Lucullus, ut aiunt, rogatus si posset præbere centum chlamydes scenæ, ait, Qui possum dare tot?
 tamen & quæram, & mittam quot habeo: paulò post scribit, quinque millia chlamydem esse sibi
 domi; tolleret partem, vel omnes.

* Mutus, &, Bentl.

† putes, &, Id.

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phers, who maintained that virtue was but
 a chimera, compared it commonly to the
 holiness attributed to sacred groves. The
 vulgar imagined them something extraor-
 dinary, whereas men of sense believed there
 was nothing in them uncommon. Horace,
 therefore, says to the ambitious man: But
 perhaps, like those philosophers who believe that
 virtue is only a chimera, as a sacred grove
 differs nothing from common wood.
 10 Cibra or Bithynia. Cibra was a
 flourishing city of Pisidia, eastward of the
 river Xanthus. Its principal commerce was
 in iron. Bithynia was a region of Asia
 Minor, and possessed all the trade of Europe
 and Asia.

11 The king of Cappadocia. Some think
 that Horace by this means a master of slaves,

one who traded in them, for the Romans
 called their slaves Cappadocians. But we
 are, doubtless, to take it literally. What
 the poet says of their king, was strictly
 true. The Cappadocians were all slaves, and
 seem to have been so entirely born for fer-
 vitude, that when the Romans offered them
 their liberty, they refused it. On the other
 side, money was so scarce, that they paid
 their tribute in mules and horses. Cicero
 speaking of them, in a letter to Atticus,
 says, Et meherculè ego ita judico, nihil illo
 regno spoliatus, nihil rege egentius: It was
 a kingdom of Asia Minor.

12 Lucullus. This is that Lucullus, who
 commanded the Roman armies against Mi-
 tridates, king of Pontus, and Tigranes,
 king of Armenia, and triumphed in the

45 That house is but poorly furnished, where there are not many things superfluous, such as the master knows nothing of, and profitable only to rogues. If then riches only can make and continue a man happy; make this your first and last work. Or if dignities and popularity point out the plainest road to it; provide yourself a slave that can inform you of every citizen's¹³ name, and gently push you to reach your hand to this or the other through the croud. This man has great interest in the Fabian tribe, that in the Velian¹⁴: there goes one who can give the fasces to whom he pleases; whoever aspires to the curule chair¹⁵ without him, is infallibly repulsed: accost him with the title of father or brother; and, like a thorough proficient in
55 the trade, suit your address to every age and condition.

If the man who eats well, lives well: as soon as day breaks, let us attend to the calls of appetite; let us go a fishing or hunting; as of old Gargilius¹⁶, who early every morning ordered his nets, hunting-spears, and slaves, to pass through the crowded forum and Campus Martius; that he might bring home towards
60 night in sight of all the people one of his many mules loaded with a boar bought for the purpose. Let us bathe upon a full stomach, despising custom, and the rules of decency, and glorying to fill up the register of the Cerites¹⁷; and resemble the lewd companions of Ulysses¹⁸, who preferred forbidden pleasure to
65 the enjoyment of their native fields. If in fine, as Mimnermus¹⁹ maintains, nothing is more agreeable than love and raillery; let us indulge without control love and raillery. Live, and be happy. If you know any maxims better than these, impart them with your usual candor; if not, make the best use you can of mine.

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year 691. But these great qualities were blemished by *avarice*, in respect of the soldiers, and the luxury which he first introduced at Rome. The story here is, no doubt, a little exaggerated, but it is well known that *Lucullus* lived with a magnificence almost surpassing belief.

¹³ Every citizen's name. The Romans, when they stood candidates for any office, and wanted to ingratiate themselves with the people, went always accompanied with a slave, whose sole business it was to learn the names and conditions of the citizens, and inform their masters, that they might know how to salute them by their names and

surnames. For that kind of salutation was accounted honorable among the Romans.

¹⁴ Fabian, Velian. The names of two of the Roman tribes.

¹⁵ Curule chair. The chief magistrates, such as the consuls, prætors, and ædiles, were allowed to use an ivory chair, called *sella curulis*, which they sat on, as they rode in their chariots. Hence they were sometimes called *curule magistrates*.

¹⁶ Gargilius. This *Gargilius* is wholly unknown. The picture, however, which the poet gives of him, is very pleasant, and not without example even in this age.

¹⁷ Register of the Cerites. The Cerites were

Exilis domus est, ubi non & multa supersunt,
 Et dominum fallunt, & profunt furibus. Ergo
 Si res sola potest facere & servare beatum;
 Hoc primus repetas opus, hoc postremus omittas.
 Si fortunatum species & gratia præstat;
 Mercemur servum qui dicet nomina, lævum
 Qui fodiat * latus, & cogat trans pondera dextram
 Portigere. Hic multum in Fabiâ valet, ille Velinâ:
 Cui libet hic † fasces dabit; eripietque curule,
 Cui volet, importunus ebur: frater, pater, adde;
 Ut cuique est ætas, ita quemque facetus adopta.
 Si benè qui cœnat, benè vivit: lucet, eamus
 Quò ducit gula; piscemur, venemur; ut olim
 Gargilius, qui manè plagas, venabula, servos,
 Differtum transire forum populumque ‡ jubebat;
 Unus ut è multis populo spectante referret
 Emptum mulus aprum. Crudi tumidique lavemur,
 Quid deceat, quid non, oblii; Cærite cerâ
 Digni; remigium vitiosum Ithacensis Ulyssæi,
 Cui potior patriâ fuit interdicta voluptas.
 Si, Mimnermus uti censet, sine amore jocisque
 Nil est jucundum; vivas in amore jocisque.
 Vive, vale. Si quid novisti rectius istis,
 Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.

45 Domus exilis est, ubi
 non & multa supersunt,
 & fallunt dominum,
 & profunt furibus.
 Ergo si res sola potest
 facere & servare bea-
 tum; primus repetas
 50 hoc opus, postremus o-
 mittas hoc. Si species
 & gratia præstat ho-
 minem fortunatum;
 mercemur servum qui
 dicet nomina, qui fo-
 diat lævum latus, &
 55 cogat te porrigere dex-
 tram trans pondera.
 Hic valet multum in
 tribu Fabiâ, ille in
 tribu Velinâ: hic dabit
 fasces cui libet; eripiet-
 que importunus curule
 ebur, cui volet: adde
 frater, pater; ut est
 ætas cuique, ita face-
 tus adopta quemque
 Si qui cœnat benè, vi-
 vit benè: lucet, eamus
 65 quò gula ducit; pisce-
 mur, venemur; ut
 Gargilius olim, qui
 manè jubebat plagas,
 venabula, servos,
 transire forum differ-

tum populumque; ut populo spectante unus mulus è multis referret emptum aprum. Lavemur
 crudi tumidique, oblii quid deceat, quid non; digni cerâ Cærite; imitemur remigium vitiosum
 Ulyssæi Ithacensis, cui voluptas interdicta fuit potior patriâ. Si, uti Mimnermus censet, nil est
 jucundum sine amore jocisque; vivas in amore jocisque. Vive, vale. Si novisti quid rectius
 istis, candidus imperti; si non, utere his mecum.

* fodicit, Bentl.

† cui libet his, Id.

‡ campumque, Id.

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were a people of Tuscany, who, because they had protected the priests and vestals, when Rome was destroyed by the Gauls, were made free of the city: but afterwards revolting, war was declared against them. Upon submitting, they had the privilege of citizens continued, but were deprived of the right of suffrage. Hence, when the censors, because of any misdemeanour, deprived a citizen of the right of suffrage, they were said to write him down in the register of the Cærites; and the book itself was called *Tabula Cærites*, or *Cera Cæritis*.

¹⁸ Companions of Ulysses. Remigium vi-

tiosum. Remigium for remiges, as servitium for servi.

¹⁹ Mimnermus. Mimnermus was a poet of Ionia, who lived in the time of Cræsus and Solon. Of all his works, there now only remain a few fragments of his elegies and iambics; which yet are sufficient to satisfy us, that he was a poet of the first rank. He succeeded chiefly in matters of love and raillery. His style was simple, but natural and flowing. Our poet in the second Epistle of the second Book prefers him to Callimachus.

The KEY.

IT is of the greatest importance for men to be rightly informed in what relates to their happiness. If they mistake their aim here, it may be attended with the worst consequences, and they may, before they are sensible of their error, be plunged into difficulties, out of which all their future prudence and attention will not be able to extricate them. Our poet has not failed, in many parts of his works, to give men good counsel on this head. He every where abounds with sage instructions, which, if well attended to, will be of admirable use in teaching men how to frame their conduct for the best. To go no farther for an instance of this, than the Epistle now before us: how justly does *Horace* here expose the folly of an ill-placed admiration? There is no passion more hurtful than this, if it is not duly regulated; as, on the contrary, there is no one more useful, when it is suited to the real circumstances of things. It may be considered, in some sense, as the spring of all our actions. In proportion

EPISTLE VII.

TO MÆCENAS.

He excuses his breach of promise; extols his patron's liberality; then describes tranquillity and freedom of mind as one of the most valuable enjoyments of life.

IT is true, I promised to stay but five days in the country, and yet after all disappointed you, for I have been here the whole month of August¹. But if, Mæcenas, you have any concern for my health and ease, I must beg that whatever liberty is allowed me when sick², you would grant the same now that I am apprehensive of being so; especially at this season, when the autumn-fruits and excessive heats furnish out the undertaker with all his dismal train³; while fathers and mothers are under perpetual

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¹ *August*. The Roman year was originally divided by *Romulus* into ten months, and began with *March*; hence *July* and *August* were the fifth and sixth in order, and accordingly, in that institution, went by the names of *Quintilis* and *Sextilis*, which they still retained, even after the months of *January* and *February* were added by *Numa*. They afterwards took the names of

July and *August* from *Julius Caesar* and *Augustus*.

² *Whatever liberty is allowed me when sick*. Mæcenas was so much taken with *Horace's* company, that he could scarce ever bear him to be absent from him, and no excuse could satisfy him in this case, but want of health. The poet here begs, that he will also indulge him a little when the season

The KEY.

portion as we admire any object, our desires and fears are raised, and fear and desire are the two grand principles that govern all our pursuits and motions. Of what consequence is it, therefore, that we be well advised in this point, and learn to proportion our esteem and admiration to the real value of things? It is the contrary of this, that *Horace* so severely censures in the present Epistle; a foolish and ill-judged admiration of objects, that derive their value from mere fancy and conceit. To get above this, the poet assures us, is the almost only way to make and continue us happy. I believe every one will subscribe to his determination, who allows himself to consider, that the greater part of our calamities take rise from an immoderate pursuit of those things, which the wisest men have pronounced not essential to happiness.

By the mention of *Agrippa's* portico, it must have been written after the year of the city 728.

EPISTOLA VII.

Ad MÆCENATEM.

Excusat se ei, quòd promissa non impleverat; laudat ejus in se liberalitatem; tum animi liberi tranquillitatem demonstrat omnibus rebus esse anteponendam.

QUINQUE dies tibi pollicitus me rure futurum,
Sextilem totum mendax desideror. Atqui,
Si me vivere vis sanum rectèque valentem,
Quam mihi das ægro, dabis ægrotare timenti,
Mæcenas, veniam; dum ficus prima calorque
Designatorem decorat liçtoribus atris;
Dum pueris omnis pater & matercula pallet;

*ægrotare, quam das mihi ægro; dum prima ficus calorque decorat designatorem atris liçtoribus;
cum omnis pater & matercula pallet pueris;*

O R D O.

POLLICITUS tibi
me futurum rure
tantum quinque dies,
mendax desideror per
totum mensem sexti-
lem. Atqui, Mæce-
nas, si vis me vivere
sanum, valentemque
recte, dabis eandem
veniam mihi timenti

A N N O T A T I O N S.

son threatens diseases. The dog-days, and, in general, all the autumn-season, was sickly at *Rome*. *Horace*, about this time, chose always to retire to his *Sabine* farm, the country round it being mountainous, and less subject to the excessive heats so troublesome at *Rome*.

Undertaker with all his dismal train.

Designatorem decorat liçtoribus atris. In all

public processions there were officers appointed, whose business it was to regulate the ceremonies, and dictate to every person his rank and place. He, that had the care of marshalling the train of a funeral procession, was called *designator*. *Donatus* upon the *Adelphi* of *Terence*: *Designatores qui ludis funebribus præsunt*. He was one of the principal officers of the Goddess *Libitina*, and

petual alarms for their children; and that an assiduous attendance upon the great, and the vast throng of business at the courts⁴, brings on mortal fevers, and opens so many last wills. But when winter comes on, and covers with snow the plains of
 10 Alba; your bard thinks of retiring nearer to the sea⁵, where he resolves to indulge much, keep warm, and divert himself with reading⁶: and, if you permit, will see his best friend with the zephyrs, and first swallow.

Your presents have a very different air from those of the Calabrian⁷ to his guest. *Do, sir, eat a few pears.* I have really eat too many. *Put some however into your pocket.* Sir, you are mighty obliging. *They will be no unacceptable present to your little ones at home.* I thank you as much as if I did. *As you please: what you leave will be given to the hogs.*

A man foolishly prodigal will give what he undervalues or
 20 hates. This liberality has had, and in all ages will have, ingratitude for its certain crop⁸. But a wise and⁹ truly liberal man is always ready to do good: yet knows well to pay a due regard to merit¹⁰ in his gifts. I shall strive by my acknowledgments

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and somewhat akin to our undertakers. When he was called to take the care of a funeral solemnity, he usually came attended with a troop of inferior officers, called, by Seneca, *libitinarii*, such as the *pollinctores*, *vespillones*, *ustores*, *sandapilarii*, &c. They all marched before the *designator*, clothed in black, in the same manner as the *lictores* before the chief magistrates. Hence the phrase used here by Horace, *decorat designatorem licioribus atris*.

4 *Vast throng of business at the courts.* By *apella forensis*, the expression in the original, *Daciv* thinks we are to understand all such affairs as require a close attendance upon the courts of judicature, to serve a friend, solicit for him, or give bail.

5 *Nearer to the sea.* That is, to Tarentum, where the winter is mild and pleasant, and the spring long; as we learn from himself, in the sixth Ode of Book II.

*Ver ubi longum, tepidasque prabet
 Juppiter brumas.*

The air of the sea is always warmer than that of the land; whence the observation, that islands are warmer than any part of the continent in the same latitude.

6 *Divert himself with reading.* *Contractusque leget.* Cruquius, explains this, *He will read little, less than usual*; by which he makes it neither Latin nor sense: for how can it be supposed that Horace would read less in the country than at Rome? *Contractus* gives us the image of a man who

sits close, and, as it were squeezed together, *frigore duplicatus*; that cold may make the less impression upon him. And in this sense Jerom uses the word in his 53d Epistle, where, speaking of *Vigilantius*, he says, *Et gravissimo frigore solus atque contractus dormitantius vigilabit in lectulo.* Savadon fancies that *contractus* is here for *in contracto loco, in angusto conclave*. For a small apartment is always less cold, and, of consequence, more commodious for the winter.

7 *Calabrian.* There is a great deal of humor in the poet's, telling this story of the *Calabrians*, because *Calabria* was his own country.

8 *Ingratitude for its certain crop.* A foolish and unmeaning prodigality deserves no better return; for acknowledgment ought always to be in proportion to the benefit received, and what is given in this manner is not worthy the name of a benefit. Cicero has a passage upon this article in his first Book of *Offices*, so beautiful, that it merits to be cited at large. *Acceptorum autem beneficiorum sunt delectus habendi; nec dubium quin maximo cuique plurimum debeatur; in quo tamen imprimis, quo quisque animo, studio, benivolentia fecerit, ponderandum est. Multi enim faciunt multa temeritate quadam sine judicio, vel morbo, in omnes, vel repentino quadam, quasi vento, impetu animi incitati: quæ beneficia æquè magna non sunt habenda, atque ea quæ judicio considerate, constanterque delata sunt.* "We ought to distinguish well with

Officiosaque sedulitas, & opella forensis,
Adducit febres, & testamenta resignat.
Quod si bruma nives Albanis illinet agris;
Ad mare descendet vates tuus, & sibi parceret,
Contractusque leget: te, dulcis amice, reviset
Cum Zephyris, si concedes, & hirundine primâ.

Non, quo more pyris vesci Calaber jubet hospes,
Tu me fecisti locupletem. Vescere sodes.
Jam satis est. At tu quantum vis tolle. Benignè.
Non invisa feres pueris munuscula parvis.
Tam teneor dono, quam si dimittar onustus.
Ur libet: hæc porcis hodie comedenda relinques.
Prodigus & stultus donat quæ spernit & odit.
Hæc leges ingratos tulit, & feret omnibus annis.
Vir bonus & sapiens dignis ait esse paratum*:
Nec tamen ignorat quid distent æra lupinis.

dimittar onustus. Ut libet: relinques hæc comedenda hodie porcis. Prodigus & stultus donat quæ spernit & odit. Hæc leges tulit & feret ingratos omnibus annis. Vir bonus & sapiens paratus dignis ait se esse paratum: nec ignoret tamen quid æra distent lupinis.

* paratus, Bent!.

officiosaque sedulitas, & opella forensis, adducit febres, & resignat testamenta. Quod si bruma illinet nives agris Albanis; vates tuus descendet ad mare, & parceret sibi, legetque contractus; reviset te, amice dulcis, cum Zephyris, & primâ hirundine, si concedes. Tu fecisti me locupletem non more, quo hospes Calaber jubet vesci pyris. Vescere sodes. Jam est satis. At tolle tu quantum vis. Benignè. Feres hæc munuscula non invisa pueris parvis. Teneor tam dono, quam si

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"with regard to the benefits we receive; and no doubt our acknowledgment ought to bear a proportion to the value of the gift. We are chiefly to consider the temper, inclination, and obliging manner of the giver. For many throw away their favors without choice or judgment; the humor of heaping them indifferently upon all the world haunts them like a disease; they are seized with sudden starts of kindness, and hurried on as by an impetuous torrent. Good offices of this kind ought never to be held in the same degree of esteem with those which proceed from judgment, reflection, and a settled principle of benevolence."

9 But a wise and, &c. Vir bonus & sapiens dignis ait esse paratus. The grammarians have been greatly puzzled to find out the construction of these words, and to save the poet's honor have judged it necessary to substitute paratum for paratus. All their endeavours serve only to betray their ignorance. Dignis ait esse paratum would be a real blunder after vir bonus & sapiens, and what the genius of the Latin language will by no means bear. On the contrary paratus must be referred to vir bonus & sapiens; and we are to supply se illis paratum, so as to make the entire construction run thus: Vir bonus

& sapiens paratus dignis ait se esse illis paratum. This manner of speaking has its elegance in poetry, and is not without example. We meet in Horace with patiens vocari Caesaris ultor, and uxor invidi foris esse nescis? So Virgil, Sensit medios delapsus in hostes. And Catullus, Ait fuisse navium celerimus.

10 Yet knowst well to pay a due regard to merit. Nec tamen ignorat quid distent æra lupinis. Lupinus signifies properly lupines or bops. The players upon the stage were wont to make use of these lupines instead of money, having them done up so as to resemble the current coin, with a particular mark whereby to distinguish them, and prevent knavery. This is plain from a passage of the 2d. Sc. Act 3. of Plautus's Pænulus. AGA. Agite, inspicite; aurum est. COL. Profecto, spectatores, comicum: macerato hoc pingues fiunt quro in Barbaria boves. AGA. "Look ye there, mark it well; it is gold. COL. Yes, faith, true theatri-cal coin: this very gold cut down and crumbled serves to fatten our oxen in Italy.

The meaning, therefore, of this verse in Horace is plainly thus: "He knows what he gives, and can distinguish well between true coin and that which players use upon the stage."

ments to deserve even the praises of my benefactor ¹¹. But if you
 25 desire that I should never be from you; restore my former vigor,
 the black locks ¹² that shaded my short forehead, my soft voice,
 easy smile, and languishing complaints amidst our cups of the
 flight and rigors of Cynara ¹³.

A half-starved mouse ¹⁴ happened once to squeeze herself
 30 through a narrow chink into a basket of corn; and having fed
 plentifully essayed in vain to make her escape with a full belly.
 To whom a weasel that stood at some distance said, Would
 you get rid of your present confinement, repair to the hollow
 chink as lank as when you first entered. If any one thinks the
 fable applicable to me, I am ready to resign all: for I am none of
 35 those who when surfeited with dainties praise the homely fare
 and sweet slumbers of low life, nor would I exchange my free-
 dom for all the riches of Arabia. You have often commended
 me for my modesty; and I have even in your own presence
 called you my king and father, nor was I more sparing of my
 words in your absence. Try whether I can cheerfully resign
 40 what you have so generously given me. It was well answered
 by Telemachus ¹⁵ the son of patient Ulysses: Ithaca affords no fit
 pasture for horses, as it neither abounds in plains, nor is fertile in
 grass: allow me therefore, Menelaüs, to decline your presents,
 which far better suit yourself. Ordinary things best become or-
 dinary men. My head is now no more full of Rome and its lofty
 45 palaces; the calm retreat of Tibur, or peaceful Tarentum, is my
 only delight.

Philip ¹⁶, a brave and bold captain, as well as an able pleader,
 returning one day from the forum about two o'clock, and com-
 plaining of its great distance from the Carinæ ¹⁷, being now ad-
 vanced in years, is said to have cast his eyes by chance upon a
 50 certain freedman ¹⁸, paring his nails with a careless air in a
 barber's

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¹¹ *The praises of my benefactor. Præsta-
 do me etiam pro laude merentis, instead of etiam
 laude promerentis.*

¹² *The black locks that shaded my short fore-
 head. Nigros angustâ fronte capillos. A short
 forehead was reckoned a great beauty
 among the Greeks and Romans. This is
 plain from several passages in our author,
 Ode 33. Book I.*

Insignem tenui fronte Lycorida.

¹³ *Rigors of Cynara. Horace elsewhere
 tells us, that he was very young, when he
 surrendered his heart to the charms of Cy-
 nara, Book IV. Ode i.*

Non sum qualis eram bonæ

Sub regno Cynaræ.

*I am no more what I was under the reign of
 lovely Cynara; and when he boasts in the
 14th Epistle of this same Book, that Cynara*

had loved him for his own sake, without
 any views of interest;

Quem se is immunem Cynaræ placuisse rapaci.

This passion must have been but of short
 continuance, for Cynara died very young.

—Sed Cynaræ breves

Annos fata dederunt.

Horace was, therefore, at a time of life very
 proper for these languishing complaints of
 the rigors of his mistress. This may, per-
 haps, refer to some slight of Cynara, which
 he had laid much to heart; but I am ra-
 ther apt to think he means the gay humor
 of the young girls of his time, when they
 counterfeited a sigh, and hid themselves,
 on purpose to be pursued and discovered by
 their lovers. This mirth and pastime he
 has, himself, very happily described in the
 9th Ode of Book I.

Dignum præstabo me etiam pro laude merentis.

Quod si me noles usquam discedere; reddes

Forte latus, nigros angustâ fronte capillos;

Reddes dulce loqui; reddes ridere decorum, &

Inter vina fugam Cynaræ mœrere protervæ.

Fortè per angustam tenuis vulpecula* rimam

Reperat in cumeram frumenti; pastaque rursus

Ire foràs pleno tendebat corpore frustra.

Cui mustela procul, Si vis, ait, effugere istine,

Macra cavum repetes arctum, quem macra subisti.

Hac ego si compellor imagine, cuncta resigno:

Nec somnum plebis laudo satùr altitium, nec

Otia divitiis Arabum liberrima muto.

Sæpè verècundum laudâsti; rexque paterque

Audisti coràm, nec verbo parciùs absens.

Inspice si possum donata reponere lætus.

Haud malè Telemachus proles patientis Ulyssæi:

Non est aptus equis Ithacæ locus, ut neque planis.

Porrectus spatiiis, neque multæ prodigus herbæ:

Atride, magis apta tibi tua dona relinquam.

Parvum parva decent. Mihi jam non regia Roma,

Sed vacuum Tibur placet, aut imbellè Tarentum.

Strenuus & fortis, causisque Philippus agendis

Clarus, ab officiis octavam circiter horam

Dum redit, atque foro nimium distare Carinas

Jam grandis natu queritur; conspexit, ut aiunt,

Adrasum quendam vacuâ tonsoris in umbrâ,

Cultello proprios purgantem leniter ungues.

25

35

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45

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Præstabo me dignum
etiam laude promeren-
tis. Quod si noles me
usquam discedere; red-
des forte latus; capillos
nigros angustâ fronte;
reddes loqui dulce; reddes
ridere decorum, & mœ-
rere inter vina fugam
protervæ Cynaræ.
Tenuis vulpecula rep-
erat fortè per angus-
tam rimam in cumeram
frumenti; pastaque
rursus tendebat ire
foràs pleno corpore, sed
frustra. Cui mustela
procul ait, Si vis effu-
gere istine, repetes na-
ræ arctum cavum,
quem subisti macra.
Ego, si compellor hac
imagine, resigno cunctas
nec satùr altitium laudo
somnia plebis, nec muto
liberrima otia divitiis
Arabum. Sæpè lau-
dâsti me verècundum;
& audisti rexque pa-
terque coràm, nec par-
ciùs verbo absens. In-
spice si possum lætus
reponere donata. Tele-
machus proles patientis
Ulyssæi haud malè
dixit: O Atride, I-
thacæ non est locus ap-
tus equis alendis, ut

neque porrectus planis spatiiis, neque prodigus multæ herbæ: relinquam tua dona magis apta tibi.
Parva decent parvum. Regia Roma non jam placet mihi, sed Tibur vacuum, aut imbellè Ta-
rentum. Philippus strenuus & fortis, clarusque causis agendis, dum redit circiter octavam horam
ab officiis, atque jam grandis natu queritur Carinas nimium distare foro; conspexit, ut aiunt,
adrasum quendam in umbrâ vacuâ tonsoris, leniter purgantem proprios ungues cultello.

* nitedula, Benth.

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Nunc & latentis proditor intimo

Gratus puellæ risus ab angulo.

And Virgil, Eclogue 3.

Et fugit ad salices, & se cupit ante videri.

14 A half-starved mouse. Horace, after

pleading the excuse of his age for not at-

tending upon Mæcenas, foresees that envi-

vious and malicious courtiers would not be

wanting to insinuate, that now his fortune

was made, he was less assiduous; but were

he in the same destitute circumstances as

when first introduced to his patron, age

would be far from hindering his close at-

tendance. The following fable, therefore,

is to be considered as told by his enemies

to Mæcenas.

15 It was well answered by Telemachus.

This answer of Telemachus is taken from the
4th Book of the *Odyssey*, and was made to
Menelaüs, who urged him to accept a pre-
sent of horses. The application of this an-
swer is obvious; Tibur, or Tarentum was
our poet's Ithaca, where Mæcenas's gifts
could be of no more use to him, than the
present of Menelaüs to Telemachus.

16 Philip. This is Lucius Marcius Phi-
lippus, of whom Cicero so often speaks. He
was an orator of the first rank, a man of
great quality, and had been married to Atia,
the mother of Augustus, and sister of Julius
Cæsar.

17 Carina. The name of a street in
Rome, where Philip lived.

18 Freedman. Adrasum quendam. Adra-
sus

barber's shop. Demetrius, says he, to his foot-boy (one who was very smart at taking his master's commands) go, inquire, and bring me an account, who that man is, his country, fortune, family, and patron. The boy went, returned instantly, 55 and told his master, that his name was Vultejus Menas, that he was a public crier, of a small estate, but reputable parents; that no one knew better when to work, or when to be idle, how to gain a little matter, and lay it out in the best manner; he liked to associate with his equals, and entertain them in his little house; he sometimes took the diversion of a play, and, when business was over, loved to walk in the Campus Martius. I want 60 to hear all this from himself, says Philip: go, invite him to supper. Menas could not believe it; but wondered what was the matter. To be short, he answered civilly. How! says Philip; does he refuse? Yes, replies the boy, he refuses obstinately, and either despises or dreads you¹⁹. Next day Philip comes upon Vultejus as 65 he was selling frippery²⁰ to the poorer sort of people, and saluted him first. Vultejus began to frame excuses, and plead the meanness of his profession and the ties it laid him under, as a reason for his not waiting upon him in the morning; in fine, he begged pardon that he had not seen him first. I pardon you, says Philip, only upon condition, that you sup with me this evening. 70 I shall be sure to obey. Come then a little after three; till then ply closely your business. Vultejus did not fail to be at supper; where, after speaking whatever came into his head without restraint, he is dismissed to rest. Philip observing how readily he took the bait, that he was constant at his levee in the morning, 75 and his sure guest at night, invites him to the country with him during the feast of the Latins²¹. Vultejus, mounted on a good horse, thought he could never enough praise the Sabine air and fields. Philip observed him, and was highly pleased: and seeking to draw amusement and diversion from every thing, 80 gives him seven thousand sesterces, and promises to lend him as many more; thus persuading him to buy a little farm. He buys it. To make short of the story; of a citizen he becomes a farmer, and can talk of nothing but furrows, and vines, and planting of elms; he wastes himself by hard labor, and seems 85 to wither in the pursuit of riches. But at last his sheep are stolen,

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sus does not signify here a man newly shaved, but a freedman; it being the custom for slaves to be shaved, when they were restored to their liberty. *Plautus*, in the first Scene of his *Amphitryon*;

— *Quod ille faciat Jupiter,*

Ut ego hic hodie raso capite calvus capiam pileum.

¹⁹ *Despises or dreads you. Et te negligit*

aut horret. *Horrere* and *horror* are properly meant of that awe and respect, which seizes us, when we approach any thing sacred; and, as the vulgar are apt to look upon great men as above the ordinary rank of mortals, the same words have been used to express the respect they feel, when admitted to their presence.

²⁰ *Selling frippery to the poorer sort of people.*

Demetri (puer hic non lævè jussu Philippi
Accipiebat) abi, quære, & refer, unde domo, quis,
Cujus fortunæ, quo sit patre, quove patrono.
It, redit, & narrat, Vultejum nomine Menam, 55
Præconem, tenui censu, sine crimine notum*,
Et properare loco, & cessare, & quærere, & uti,
Gaudentem parvisque sodalibus, & lare certo†,
Et ludis, &, post decisa negotia, Campo.
Scitari libet ex ipso quodcunque refers: dic 60
Ad cœnam veniat. Non sanè credere Mena;
Mirari secum tacitus. Quid multa? Benignè,
Respondet. Negat† ille mihi? Negat improbus,
& te

Negligit aut horret. Vultejum manè Philippus
Vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello 65
Occupat, & salvere jubet prior. Ille Philippo
Excusare laborem & mercenaria vincta,
Quòd non manè domum venisset; denique quòd non
Providisset eum. Sic ignovisse putato
Me tibi, si cœnas hodie mecum. Ut libet. Ergo 70
Post nonam venies; nunc I, rem strenuus auge.
Ut ventum ad cœnam est; dicenda, tacenda locutus,
Tandem dormitum dimittitur. Hic ubi sæpè
Occultum visus decurrere piscis ad hamum,
Manè cliens, & jam certus conviva, jubetur 75
Rura suburbana indiētis comes ire Latinis.
Impositus mannis, arvum cœlumque Sabinum
Non cessat laudare. Videt, ridetque Philippus:
Et sibi dum requiem, dum risus undique quærit,
Dum septem donat sestertia, mutua septem 80
Promittit; persuadet uti mercetur agellum.
Mercatur. Ne te longis ambagibus ultra
Quàm satis est morer; ex nitido fit rusticus, atque
Sulcos & vineta crepat mera, præparat ulmos,
Immoritur studiis, & amore senescit habendi. 85

Demetri (hic puer accipiebat jussu Philippi non lævè) abi, quære, & refer, unde domo sit, quis, cujus fortunæ, quo patre, quove patrono. It, redit, & narrat, eum esse nomine Vultejum Menam, præconem, tenui censu, notum sine crimine, illum posse & properare loco, & cessare, & quærere, & uti, gaudentem parvisque sodalibus, & certo lare, & ludis, & Campo, post decisa negotia. Inquit Philippus, Libet scitari ex ipso quodcunque refers: dic illi ut veniat ad cœnam. Mena non sanè credere; mirari secum tacitus. Quid multa? respondet, Benignè. Negat ille mihi, ait Philippus? Negat improbus, inquit Demetrius, & negligit te aut horret. Philippus manè occupat Vultejum vendentem vilia scruta tunicato popello, & prior jubet salvere. Ille excusare (excusabat) Philippo laborem, & vincta mercenaria, quòd non venisset domum ejus diei manè; denique, quòd non providisset eum. Ait Philippus, Putato me sic ignovisse tibi, si cœnas mecum hodie. Ut libet, respondet Vultejus. Ergo venies post ho-

ram nonam; nunc I, strenuus auge rem. Ut ventum est ad cœnam; locutus dicenda tacendaque dimittitur tandem dormitum. Ubi visus est decurrere hic sæpè velut piscis ad occultum hamum, cliens manè, & jam certus conviva, jubetur ire comes ad rura suburbana indiētis Latinis. Impositus mannis, non cessat laudare arvum cœlumque Sabinum. Philippus videt, ridetque: & dum quærit sibi requiem, dum quærit risus undique, dum donat septem sestertia, promittit septem mutua; persuadet uti mercetur agellum. Mercatur. Ne morer te ultra quàm satis est longis ambagibus; fit ex nitido rusticus, atque crepat mera vineta & sulcos, præparat ulmos, immoritur studiis, & senescit amore habendi.

* natum, Bentl.

† curto, Id.

† neget, Id.

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people. Tunicato scruta popello. Scrutum is originally a Greek word, γυῖτον, and signifies properly all kind of old iron, and such like ware. The epithet tunicatus was com-

monly used in speaking of the people, because they wore the tunica without any robe over it.

21 Feast of the Latins. Indiētis comes ire Latinis.

stolen, his goats die, the crop fails of his expectation, and his oxen are killed with hard working. Discouraged by all these losses, he takes his horse at midnight, and comes in a great rage to Philip: who seeing him make so rough and dismal a
 90 figure; I am afraid, says he, you are too diligent and attentive to your gains. O my patron, replied he, if you would give me my true name, call me a miserable wretch. But I conjure you by your Genius, by your right hand, and domestic Gods, restore me
 95 to my first estate.

Whoever finds the way of life ²² he has quitted preferable to that he so eagerly courted, let him return without delay, and resume his former condition.

It is a good rule ²³, for every one to measure himself by his own standard, and fix accordingly.

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Latinis. *Indiæ Latine*, the feast of the *Latins*, called *indiæ* and *conceprivæ*, to distinguish them from the *stata*; for they were moveable, and proclaimed by the consul, to be held on the day he had fixed upon. This feast was celebrated on mount *Alba*, in memory of the treaty of peace, that had been made by *Tarquin* the Proud, between the *Romans*, *Volsci*, and *Latins*.

²² *Whoever finds the way, &c. Qui simul*

aspexit. Interpreters have differed about the manner of explaining these lines. Some think we ought to understand them of *Philip*, who, upon hearing the reasons urged by *Vulcius*, in defence of his resolution, was forced to own, that his first condition was preferable to the present; and accordingly consented to his desire, by restoring him to it. But a great many maintain, that the story of *Philip* and *Vulcius* ends with the preceding

The KEY.

HORACE, upon retiring into the country, had given his promise to *Mæcenas*, that he would return in five days: but after continuing there the whole month of *August*, he writes this Epistle to excuse his absence. He tells him, that the care of his health had obliged him to remain in the country during the dog-days; and that, when the snows came on, the same care would render it necessary for him to go to *Tarentum*, but that he intended to be with him early in the spring. But, as *Horace* was under the strongest ties to *Mæcenas*, and would not be thought unmindful of what he owed him, he is at a great deal of pains to shew that the present refusal did not proceed from want of gratitude, but from that sense of liberty, which all mankind ought to have, and which no favor, however great, could countervail. He acknowledges his liberality, and the agreeable

Verum ubi oves furto, morbo periere capellæ,
Spem mentita seges, bos est enectus arando;
Offensus dampnis, mediâ de nocte caballum
Arripit, iratusque Philippi tendit ad ædes.
Quem simul aspexit scabrum intonsumque Phi-
lippus;

Durus, ait, Vultei, nimis attentusque videris
Esse mihi. Pol me miserum, patrone, vocares,
Si velles, inquit, verum mihi ponere nomen.
Quod te per Genium, dextramque, Deosque Penates
Obsecro & obtestor, vitæ me redde priori.
Qui simul * aspexit quantum dimissa petitis
Præstent, maturè redeat, repetatque relicta.

Metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede, verum est.
tranque, Deosque Penates, redde me vitæ priori. Qui simul aspexit quantum dimissa præstent
petitis, redeat maturè, repetatque relicta. Verum est, quemque metiri se suo modulo ac pede.

* semel, Bentl.

Verum ubi oves periere
furto, capellæ morbo,
seges mentita est spem,
bos enectus arando;
Vultejus, offensus
dampnis, arripit cabal-
lum de mediâ nocte,
90 iratusque tendit ad ædes
Philippi. Quem simul
Philippus aspexit sca-
brum intonsumque; ait,
Vultei, videris mihi esse
nimis durus attentus-
que. Pol inquit, pa-
trone, vocares me mise-
rum, si velles ponere
mihi verum nomen.

95 Quod obsecro & obtestor
te per Genium, dex-

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preceding verse; and that the three verses which conclude the Epistle, are a moral reflection drawn from it. According to this latter explication, *qui* is instead of *quicumque*.

23 It is a good rule. This sentence all ages have admitted as agreeable to reason, and constituting the chief part of prudence. It was writ in the temple of *Delpbos*, as a truth that every one ought to know, and govern himself by; and indeed, were a due

regard paid to it, it would preserve us from innumerable errors we are daily apt to fall into in the conduct of life; for men in the general would be much happier than they are, could they but learn to sit down contented with that condition of life which best suited them, and was in their power. *Verum est* for *par est*, *æquum est*. So Cicero has *judex verissimus*, for *judex æquissimus*, in his Oration for *Roscius*.

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agreeable manner he had of expressing it: he acknowledges too, that he had been a close attendant upon him in his younger years, but assures him at the same time, that if he was less assiduous now, it did not proceed from want of tenderness and friendship, or that he thought his ends were served, but from those infirmities of age, which, as they were sensibly growing upon him, rendered it inconsistent with his health and ease. This Epistle has been justly admired by the critics, as one of *Horace's* master-pieces, and points out what degrees of respect are due to the great. We ought to pay them all the court and assiduity, which friendship, respect, and gratitude require: but a man of true worth will never carry his acknowledgments so far, as to sacrifice his liberty, or make a surrender of his health and happiness.

Sanadon thinks it was written about the year of the city 731.

EPISTLE VIII.

TO CELSUS ALBINOVANUS.

He complains of his own inconstancy; and advises his friend to bear his good fortune with moderation.

GO, Muse, and wish all manner of joy and prosperity to Celsus Albinovanus¹, who is of the retinue of Tiberius in quality of secretary. If he ask you what I am doing; tell him, that after all my many and fine promises², I find it neither in my power to live well nor agreeably³: not that my vines⁴ are battered down
 5 by the hail, or my olives⁵ destroyed by the immoderate heats; nor because my flocks that feed in remote pastures are sickly: but that being⁶ more infirm in mind than body, I will neither hear nor attend to any thing that may give me relief: that I am disgusted with my honest and faithful physicians; quite out
 10 of humor with my friends⁷, for their cares to rouse me out of this deadly lethargy; obstinately pursue what is hurtful, and as perversely refuse what might do me good: in fine, that I am so inconstant⁸, as when at Rome I want to be at Tibur, and when at Tibur I am impatient to be at Rome. When you have done all this, inquire about his health; how he manages his affairs, and how himself; whether he is in the good graces of the prince, and acceptable

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¹ *Celsus Albinovanus*. The same of whom we have already given an account on the 15th verse of the 3d Epistle.

² *Many and fine promises*. *Dic multa & pulchra minantem*. As a man who had undertaken to write against vice, and point out the way to virtue and happiness. This may receive some light from a verse of the 3d Satire of Book II.

Atqui vultus erat multa & præclara minantis.

Which is plainly meant of writing against vice.

³ *To live well nor agreeably*. *Vivere nec rectè nec suaviter*. The poet here represents himself as in very deplorable circumstances. *Vivere rectè* means to live according to the rules of morality, and in the practice of virtue. *Vivere suaviter*, to give into a life of pleasure, and acknowledge no rule but that of the passions. Could this last way of life, *the agreeable*, be followed, without any regard to the other, men might have

some excuse for the choice of it. But if we once renounce the substantial pleasures of virtue, it will be in vain to expect any real enjoyment in the false pleasures of vice. We can no otherwise live agreeably, than by living virtuously.

⁴ *Not that my vines*. Under these ordinary accidents *Horace* comprehends all the troubles that can happen either with regard to health or fortune: and there is naturally not any thing that should perplex us, but what affects one or other of these. For the mind is in our own power, and if we take care to preserve a due balance there, all must go well: and yet for the most part so unhappy are we, that when all nature seems to act in concert to make us quiet and easy, we industriously seek out causes of discontent, and make war with ourselves.

⁵ *My olives, &c.* *Oleamque mordant æstus*. For excess of heat or cold is equally dangerous to olives. *Columella*, Book V. Ch. 8. *Nulla ex his generibus aut perfr-*

EPISTOLA VIII.

Ad CELSUM ALBINOVANUM.

De suâ inconstantia queritur; monet ut modestè ferat fortunam.

CELSE gaudere & benè rem gerere Albinovano,
Musa rogata, refer, comiti scribæque Neronis.
Si quæret quid agam; dic, multa & pulchra minan-

tem,
Vivere nec rectè nec suaviter: haud quia grando
Contuderit vites, oleamque * momorderit æstus;
Nec quia longinquis armentum ægrotet in arvis:
Sed quia mente minùs validus quàm corpore toto,
Nil audire velim, nil discere, quod levet ægrum:

Fidis offendar medicis, irascar amicis,
Cur me funesto properent arcere veterno;
Quæ nocuere sequar, fugiam quæ profore credam;
Romæ Tibur amem ventosus, Tibure Romam.
Post hæc, ut valeat; quo pacto rem gerat, & se;
Ut placeat juveni, percontare, utque cohorti.

properent arcere me funesto veterno; sequar quæ nocuere, fugiam quæ credam profore; Romæ ventosus amem Tibur, Tibure amo Romam. Post hæc, percontare ut valeat; quo pacto gerat rem, & se; ut placeat juveni, utque cohorti.

* oleamve, Benth.

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vidum; aut gelidum statum cæli patitur. None of these kinds of olives can thrive either in a very hot, or very cold climate. Longinquis in arvis, in remote pastures; as in Calabria and Lucania, whither the shepherds led their flocks, to the one in the summer, and to the other in the winter.

6 But that being, &c. It is observed of those disquiets that often arise without any apparent cause, that they are at once an evidence of the meanness and greatness of our nature. Of the first, because they shew, that even in the midst of prosperity, and when all things seem to conspire to please us, we are yet incapable of unallayed and complete happiness: of the other, because, being born for true and solid enjoyments, we meet with nothing in this world but mere shadows; which, as they are not suffi-

cient to satisfy the demands of the soul, raise a disquiet, of which we feel the effects, without being able to know the cause.

7 Physicians, friends. By these he means the ancient philosophers, whose writings furnished him with remedies against his chagrin. For they were at pains to open up the secrets of nature, strengthen the mind against the fears of death, and display the joys there was ground to hope for in another life.

8 Inconstant. Ventosus, changeable as the wind. The same word is used in this sense, Epistle 19. Ventosa plebs, the fickle croud. This seems to have been Horace's real foible; we find his slave reproaching him with it in the 7th Satire of the second Book:

*Romæ rus optas; absentem rusticus urbem
Tollis ad astra levis.*

O R D O.

MUSA rogata, refer Cello Albinovano, comiti scribæque Neronis, gaudere & gerere rem benè. Si quæret quid agam; dic me, minantem multa & pulchra, vivere nec rectè nec suaviter: haud quia grando contuderit vites, æstusque momorderit oleam; nec quia armentum ægrotet in arvis longinquis: sed quia minùs validus mente quàm toto corpore, velim audire nil, discere nil, quod levet ægrum: offendar fidis medicis, irascar amicis, cur pro-

15 ceptable to his court. If he answers, that all is well ; first give him joy ; but remember at the same time to whisper softly into his ear : Know Celsus, that as you behave⁹ in your good fortune, so will your friends behave towards you.

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⁹ *That as you behave, &c.* The poet here, in a way of pleantry and mirth, whispers a very sound admonition to *Celsus*, who was undoubtedly of a temper apt to grow vain upon the credit he had at court. They, who are well with princes, will best know the sentiments which others have of them, by examining impartially into themselves : for it is a never-failing rule, that they are loved or hated, according to the good or bad use

THE KEY,

HORACE, in this Epistle, gives us a picture of himself, as made up of contradictions and chagrin, miserable without any apparent cause, and dissatisfied, he could not tell why. Such indeed is the imperfection of human nature, that even the wisest and most reasonable men find it sometimes impossible to guard against these gloomy clouds, that are apt suddenly to overcast the mind. *Horace*, who understood life so well, had carefully studied the philosophers, and knew the best in the world how to apply their precepts, is yet haunted by them, and that in a time of perfect health, when fortune

EPISTLE IX.

TO CLAUDIUS NERO.

He with great modesty recommends *Septimius* to him.

SEPTIMIUS¹ alone, my prince, of all men living, knows perfectly the value you have for me. For when he urges, and in a manner compels me, to endeavour to procure him access to you, and recommends a man worthy of² the confidence and employment

ANNOTATIONS.

¹ *Septimius*. The same to whom he addresses the 6th Ode of Book II. and who is mentioned with so great honor in the 3d Epistle :

Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus.
It appears that he gained great favor with *Augustus* ; for, in a letter written by that prince to our poet some years after, he says, *Tui qualem habeam memoriam, poteris ex Sep-*

timio quoque nostro audire. “ *Septimius*, our common friend, will let you know how much you are in my thoughts.”

² *A man worthy of the, &c.* *Dignum mente domoque legentis honesta Neronis.* This verse does equal honor both to *Tiberius* and *Septimius*. It shews the one a discerning prince, and the other a deserving man. We are not to consider these as words of mere com-

EPIST. IX. QUINTI HORATII FLACCI. 247

Si dicet, rectè; primum gaudere; subinde
Præceptum auriculis hoc instillare memento:
Ut tu fortunam, sic nos te, Celse, feremus.

15 si dicet, rectè; primum
gaudere; subinde me-
mento instillare hoc
præceptum auriculis
ejus: Celse, ut tu feres

fortunam, sic nos feremus te.

ANNOTATIONS.

use they make of their favor at court. the lightest kind: an extraordinary degree
Feremus, the word in the original, repre- of virtue is necessary to support it in a be-
sents fortune to us under the notion of a coming way.
burden; and to say truth, it is none of

The KEY.

tune was favorable, and all the lights of wisdom shone upon him. I know there are some, who fancy that the poet accuses himself only to reproach his friend with a better air; and remind him gently of some faults he would have him strive to avoid. But there is no foundation for this notion; on the contrary, the character is so like to what Horace gives of himself in other parts of his writings, that one can scarce doubt to whom it belongs.

Sanadon conjectures, that this Epistle was written in the year of the city 734, in the spring, a little before Tiberius began his march into Armenia.

EPISTOLA IX.

Ad CLAUDIUM NERONEM.

Modeste commendat ei Septimum.

SEPTIMIUS, Claudii, nimirum intelligit unus,
Quanti me facias. Nam cum rogat, & prece cogit,
Scilicet ut tibi se laudare & tradere coner,

ut coner laudare & tradere se tibi,

ORDO.

CLAUDI, Septi-
mius unus nimirum
intelligit, quanti facias
me. Nam cum rogat,
& cogit prece, scilicet

ANNOTATIONS.

compliment in the poet: Tiberius was really the person he is here described, a good judge of merit, and ready to reward it: yea, even after he came to the empire, when his jealous and arbitrary measures had rendered him suspicious of virtue, he still retained a hatred of vice. This we learn from Tacitus, who says of him, Neque eminentes virtutes sectabatur, & rursus vitia oderat: ex optimis periculum sibi, à pessimis dedecus publicum metuebat. "He was one, who had no inclination to reward virtue, and yet bore an irreconcilable hatred to vice: from the best he apprehended danger to himself; from the worst, disgrace to the public."

ment of Nero who is so true a judge of merit; when he assures me that I stand with you in the first rank of favor³ and friendship; he sees and is better acquainted with my interest in you than I am myself. I said indeed all in my power, to excuse myself; but began at last to fear, lest he should think my modesty only pretence, and that I dissembled my influence with you, to reserve it wholly for myself. Thus to avoid the reproach of a greater crime, I have ventured to put on a little town-assurance⁴. If therefore you can pardon the freedom I have taken in yielding to the importunity of a friend; receive Septimius into your retinue, and believe him a man of probity and worth.

ANNOTATIONS.

³ The first rank of favor. Horace, in this, excuses the importunity of his friend: Septimius, says he, imagines, that I am even one of your familiars; that I stand in the first rank of favor with you; and so knows better than myself, my influence and credit. This is all in the way of raillery.

⁴ I have ventured to put on a little town-

assurance. *Frontis ad urbem descendi præmia.* I have endeavoured at such a translation of these words, as fully expresses their sense; but as the manner of speaking is somewhat uncommon, I shall explain it more particularly. Buffoons among the Latins were often called *urbani*. So Plautus, Trin. Act. I. Sc. 2.

Nihil

THE KEY.

THERE is scarce any thing that requires more prudence and discretion, and yet scarce any thing that is more lightly attended to, than the recommending of friends. There are many circumstances, which render it a matter of the utmost nicety, especially when done to the great; Horace seems to have been very sensible of this, and has left the Epistle now before us as an undoubted proof of

EPISTLE X.

TO FUSCUS ARISTIUS.

He praises a country-life, and a mind contented with its lot.

WE who delight only in the country wish health to Fuscus¹ a lover of the town: here alone our sentiments differ, in every thing else we resemble like twins. As true brothers,
our

ANNOTATIONS.

¹ Fuscus. The same to whom he addresses the 22d Ode of Book I.

² What

Dignum mente domoque legentis honesta Neronis ;
 Munere cùm fungi propioris censet amici ;
 Quid possim videt ac novit me valdiùs ipso.
 Multa quidem dixi, cur excusatus abirem ;
 Sed timui, mea ne finxisse minora putarer,
 Dissimulator opis propriæ, mihi commodus uni.
 Sic ego, majoris fugiens opprobria culpæ,
 Frontis ad urbanæ descendi præmia. Quod si
 Depositum laudas ob amici iussa pudorem ;
 Scribe tui gregis hunc, & fortem crede bonumque.

5 dignum mente domoque
 Neronis legentis bo-
 nestæ ; cùm censet me
 fungi munere propioris
 amici ; videt & novit
 quid possim valdiùs me-
 ipso. Dixi quidem
 multa, cur abirem ex-
 10 cusatus ; sed timui, ne
 putarer finxisse mea
 minora, dissimulator
 propriæ opis, commodus
 mihi uni. Sic ego, fu-
 giens opprobria ma-

gis culpæ, descendi ad præmia frontis urbanæ. Quod si laudas pudorem depositum ob iussa
 amici ; scribe hunc tui gregis, & crede illum fortem bonumque.

A N N O T A T I O N S.

Nil est profectò stultius, neque stolidius, "at court pleasantly said." *Frons urbana,*

&c.

Quàm urbani assidui cives, quos scurras
vocant.

"There is nothing more foolish or ridi-
 culous, than that idle cattle called buf-
 foons." And *Suetonius* relating a smart
 saying spoken before *Vespasian* : *Quidam ur-*
banorum non infacet : "One of the buffoons

then, is the same as *frons scurrilis*, the fore-
 head of a buffoon ; that is, an assurance
 that stuck at nothing, that kept no mea-
 sures. And, *descendere ad præmia frontis*
urbanæ, means to put on this assurance ;
 which instead of the assurance of a buffoon,
 I call after *Dr. Dunster* town-assurance, as
 more agreeable to our present manner.

The KEY.

of it. He was very much in the good graces of *Tiberius*, and the
 regard *Augustus* had for him gave him a further privilege. More-
 over, *Septimius* was one of his dearest friends, a man of birth, and
 known merit : yet with what modesty, diffidence, and seeming re-
 luctance, does he recommend him ?

This Epistle was writ a little before the departure of *Tiberius* to
 visit the provinces in the east, in the year of the city 731.

E P I S T O L A X.

Ad FUSCUM ARISTIUM.

Laudat vitam rusticam, & animum suâ sorte contentum.

URBIS amatorem Fuscum salvere jubemus
 Ruris amatores : hac in re scilicet unâ
 Multum dissimiles, ad * cætera penè gemelli.

penè gemelli ad cætera.

* at, *Bentl.*

O R D O.

NOS amatores ruris
 jubemus Fuscum
 amatorem urbis sal-
 vere : scilicet multum
 dissimiles in hac re unâ,

z *What*

our notions are exactly the same. In fine, we may be compared
 5 to the two old pigeons in the fable. You keep upon the nest; I
 wander among the brooks and pleasant fields, the groves, and
 rocks overgrown with moss. What would you have me say?²
 I then begin to live³ and am happier than a king, as soon as I
 abandon that, which you all with one voice⁴ extol to the skies.
 10 I am like the fugitive slave⁵ of some priest; who, weary of cakes,
 now desires nothing so much as plain bread, and prefers it to the
 finest sweetmeats.

If we would study⁶ an easy life and agreeable to nature,
 and for this end make it our first care to find out some fit place
 whereon to build us a house; can we fix better than upon some
 pleasant spot in the country? Where shall we find the winters
 15 milder? Where else will the refreshing zephyrs temper the rage
 of the Dog-star, or the insupportable heat of the Lion⁷, when
 the sun shall thence dart his piercing rays? Is there a place
 where envious care less disturbs our peaceful slumbers? Does the
 finest African marble⁸ equal the fragrance and enamel of the
 fields? Or can water forced through leaden pipes⁹ into the
 20 different districts of your city be compared to that, which pure
 and untainted murmurs sweetly along its sinking channel? How
 fond

ANNOTATIONS.

² What would you have me say? *Quid queris?* A way of speaking in use, when they wanted in few words to give a reason for any thing; and answers in our language to, *What would you have me say? What can I tell you more?* Cicero, in the first Epistle of the second Book to Atticus: *Verum præclarè Metellus impedit, & impedit. Quid queris? Est consul, Φιδόμαρτις. & ut semper judicavi, naturâ bonus.* "But Metellus
 "hinders, and always will hinder. What
 "would you have me say? He is consul,
 "he loves his country, and I always
 "thought him a good man."

³ I then begin to live. Horace seems to have been a great lover of the country, and retirement; hence his frequent encomiums upon it in his works, and his passionate desire to return to it, when obliged to be at Rome:

O Rus, quando ego te aspiciam? quandoque licebit,

Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno & inertibus horis,

Ducere sollicitæ jucunda obliuia vitæ?

Satire 6. Book II. His saying here, that he is a king, when in his little solitude, comes yet short of what he says in the same Satire, when speaking of his nights and repasts, he cries out, *O noctes, cœnæque Deum!* Dacier further observes, that the

two words, *vivo & regno*, take in the whole subject of the Epistle, which is divided into two parts. In the first he shews, that a country-life is only what deserves the name of life; in the second, that it is there a man enjoys the truest liberty; which the Stoics held to be the only sovereignty.

⁴ With one voice. *Rumore secundo*, that is, with the voice of all the people; what Cicero calls *secundo populo*.

⁵ Fugitive slave. It is commonly thought, that no servants are happier than those of priests. The slaves, Horace speaks of here, seem to have been weary of good usage. Instead of bread, they ate of the cakes offered to the Gods, and were sometimes so satiated with that food, as to run away from their masters, and fix somewhere else, that they might have plain bread. Horace, by this comparison, means to let *Aristius* know that he was sick of the pleasures of the town, and that he retired into the country as a way of life more agreeable to his taste. *Sanadon*.

⁶ If we would study, &c. He begins here the first part of his Epistle, that a retired country-life is what only deserves the name of life. To live agreeably to nature, is to choose what may be useful and pleasant, and avoid what may hurt or afflict us. This philosophers call *convenienter congruenterque*

natura

Fraternis animis, quidquid negat alter, & alter.
 Annuimus pariter, vetuli notique columbi.
 Tu nidum servas; ego laudo ruris amœni
 Rivos, & musco circumlita saxa, nemusque.
 Quid quæris? vivo & regno, simul ista reliqui,
 Quæ vos ad cœlum effertis rumore secundo.
 Utque sacerdotis fugitivus, liba recuso;
 Pane egeo, jam mellitis potiore placentis.

Vivere naturæ si convenienter oportet,
 Ponendæque domo quærenda est area primum;
 Novistine locum potiore rure beato?
 Est ubi plûs tepeant hyemes? ubi gratior aura
 Leniat & rabiem Canis, & momenta Leonis,
 Cùm semel accepit solem furibundus acutum?
 Est ubi depellat somnos minùs invida cura?
 Deteriùs Libycis olet aut nitet herba lapillis?
 Purior in vicis aqua tendit rumpere plumbum,
 Quàm quæ per pronum trepidat cum murmure ri-
 vum?

Fraternis animis, quidquid alter negat, & alter negat. Vetuli notique columbi, annuimus pariter. Tu servas nidum; ego laudo rivos amœni ruris, & saxa circumlita musco, nemusque. Quid quæris? vivo & regno, simul ac reliqui ista, quæ vos effertis ad cœlum secundo rumore. Utque fugitivus (servus) sacerdotis, recuso liba; ego pane, jam potiore placentis mellitis. Si oportet vivere convenienter naturæ, areaque primum quærenda est ponendæ domo; novistine locum potiore beato rure? Est ubi hyemes tepeant plûs? ubi aura gratior leniat & rabiem Canis, &

momenta Leonis, cùm semel furibundus accepit solem acutum? Est ubi invida cura minùs depellat somnos? Nitet aut olet herba deteriùs lapillis Libycis? Tendit aqua rumpere plumbum in vicis purior, quàm quæ trepidat cum murmure per pronum rivum?

A N N O T A T I O N S.

naturæ vivere. Our poet, in his first Satire, calls it, *intra naturæ fines vivere*; to live within the bounds prescribed by nature, that is, to follow all its rules, to be able to discern what it necessarily requires, and what it can be without.

Quid latura sibi, quid sit dolitura negatum.

7 *The insupportable heat of the Lion. Momenta Leonis*, that is, *motus, astus*: the expression is bold and strong. It represents the constellation *Leo* as a fierce animal that devours by his heat, that rages and storms. *Momen* and *momentum*, come from the verb *movere*; whence *Cicero*, in the first Book of his *Tusculan Questions*, has *elementorum momenta*, for *elementorum motus*. *Sanadon*.

8 *Does the finest African marble? Deterius Libycis olet aut nitet herba lapillis?* The poet here uses the diminutive *lapillis*, because the marble employed in paving was cut into little square pieces, and painted in different colors. Can this, says he, compare with the verdant turf or enamel of the fields? There is a fine passage in *Lucretius* to this purpose; where, speaking of the advantages which those who live in the country have over them that live in town, he says, that if they have not houses adorned with gold and silver, set off with

fine statues, or illuminated with a great number of flambeaus; they have yet what more than compensates for this want, and yields a truer pleasure. The passage is so inimitably beautiful, that I cannot forbear quoting it here:

*Attamen inter se prostrati in gramine molli
 Propter aquæ rivum, sub ramis arboris altæ,
 Non magnis opibus jucunde corpora curant;
 Præsertim cum tempestas arridet, & anni
 Tempora conspurgunt viridantes floribus
 herbas.*

“ But sitting together upon the tender
 “ grafs along a murmuring brook, screened
 “ from the heat by the shady height of
 “ some adjacent trees, they enjoy without
 “ much expence a cheerful repast; especially when the season is favorable, and
 “ nature takes a pleasure to enamel the
 “ fields with an infinity of flowers.”

9 *Water forced through leaden pipes.* Water was brought to *Rome* from a vast distance by leaden pipes; nor did the city almost afford any other than what was conveyed in this manner: whereas, in the country, they might have it from the springs and fountains, or as it run along its sinking channel, *per pronum rivum*, not *planum*, as some have fancied; for the water, running according to its natural bent, is here opposed

fond are you ¹⁰ to breed up whole groves of trees amidst your columns and porticos? How much do you admire a house, that commands a large prospect into the country? Though nature is driven away by violence ¹¹, still she will return, and insensibly
 25 surmount all your unreasonable disgusts.

The unskilful merchant ¹², who knows not how to distinguish between the false varnish of Aquinum ¹³ and true Tyrian purple, is not in danger of receiving a more deep and sensible loss, than he who wants sagacity to discern truth from falsehood. He, who is too much elated with prosperity, will in proportion be
 30 shocked at adversity. Whatever we admire, we quit with reluctance. Fly greatness: a poor man in his homely hut may taste more real happiness than kings, or their most distinguished favorites. A stag ¹⁴, as being the better warrior, drove the
 35 horse from the common pasture: the weaker at length after a long contest applied to man for help, and quietly submitted to the rein: but when by this means the headstrong animal had got the better of his enemy, he found he could neither shake off the rider, nor free himself from the rein that checked his course. In like manner he, who from a dread of poverty
 40 parts with his liberty more precious than the finest metals, shall give another the mastery over him, and be an eternal slave, because he knew not how to sit down contented with a little. When our fortune is not suited to our condition, it will be like a shoe, which is apt to cause us to trip, if too large; and pinches, when too little. You will therefore find it the truest wisdom, Aristius, to
 45 be contented with your lot; nor scruple to reproach me severely, when you see me restless to hoard up, and bring together what I have no need of. Money is always either our master or slave; but it is much fitter that it should follow ¹⁵ than draw the rope.

I wrote

ANNOTATIONS.

to that which is forced into the city by pipes, and which all the way struggles to break its prison, and return to its source.

¹⁰ How fond are you? The great men at Rome were at an immense charge in their houses and gardens: they inclosed a vast extent of ground, in which they had fields, and meadows, and groves. This gave Horace great advantage in his reasoning; for, as those who lived in the city spared no cost to procure the enjoyments of a country-life, this was a strong proof to which side nature inclined.

¹¹ Though nature is driven away by violence. *Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret.* *Furcâ autem expellere*, says Torren-
 tius, *pro vi maximâ ejicere, à rusticorum, ut puto, armaturâ sumptum est; cum furcis illis ferreis (quas bicornes vocat Virgilius, varii*

in re rusticâ usûs) armati se defendunt. *Furcâ expellere* means to drive away with violence; a way of speaking derived probably from the manner of rustics, who arm and defend themselves with forks. Hence Catullus, *furcâ ejicere*; and Cicero, *furcâ extrudi*.

¹² The merchant. Horace here begins the proof of his second proposition, *regno*, and introduces us to it by obviating those prejudices that are apt to mislead the judgment. *Non, qui Sidenio contendere callidus ostro.* The man, who cannot distinguish truth from falsehood, will as surely ruin himself, as the merchant who knows not the difference between true and counterfeit purple. Commentators disagree as to the precise meaning of the word *contendere*; some maintain it signifies here *conferre*, others

Nempe inter varias nutritur filva columnas;
Laudaturque domus, longos quæ prospicit agros.
Naturam expellas * furcâ, tamen usque recurret,
Et mala perrumpet furtim fastidia victrix.

Non, qui Sidonio contendere callidus ostro
Nescit Aquinatem potantia vellera fucum,
Certius accipiet damnum propiusve medullis,
Quàm qui non poterit vero distinguere falsum.
Quem res plùs nimio delectavere secundæ,
Mutatæ quatiunt. Si quid miraberè, pones
Invitus. Fuge magna: licet sub paupere tecto
Reges, & regum vitâ præcurrere amicos.

Cervus equum pugnâ melior communibus herbis
Pellebat: donec minor in certamine longo
Imploravit opes hominis, frænumque recepit:
Sed postquam victor violens † discessit ab hoste,
Non equitem dorso, non frænum depulit ore.
Sic qui pauperiem veritus potiore metallis
Libertate caret, dominum vehet † improbus, atque
Serviet æternum, quia parvo nesciet uti.
Cui non conveniet sua res, ut calceus olim,
Si pede major erit, subvertet; si minor, uret.
Lætus sorte tuâ vives sapienter, Aristi;
Nec me dimittes incastratum, ubi plura
Cogere quàm satîs est, ac non cessare videbor.
Imperat aut servit collecta pecunia cuique,
Tortum digna sequi potius quàm ducere funem.

Nempe silva nutritur
inter varias columnas;
domusque laudatur,
quæ prospicit agros
longos. Expellas na-
turam furcâ, tamen
usque recurret, & vic-
trix perrumpet furtim
mala fastidia. Qui
nescit callidus conten-
dere vellera potantia
Aquinatem fucum Si-
donio ostro, non accipiet
damnum certius propi-
usve medullis, quàm
qui non poterit distin-
guere falsum vero.
Quem res secundæ de-
lectavere plùs nimio,
res mutatæ quatiunt
illum. Si mirabere
quid, pones invitus.
Fuge magna: licet sub
paupere tecto præcur-
rere vitâ reges, & a-
micos regum. Cervus
melior pugnâ pellebat
equum herbis commu-
nibus: donec in longo
certamine minor implo-
ravit opes hominis, re-
cepitque frænum: sed
postquam violens dis-
cessit victor ab hoste,
non depulit equitem
dorso, non frænum ore.

Sic qui veritus pauperiem caret libertate potiore metallis, improbus vehet dominum, atque serviet æternum, quia nesciet uti parvo. Cui sua res non conveniet, ut olim calceus, si major erit pede, subvertet; si minor, uret. O Aristi, sapienter vives lætus tuâ sorte; nec dimittes me incastratum, ubi videbor cogere plura quàm satîs est, ac non cessare. Pecunia collecta imperat aut servit cuique, digna potius sequi quàm ducere tortum funem.

* expelles, Bentl.

† violens victo, Id.

† vehit, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

others dispute; however we determine it, the sense is the same.

¹³ *Varnish of Aquinum.* See the note upon *sine facis* gestat, in Satire 2. Book I. From this we may see that merchants have been the same in all ages. Cicero says of them, *Nil liberale unquam habuit officina.* Those of *Aquinum* counterfeited a purple, which could not be distinguished from that of *Tyre* but by nice judges.

¹⁴ *A stag.* This fable is not of our poet's invention; he had it from *Stesichorus*, who repeated it to the *Hymærians* upon their resolving to appoint guards

to *Phalaris*, whom they had elected general.

¹⁵ But it is much fitter that it should follow. *Tortum digna sequi potius quàm ducere funem.* The reader will better conceive this, if he look back to what we have said, Book II. Satire 7, 20.

Qui jam contento, jam laxo fune laborat. This cord, by means of which children made trial of their strength, in endeavouring to draw one another, agrees perfectly with the poet's intention here. Riches ought not to be the strongest party, and draw after them the possessor; but vice versa.

16 *Id.*

I wrote this from behind the old temple of the Goddess *Vacuna*¹⁶; happy in every thing, but that I want the pleasure of your company.

ANNOTATIONS.

¹⁶ *The old temple of the Goddess Vacuna.* *Hæc tibi dictabam post sanum putre Vacuna.* *Vacuna* was the Goddess of leisure and idleness. She has been thought to be the same with *Diana*, *Ceres*, *Venus*, &c. *Varro* declares for *Minerva*, because the study of wisdom is what of all things requires the most leisure and attention. She was particularly adored among the *Sabines*, and had a temple and grove, called by *Pliny*, *Vacina nemora*, upon *Mount Fiscellus*, near the source of the *Negra* or *Nar*. Our poet's country-house had the back prospect of this temple, which was now little more than a heap

The KEY.

HORACE loved much to retire into the country, and indulge himself in reading and study. This was the way of life that best suited his temper, and accordingly his writings are full of its praises. The Epistle now before us is wholly on this subject, and paints the innocent pleasures, simplicity, and tranquillity of a country-life, in the most masterly way. The poet shews that it has great advantages over a town-life, and that the relish of it is even natural. All the attempts of avarice and ambition to create a disgust of it were ineffectual; for men, even in spite of themselves, betrayed

EPISTLE XI.

TO BULLATIUS.

Happiness does not depend upon climate or place, but upon the situation of our own minds.

HOR. **W**HAT are your notions of *Chios*¹, *Bullatius*², or famed *Lesbos*³? What think you of elegant *Samos*⁴, or *Sardis*⁵ where the palace of rich *Cræsus* was? what of *Smyrna*⁶ and *Colophon*⁷? Do they exceed or come short of what fame reports? Are they not all despicable when compared to the field of *Mars* or renowned *Tiber*? Is it your wish to reside in any one of the cities

ANNOTATIONS.

¹ *Chios.* A considerable island of the *Ægean* sea, between *Lesbos* and *Samos*.

² *Bullatius.* He is no otherwise known than by this Epistle.

³ *Lesbos.* An island whose capital city was *Mitylene*. It was famous for the birth of *Pittacus*, *Alcæus*, and *Sappho*.

⁴ *Samos.* *Quid concinna Samos.* This epithet is given it because of its beauty and fertility. It was the country of *Polycrates* and *Pythagoras*.

⁵ *Sardis.* The capital of the kingdom of *Lydia*, where *Cræsus* kept his court.

⁶ *Smyrna.*

Hæc tibi dictabam post fanum putre Vacunæ;
 Excepto, quòd non simul esses, cætera lætus. 50
 hoc tantùm excepto, quòd tu non esses simul.

ANNOTATIONS.

heap of rubbish. Hence he calls it *fanum cellus*, was sixty miles distant from Horace's
putre. This is the account Dacier gives country-seat. He therefore explains it
 of the temple; but Sanadon observes that of the remains of an ancient chapel of that
 this must certainly be a mistake, for that Goddess, near to Horace's farm.
 the temple of *Vacuna*, upon Mount *Fif-*

The KEY.

betrayed their natural bias, by the great value they set upon houses
 that commanded a prospect into the country, and their endeavours
 to form a kind of country round their house, in inclosed groves,
 meadows, and large fields. A city-life, he insinuates, owed its
 reputation entirely to the blindness of men, who, not understanding
 their true interest, preferred the slavish pursuit of riches to a life
 free and unconfined. The whole is inexpressibly beautiful, and dis-
 covers, by several lines in it, that it was written when the poet was
 pretty well advanced in years. We cannot determine the precise time.

EPISTOLA XI.

Ad BULLATIUM.

Locum nihil conferre ad beatitudinem, quæ ab animi statu pendet.

QUID tibi visa Chios, Bullati, notaque Lesbos? HOR. O Bullati, quid
 Quid concinna Samos? quid Cræsi regia Sardis? Chios est vi-
 Smyrna quid & Colophon? Majora minorane famâ? sa tibi, Lesbosque nota?
 Cunctane præ Campo & Tiberino flumine sordent? quid Samos concinna?
 An venit in votum Attalicis ex urbibus una? 5 quid Sardis regia Cræ-
 sunt majora an minora famâ? Cunctane sordent præ Campo Martio & flumine Tiberino? An
 una aliquæ ex urbibus Attalicis venit tibi in votum?

ANNOTATIONS.

⁶ Smyrna. Smyrna was anciently the sea-coast, between Smyrna and Ephesus.
 same with Ephesus. But a division hap- The cavalry of this city were esteemed
 pening among the inhabitants of that the best in Asia, and always made victory
 city, part of them, who were properly incline to the party wherewith they sided.
 called Smyrnians, went and built another Hence the proverb *Imponere Colophonem*, to
 city, and called it by the same name. bring an affair to a happy issue.

⁷ Colophon. A city of Ionia, upon the

cities of Attalus⁸? Are you become fond of Lebedus⁹, from an aversion to the sea and the hardships inseparable from long voyages?

BUL. Do you know what¹⁰ this Lebedus is?

HOR. A village more desolate than either Gabii or Fidenæ¹¹.

BUL. Yet there could I wish to live, forgetting all my friends, and forgotten of them, and safely at a distance¹² behold the raging
10 of the stormy main.

HOR. But neither would he, who journeying from Capua to Rome¹³ arrives at an inn, bespattered with rain and dirt, choose to settle there: nor does one benumbed with cold commend the fire and hot bath, as sufficient to complete the happiness of
15 life: nor if you are tossed in a storm raised by a violent south wind, do you therefore sell your ship so soon as you have passed the Ægean sea. If you are entirely master of your resolves¹⁴, Rhodes and Mitylene will be no more than as a rough coat¹⁵ in summer, or drawers¹⁶ in the snowy season, Tiber¹⁷ in winter, or a fire in the month of August. While it is yet in your power,
20 and fortune appears with a favorable aspect, praise at Rome, Samos, Chios, and absent Rhodes. Receive with a grateful hand those happy hours, which heaven heaps upon you, nor defer your pleasures to another year; that, in whatever place you have been, you may be able to say, I lived happy and with content. For if
25 only reason¹⁸ and prudence banish cares, not a place that overlooks a vast extended sea; by crossing the ocean, we change only the climate, not the mind¹⁹. We busy ourselves in a laborious idle-

ANNOTATIONS.

⁸ *Cities of Attalus.* That is of *Asia*, whereof *Attalus* was king, and which *Attalus Philometer*, the last of that family, gave to the *Romans*.

⁹ *Lebedus.* Another city of *Ionis*, upon the sea-coast, about six and twenty stadia from *Colophon*.

¹⁰ *Do you know what, &c.* Horace feigns this reply from *Bullatius*, to the question he had put to him; the poet answers, *A desolate village*: *Bullatius* continues, *Yet there could I wish to live, &c.* These dialogues are frequent with our author, they awaken the attention of the reader, and add a grace to the discourse.

¹¹ *More desolate than Gabii or Fidenæ.* We learn from *Strabo*, that during three-fourths of the year, *Lebedus* was in a manner abandoned; and that it was only resorted to, while the comedians were there exhibiting their pieces, and celebrating the feast of *Bacchus*; for this was the common place of rendezvous for all the comedians round the *Hellefpont*. *Gabii* and *Fidenæ* had

both been considerable cities, and made head against the *Romans*, but they were now sunk to two desolate villages.

¹² *Safely at a distance.* For *Lebedus* was upon the sea-coast. This sentiment is admirably well painted in the beginning of the second Book of *Lucretius*:

Suave, mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis,

E terrâ magnum alterius spectare laborem;
Non quia vexari quemquam est jucunda voluptas,

Sed quibus ipse malis careas quia cernere suave est.

“When the sea is agitated by stormy winds, it is sweet to behold from the bank the distress of another; not that we take a pleasure in seeing any one exposed to danger, but that it is agreeable to perceive ourselves at a distance from harm.”

¹³ *Journeying from Capua to Rome.* Horace here ridicules the frivolous pretext of *Bullatius* for staying in *Asia*: that having been roughly used by the sea, he was unwilling

An Lebedum laudas, odio maris atque viarum?
 Scis Lebedus quid sit? Gabiis desertior atque
 Fidenis vicus. Tamen illic vivere vellem,
 Oblitusque meorum, obliviscendus & illis,
 Neptunum procul è terrâ spectare furentem.
 Sed neque qui Capuâ Romam petit, imbre lutoque
 Adpersus, volet in cauponâ vivere: nec qui
 Frigus collegit, furnos & balnea laudat,
 Ut fortunatam plenè præstantia vitam:
 Nec si te validus jactaverit Auster in alto,
 Idcirco navem trans Ægeum mare vendas.
 Incolumi Rhodos & Mitylene pulchra facit, quod
 Pænula solstitio, campestre nivalibus auris,
 Per brumam Tiberis, Sextili mense caminus.
 Dum licet, vultum servat fortuna benignum,
 Romæ laudetur Samos, & Chios, & Rhodos absens.
 Tu, quaecunque Deus tibi fortunaverit horam,
 Grata fume manu, nec * dulcia differ in annum;
 Ut, quocunque loco fueris, vixisse libenter
 Te dicas. Nam si ratio & prudentia curas,
 Non locus effusi latè maris arbiter, aufert;
 Cælum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare cur-
 runt.

An laudas Lebedum,
 odio maris atque via-
 rum? BUL. Scis quid
 Lebedus sit? HOR.
 Vicus desertior Gabiis
 atque Fidenis. BUL.
 Tamen vellem vivere
 illic, oblitusque meo-
 rum, & obliviscendus
 illis, si ceterum è terrâ
 Neptunum furentem
 procul. HOR. Sed ne-
 que viator, qui à Ca-
 puâ petit Romam, ad-
 persus imbre lutoque,
 volet vivere in caupo-
 nâ: nec qui collegit
 frigus, laudat furnos
 & balnea, ut plenè
 præstantia vitam for-
 tunatam: nec si vali-
 dus Auster jactaverit
 te in alto, vendas id-
 circo navem trans mare
 Ægeum. Pulchra
 Rhodos & Mitylene fa-
 cit idem incolumi, quod
 pænula facit solstitio,
 campestre auris nivali-
 bus, Tiberis per bru-
 mam, caminus mense
 Sextili. Dum licet, &

fortuna servat benignum vultum, absens Samos, & Chios, & Rhodos, laudetur Romæ. Sumè
 tu gratâ manu quaecunque horam Deus fortunaverit tibi, nec differ dulcia in annum; ut, quo-
 cunque loco fueris, dicas te vixisse libenter. Nam si ratio tantum & prudentia, non locus arbi-
 ter maris latè effusi, aufert curas; qui currunt trans mare, mutant cælum, non animum. Inertia
 strenua exercet nos; petimus vivere bene navibus atque

* neu, Bentl.

ANNOTATIONS.

willing to expose himself more. It is just, says the poet, as if one, who had met with some rain upon the road from Capua to Rome, should resolve to settle at the first inn, to avoid the like misfortune again.

14 If you are entirely master of your resolves. This passage is somewhat obscure, chiefly because of connection with what goes before is not attended to. Horace, having exposed the frivolous excuse of his friend, prevents him in what he might urge farther in his own defence; that he had quite mastered his chagrin, but was retained by the beauty of these places, where he could live happier than at Rome. Horace replies, that if he were duly master of himself, these places, however charming, could not make him forget his country. Incolumis here, therefore, means the same as animus æquus, in the last verse; a calm mind, that has surmounted all that can disquiet it.

15 A rough coat. Pænula, from the Greek, πανόλη, a kind of coat they made

use of when the weather was bad, to defend them from the cold and rain.

16 Drawers. Campestre. This was properly a kind of covering, used by those who exercised naked in the Campus Martius; that nothing indecent might be seen. Vulcanius, in the life of Avidius Cassius, processit nudus, campestri solo tectus.

17 Tiber. To bathe in the Tiber was refreshing in the hot season, but few would choose it in the winter.

18 For if only reason. This is true philosophy. Reason is the only cure for the disorders of the mind. If we do not begin here, it is in vain that we wander from clime to clime, we still carry the same mind, and the same cares along with us, as our poet beautifully expresses it, Ode iii. i. 37.

—Sed timor & minæ

Scandunt eodè quò dominus; neque

Decedit æratâ triremi, &

Post equitem sedet atra cura.

R

idleness²⁰; and compass sea and land in pursuit of happiness.
 30 What we seek, is here; it is even at Ulubræ²¹, if we possess a calm
 and equal mind.

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¹⁹ We change only the climate, not the mind. *Cælum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.* Dacier explains this passage in a manner different from other interpreters; he imagines there is a *si* suppressed in this verse, and that the whole ought to be pointed thus:

—*Nam si ratio et prudentia curas,
 Non locus effusi latè maris arbiter, aufert;*

Cælum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt;

Strenua non exercet inertia.

Where *si* must be repeated to the third verse; *si cælum.* “If reason and prudence only chase away care; if a change of climate causes no change in the mind; we struggle in vain, our labor is mere idleness.”

The

The KEY.

IT is sometimes difficult to enter into the design of a letter; because it may relate to circumstances, which, though well known to the persons themselves, are yet quite a mystery to us. Such is the present Epistle to *Bullatius*; at this distance of time, and ignorance of the true circumstances of things, we are left wholly to conjectures. What has been offered with the greatest shew of probability is this: That upon some private disgust, or perhaps the rupture

EPISTLE XII.

To ICCIUS.

That man is rich, who knows how to use in the best manner what he possesses. He recommends Grosphus, and writes him the public news.

IF, Iccius, you can make a right use of the fruits you gather for¹ Agrippa in Sicily; it is not in the power even of Jupiter himself to heap more riches upon you: cease therefore your complaints: that man is far from being poor, who has and knows how
 5 to enjoy every thing necessary. If you are well fed, well cloathed, and well shod; the riches of a king can add no more. But if perhaps amidst so great plenty you live abstemiously upon herbs and nettles; it would be just the same², were fortune to flow upon

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¹ Fruits you gather for, &c. After the defeat of young Pompey near Messina by Agrippa, and the subjection of all Sicily, which followed upon it, Augustus, in return for so important a service, had granted him lands to a considerable value in that island: Iccius

Quadrigris petimus benè vivere. Quod petis, hìc est; quadrigris. Quod petis, est hìc; est Ulubris, Est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit æquus. 30 si æquus animus non deficit te.

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The sense according to this interpretation is good; and though I have not ventured to follow it in the translation, yet am apt to think it the poet's real meaning.

²⁰ Laborious idleness. *Sirenuæ nos exercet inertia.* An ingenious and happy expression, full of deep sense. All our labor is mere idleness, and turns to no account:

we are at incredible pains in pursuit of happiness, and yet after all cannot find it; whereas, did we understand ourselves well, it is to be had at home, and in all places.

²¹ *Ulubræ.* An inconsiderable village in *Latium*, where probably *Bullatius* had a country-seat.

The KEY.

ture between *Antony* and *Augustus*, this *Bullatius* had retired into *Asia*, in hopes of living there with more tranquillity and ease: where, continuing for a considerable time, he pretended the dangers of the sea, and fatigues of a long voyage, as an excuse for his absence. *Horace* upon this writes to hasten his return, and shew that these frivolous excuses could be of no weight. If it was upon occasion of the rupture with *Antony*, as some suspect, that *Bullatius* retired into *Asia*, we may conjecture this Epistle to have been writ about the 725th year of the city.

E P I S T O L A XII.

Ad ICCIUM.

Divitem esse, qui suis rectè utatur. Grosphum ei tradit, & res narrat Romanas.

O R D O.

FRUCTIBUS Agrippæ Siculis, quos colligis, Icci,

Si rectè frueris; non est ut copia major
Ab Jove donari possit tibi: tolle querelas:
Pauper enim non est, cui rerum suppetit usus.
Si ventri benè, si lateri est, pedibusque tuis; nil
Divitiæ poterunt regales addere majus.
Si fortè in medio positorum abstemius herbis
Vivis, & urticâ; sic vives protinus, ut te

regala poterunt addere nil majus. Si tu fortè in medio positorum vivis abstemius herbis & urticâ; sic protinus vives, ut

O Icci, si frueris rectè fructibus Siculis Agrippæ, quos colligis; non est ut copia major possit donari tibi ab Jove: tolle querelas: non est enim pauper, cui usus rerum suppetit. Si benè est ventri, si lateri, pedibusque tuis; divitiæ

5

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Iccius held these lands of *Agrippa* at a stated yearly revenue.

² It would be just the same. *Sic vives pro-*

tinus, ut te. This verse has hitherto very much puzzled commentators; but the whole difficulty vanishes, if we suppose *ut* to stand here

upon you in full streams of gold: either because money can
 10 make no change in our nature, or because you think lightly of all
 other things when compared with virtue. Can we then wonder³, that Democritus left his fields and pastures a prey to neighbouring flocks, while his mind unchained from the body⁴ wandered in search of the hidden causes of things? when you in the midst of so corrupt an age⁵, where the itch of gain spreads like a contagion, withdraw your mind from all low inquiries,
 15 and wholly employ yourself in the sublime study of nature: what causes set bounds to the sea, or vary the returning seasons? whether the stars move of themselves, or by the order of a higher power? what darkens the face of the moon, or extends her to a full orb? what is the nature and power of those principles of things, which, though always at variance, yet always
 20 agree? whether the system of Empedocles⁶, or Stertinius, wanders most from the truth? But whether you are a murderer⁷ of fish, or of onions and leeks, give a kind reception to my friend Pompejus Grosphus⁸; and if he ask any service of you, let him have it frankly: rest assured that Grosphus will ask nothing but what is just and reasonable. Friends are a cheap⁹ purchase, when any thing is wanting to men of worth. But that you
 25 may not be ignorant of the state of affairs at Rome: the Spaniards¹⁰ are brought under subjection by Agrippa, and the Armenians

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here for *quavis*, and otherwise it will be hard to make sense of the passage. *Pro-*
tinus is a particle expressing the continuity of a thing, in the same manner; *uno eodemque*
tenore.

3 Can we then wonder, &c. Democritus, a celebrated philosopher of Abdera in Thrace: he had the chief honor of the atomical system; for though *Moschus* the Phenician was the first that started it, and it afterwards received considerable improvements from *Leucippus*, yet Democritus opened it more fully, and strengthened it by a new set of arguments. Some accuse the poet of applying here to Democritus what more properly belonged to *Anaxagoras*, who gave himself so wholly up to contemplation, that he quite neglected the care of his lands: but *Cicero* will vindicate our poet on this head, who, in his 5th Book, *de Finibus*, says, *Democritus dicitur oculis se privasse: certè, ut quàm minimè animus à cogitationibus abdu-*
ceretur, patrimonium neglexit, agros deseruit incultos. "It is said of Democritus, that he
 "deprived himself of sight: so far is cer-
 "tain, that to enjoy the greater freedom
 "of thought, and be as little disturbed as

"possible in his contemplations, he neglected his patrimony, and suffered his
 "lands to lie untilled." This comparison, as well as the two preceding verses, are all to be understood in the way of raillery.

4 While his mind unchained from the body, &c. *Dum peregrè est animus sine corpore velox.* *Horace*, in this, follows the Platonic notion, that the soul, when employed in contemplation, was, in a manner, detached from the body; that it might the more easily mount above earthly things, and approach nearer to the objects it wanted to view.

5 When you in the midst of so corrupt an age. *Cum tu, inter scabiem tantam, &c.* Some, by mistake, think this meant of *Iccius* himself, as if the love of gain and philosophy had been equally prevalent in him. But this is directly contrary to the design of the poet, who means simply, that the example of *Iccius* is more surprising than that of Democritus; for that the first attached himself to philosophy in the midst of a corrupt and degenerate age, where an itch of gain had almost infected every mind. *Scabies* and *contagia lucri* are not in *Iccius*, but round about him; they are the vices of the age,
 not

Confestim liquidus fortunæ rivus inaret:
 Vel quia naturam mutare pecunia nescit,
 Vel quia cuncta putas unâ virtute minora.
 Miramur, si Democriti pecus edit agellos
 Cultaque, dum peregrè est animus sine corpore ve-
 lox?

Cùm tu, inter scabiem tantam & contagia lucri,
 Nil parvum sapias, & adhuc sublimia cures:
 Quæ mare compescant causæ, quid temperet an-
 num;

Stellæ sponte suâ, jussæne vagentur & errent;
 Quid premat obscurum lunæ, quid proferat orbem;
 Quid velit & possit rerum concordia discors;
 Empedocles, an Stertini deliret acumen.

Verùm seu pisces, seu porrum & cæpe trucidas,
 Utere Pompejo Grospho; & si quid petet, ultrò
 Defer: nil Grosphus nisi verum orabit & æquum.
 Vilis amicorum est annona, bonis ubi quid deest.

Ne tamen ignores quo sit Romana loco res:
 Cantaber Agrippæ, Claudî virtute Neronis

seu trucidas pisces, seu porrum & cæpe, utere Pompejo Grospho; & si petet quid, defer ultrò: Grosphus orabit nil nisi verum & æquum. Annona amicorum est vilis, ubi quid deest bonis. Tamen ne ignores quo loco res Romana sit: Cantaber cecidit virtute Agrippæ, Armenius virtute Claudii Neronis;

liquidus rivus fortunæ confestim inaret te: vel quia pecunia nescit mutare naturam, vel putas cuncta minora unâ virtute. An miramur, si pecus vicinum edit agellos cultaque Democriti, dum animus velox est peregrè sine corpore? cùm tu, inter tantam scabiem & contagia lucri, sapias nil parvum, & cures adhuc sublimia: quæ causæ compescant mare, quid temperet annum; stellæne vagentur & errent sponte suâ, an jussæ; quid premat obscurum lunæ, quid proferat orbem ejus; quid concordia discors rerum velit & possit; num Empedocles, an acumen Stertini deliret. Verùm

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not of the man. But it is to be remembered, that *Horace* all along writes in a style of raillery.

6 *Empedocles*. He was a native of *Agrigentum* in *Sicily*, and in high reputation with his fellow-citizens upon account of his knowledge in physic and mathematics. He wrote a long poem upon the causes of things, where, treating of physics under poetical ideas, he endeavours to solve the phenomena of the universe by sympathies and antipathies. *Stertinius* again, who followed the doctrine of the *Stoics*, accounted for the present constitution of things by having recourse to Providence, as what sustained the whole frame of nature by a constant co-operation and influence. The poet therefore means, that *Iccius* employed himself in searching which of these was the most probable system. See further what we have said of *Stertinius* upon the 3d Satire of the 2d Book.

7 *A murderer*. *Trucidare*, the word in the original, was used properly for the murder of men. *Horace* here employs it in speaking of fish, onions, and leeks; because, according to the notions of *Pythagoras*, which *Empedocles* had adopted in his poem,

the souls of men passed sometimes not only into animals, but even into plants.

8 *Pompejus Grosphus*. This *Grosphus* is the same to whom our poet addresses the 16th Ode of the 2d Book, where are these words:

*Te greges centum, Siculæque circum
 Mugiant vaccæ.*

Dacier conjectures, that, being of the party of young *Pompey*, he had left *Sicily* after the victory of *Agrippa*; and that, returning thither again, if possible to settle his affairs, he was recommended by our poet to *Iccius*, as one whose protection and patronage might be of great service to him in enabling him to recover his estate.

9 *Friends are, &c.* *Vilis amicorum est annona*; a singular and happy expression. It is a good harvest for procuring friends when good men are in distress.

10 *The Spaniards, &c.* This happened in the year of the city 734. Three years before *Tiberius* marched at the head of an army into *Asia*; where, after he had continued some time regulating the provinces, he this year received orders from *Augustus* to settle *Tigranes* on the throne of *Armenia*, and replace *Pbraates* on that of *Parthia*.

nians by Claudius Nero; Phraates has on his knees submitted to Cæsar, and received from him the sceptre and crown. Rich plenty has scattered her treasures over Italy with a liberal hand.

THE KEY.

TO be able to enter into the turn and spirit of this Epistle, it is necessary to have some notion of the character of *Iccius*, to whom it is addressed. He had farmed the lands, which belonged to *Agrippa* in *Sicily*; was of an avaricious temper, and, though considerably rich, lived fordidly: but, to put the better face upon it, complained eternally of poverty, and pretended that he scarce had wherewith to supply his necessary wants. *Horace* rallies him agreeably upon this subject; and represents him here (if the expression may

EPISTLE XIII.

TO VINNIUS ASELLA.

He facetiously charges him to deliver the papers he carried to Augustus, at a proper time and place.

ACCORDING to the many and long lessons which I gave you before your departure, remember, Vinnius¹, to deliver the volumes to Augustus sealed; if he is well, if in good humor², and in fine if he desires them: lest by too great eagerness to please
5 me you spoil all, and your officious forwardness create a distaste of the poems. If peradventure the heavy load of my papers overcharges you; throw them away, rather than run the hazard of stumbling awkwardly with them into Cæsar's presence; and turning the surname of your family³ into laughter, or exposing your

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¹ *Vinnius*. It is evident, from medals and inscriptions, that there was at Rome a family of the name of *Vinnius*; but *Dacier* fancies that it was later than the times of *Augustus*. He further conjectures, that the *Vinnius* of this Epistle was one of the five fathers of families belonging to *Horace's* farm in the country, and whom he speaks of in the next Epistle. Be that as it will, he is here employed by *Horace* to carry some papers to *Augustus*, and, as he was un-

acquainted with the court, the poet here gives him instructions how to behave.

² *If he is well, if in good humor*. This was a never-failing rule with our poet, as we learn from the 1st Satire of the 2d Book:

—*Nisi dextro tempore Flacci*

Verba per attentam non ibunt

Cæsaris aurem.

For this *dextrum tempus* was when he was well, in good humor, and wanted them himself. *Cicero* observed the same conduct with

Armenius cecidit; jus imperiumque Phraates
Cæsaris accepit genibus minor. Aurea fruges
Italix pleno diffudit* copia-cornu.

Phraates minor geni-
bus accepit jus imperi-
umque Cæsaris. Aurea
copia diffudit fruges
Ital. & pleno cornu.

* defundit, Bentl.

THE KEY.

may be allowed) as a philosophical miser, as in Ode 29. Book I. he had represented him a philosophical soldier. *Iccius* equally diverts us in both these characters. The whole is carried on in a strain of irony, founded chiefly upon this, that *Iccius* was naturally fond of the study of philosophy, and joined the knowledge of physics to that of morality. *Horace* concludes with recommending *Pompeius Grosphus*, and a short account of the most important news at *Rome*.

From this last article we learn the precise date of the Epistle, which was in the autumn of the year 734, and 46th of our poet's age.

EPISTOLA XIII.

Ad VINNIUM ASELLAM.

Mandat jocose, ut libros suos Augusto in loco & decenter reddat.

UT proficiscentem docui te sæpè diuque,
Augusto reddes signata volumina, Vinni;
Si validus, si lætus erit, si denique poscèt:
Ne studio nostri pecces, odiumque libellis
Sedulus importes operâ vehemente minister.
Si te fortè meæ gravis uret sarcina chartæ;
Abjicito potiùs, quàm quò perferre juberis
Clitellas ferus impingas; Asinæque paternum

chartæ uret te; potiùs abjicito, quàm impingas ferus clitellas quò juberis perferre; vertasque paternum

ORDO.

UT sæpè diuque do-
cui te proficiscen-
tem, Vinni, reddes Au-
gusto volumina signa-
ta; si erit validus, si
lætus, denique si poscèt:
5 ne pecces studio nostri,
sedulusque minister ve-
hemente operâ importes
odium libell. Si fortè
gravis sarcina meæ

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with *Brutus*, to whom he writes thus: Ita-
que ei præcepi, quem ad te misi, ut tempus ob-
servaret epistolæ tibi reddendæ. Nam quem-
admodum coram qui nos intempestivè adeunt,
molesti sæpè sunt; sic epistolæ offendent non
loco redditæ. "I have expressly charged
him, whom I send with this, to deliver
it to you at a proper time. For as they,

"who interrupt us unseasonably, are
"looked upon as too officious; in like
"manner letters, if delivered at a wrong
"time, are apt to put us out of humor."
3 And turning the surname of your family,
&c. *Asinæque paternum* cognomen vertas in ri-
sum. The surname drawn from *asinus*, an ass,
were very common at *Rome*. The family
of

yourself to be made a subject of raillery to the courtiers. Use all your strength and activity in passing the mountains, rivers, and bogs. When these difficulties are surmounted, and you arrive safe at your journey's end, remember to carry your burden in the manner I have taught you: do not appear with the bundle under your arm, as a peasant carries his lamb, as tippling Pyrrhia⁴ the bottoms of yarn she has pilfered, or as a club-guest⁵ his slippers and cap. Tell not every one⁶ you meet, that you have sweated extremely in carrying verses, that may perhaps⁷ engage the eyes and ears of Cæsar himself: do your best to succeed, I conjure you. Go, fare you well; be sure you do not trip, or forget my injunctions.

ANNOTATIONS.

of the *Annians* had that of *Asella*; the *Claudians*, *Asellus*; and the *Sempronians*, *Asellio*. And, in all ages, these fantastic names have given occasion to punning and raillery. This is what *Horace* alludes to here, that *Vinnius* should beware of blundering in the presence of the courtiers, who would be sure not to let fall such an opportunity of rallying him upon his surname of *Asella*.

⁴ *Pyrrhia*. *Pyrrhia* was the name of a servant, who, in a comedy written by *Ticinus*, stole some bottoms of yarn. And, at *Vinnius* had, without doubt, been several

times present at the representation of this piece, *Horace* puts him in mind of that image, which we may suppose had struck him remarkably.

⁵ *A club-guest*. *Conviva tribulis*. *Dacier* thinks, that the poet speaks here of *tribulibus rusticis*, of those farmers and rustics that were of the same tribe. When these good people met to sup together, they never failed to carry a pair of slippers and cap under their arm: the slippers to be made use of in the house in which the entertainment was; and the cap to put upon their

The KEY,

HORACE, sending the first Epistle of the second Book to *Augustus*, employed one *Vinnius* in carrying it, who, probably, belonged to his own farm in the country. As those who are strangers to the court, are apt to approach princes indiscreetly, and with an ill grace; the poet, to prevent a thing, the ridicule of which would have fallen upon himself, was at a great deal of pains, before he sent him away, to inform him how he was to behave. But, not entirely trusting to these repeated lessons, he gave him, in his hand, a paper of instructions, that he might read and study it by the way. For it is not

Cognomen vertas in rifum, & fabula fias.
 Viribus utêris per clivos, flumina, lamas.
 Victor propofiti fimul ac perveneris illuc,
 Sic pofitum fervabis onus: ne fortè fub alâ
 Fasciculum portes librorum, ut ruficus agnum,
 Ut vinofa glomos* furtivæ Pyrrhia lanæ,
 Ut cum pileolo foleas conviva tribulis.
 Ne † vulgo narres, te fudaviffe ferendo
 Carmina, quæ poffint oculos auresque morari
 Cæfaris: oratus multâ prece, nitere porro.
 Vade, vale: cave ne titubes, mandataque frangas.

10 cognomen *Asinæ* in ri-
 fum, & fias fabula. U-
 têris viribus per clivos,
 per flumina, per lamas.
 Simul ac victor propo-
 fiti perveneris illuc,
 fervabis onus fic pofi-
 tum: ne fortè portes
 15 fasciculum librorum fub
 alâ, ut ruficus portat
 agnum, ut vinofa Pyr-
 rhia glomos furtivæ
 lanæ, ut conviva tri-
 bulis portat foleas cum
 pileolo. Ne narres

vulgo, te fudaviffe ferendo carmina, quæ poffint morari oculos auresque Cæfaris: porro, oratus
 multâ prece, nitere. Vade, vale: cave ne titubes, frangasque mandata.

* glomus, *Bentl.*

† neu, *Id.*

ANNOTATIONS.

their head when they returned. For as they
 fometimes went to fup at a confiderable
 diftance from home, and returned late,
 this cap was neceffary to defend them from
 the injuries of the air.

6 Tell not every one. It is dangerous to
 endeavour at prepoſſeſſing the public in fa-
 vor of a work. If it is good, the reader
 is upon his guard againſt a raſh approbation,
 and would have perhaps thought better of
 it, had it been left to himſelf to diſcover
 its beauties: if bad, your teſtimony will

be no longer an illuſion, and you will
 ſhare in the reproach of its author. Fur-
 ther, the court of *Auguſtus* was too deli-
 cate and knowing to have its judgment
 eaſily ſeduced.

7 That may perhaps, &c. We ought not
 here to paſs over, without notice, the mo-
 deſty and reſervedneſs of our poet. He ſends
 ſome of his verſes to *Auguſtus*, but does not
 yet ſay that they will be read by that prince;
 but only, that perhaps they may be read:
 he hopes, but dares not be confident of it.

The KEY.

not properly a letter, but a memorial, or paper of inſtructions,
 which the poet himſelf gave to *Vinnius*, and is all a piece of pure
 mirth. But this mirth is ſo contrived, as that it might pleaſe and
 divert *Auguſtus*; for the poet very well knew that this memorial
 would be ſeen by that prince. Under the perſon of *Vinnius* we have
 a lively picture of thoſe, who, being bred up in obſcure life, appear
 all on a ſudden at court, without any acquaintance, either with its
 maxims or manners. The charaſter is quite natural and ſtrongly
 marked. As to the date of this piece, it is the ſame with that of
 the firſt Epiſtle of the ſecond Book.

EPISTLE XIV.

To his STEWARD in the country.

He chides his levity, in despising his country-charge which he had so much coveted, and desiring to be again in town.

STEWARD of my woods¹ and that little farm which always restores me to myself, which though you despise, was formerly possessed by five families, and was wont to send five good senators² to *Varia* to consult upon public affairs; let us see which succeeds best in casting out the thorns, you from my lands, or I from my own breast; and whether Horace, or his farm, be in the best condition. Although the piety and concern of *Lamia* mourning, and inconsolable for the loss of his brother, detains me here; yet my mind and desires are with you, and impatient to break through the obstacles that oppose my setting out. I imagine him only happy who lives in the country, and you the man who lives in town. It is a sure sign, when we envy another's lot, that we are discontented with our own. It is foolish and unjust in both to throw the blame upon the undeserving place: the mind only is in fault, which can never fly from itself.

You while but one of my lowest servants³ were constantly putting up your silent prayers, that you might have the care of my country-farm; and now, when you are my steward, you languish for the city, the public shows, and the baths. You know that I am always the same⁴, and leave you with regret, when hated business draws me to Rome. We are far from admiring the same things; in this lies the difference between your sentiments and mine: for what you regard as gloomy and inhospitable deserts⁵, those, who are of my mind, call sweet and pleasant places; and hate what you are so fond of. A mistress and

ANNOTATIONS.

¹ Steward of my woods. *Villicus sylvarum*. *Villicus* has been commonly interpreted master or overseer of the servants that labored in the country: but we find it in ancient authors used indifferently for master or governor, without being appropriated to any one particular thing. Thus *Catullus* has *villicus ararii* for master of the treasury; and *Juvenal*, *villicus urbis* for governor of the city. *Horace* therefore adds *sylyvarum* and *agelli*, to let us know that he means the overseer of his farm in the country.

² Five good senators. It is to be observed here, that commentators differ as to the meaning of this passage: some conceive it meant of the present time, that it yearly sends up, &c. others, that it had done so in former times. The word *solum*, in the original, has determined me to fall in with the last explication. We learn hence, that Italy was divided by the Romans into several districts, in each of which magistrates were appointed to take cognizance of such occurrences as fell out within their respective

EPISTOLA XIV.

Ad VILlicum suum.

*Reprehendit levitatem ejus, rei rusticæ quam optaverat fastidiosi,
& urbanæ desiderio æstuantis.*

O R D O.

VILLICE sylvarum & mihi me reddentis agelli,
Quem tu fastidis, habitatum quinque focis, &
Quinque bonos solitum Variam dimittere patres;
Certemus, spinas animone ego fortiùs, an tu
Evellas agro; & melior sit Horatius, an res*.

Me quamvis Lamiæ pietas & cura moretur
Fratrem mœrentis, raptò de fratre dolentis
Insolabiliter; tamen istuc mens animusque
Fert, & amat † spatii obstantia rumpere claustra.
Rure ego viventem, tu dicis in urbe beatum.
Cui placet alterius, sua nimirum est odio fors.
Stultus uterque locum immeritum causatur iniquè:
In culpâ est animus, qui se non effugit unquam.
Tu mediastinus tacitâ prece rura petebas;
Nunc urbem, & ludos, & balnea villicus optas.
Me constare mihi scis, & discedere tristem,
Quandocunque trahunt invisa negotia Romam.
Non eadem miramur; eo disconvenit inter
Meque & te: nam quæ deserta & inhospita tesqua
Credis, amœna vocat, mecum qui sentit; & odit

20 *Uterque stultus causa-
tur iniquè locum immeritum: animus est in culpâ, qui non unquam effugit se. Tu mediastinus pe-
tebas rura tacitâ prece; nunc villicus optas urbem, & ludos, & balnea. Scis me constare mihi,
& tristem discedere, quandocunque invisa negotia trahunt ad Romam. Non miramur eadem;
disconvenit eo modo inter meque & te: nam quæ tu credis deserta & inhospita tesqua, ille, qui
sentit mecum, vocat amœna; & odit*

* rus, Benti.

† avet, Id.

A N N O T A T I O N S.

tive jurisdictions. But when things of greater moment happened, such as concerned the whole community, they assembled all the heads of families, who sat as so many senators, and gave their votes. Horace's farm belonged to *Varia*, a city in the country of the *Sabines*.

3 One of my lowest servants. *Mediastinus*, the word in the original, was the lowest servant in the house, who was obliged to be always in readiness to receive the orders of the rest. He was commonly employed

in the meanest offices, such as carrying of wood, drawing of water, and pouring it upon those that bathed: hence, *mediastinus* often stands for *aquariolus*.

4 You know that I am always the same. We have seen, in the Satires, that constancy was no part of our poet's character; and the reader may therefore be apt to wonder how he comes to boast so much of it here. It is likely that *Horace*, as he advanced in years, became more steady and settled in his resolutions.

5 Inhof-

and the tavern⁶ occasion your passionate longing after the town, I see it; and because the little spot which you till will bear rather pepper and incense than the generous grape; nor is there any tavern nigh, to give you wine; nor mistress skilled in playing on the flute, whose homely music may excite your heavy limbs to beat the earth: you farther labor in⁷ fields which have not for many years been broke with the spade, tend the oxen when loosed from the plough, and gather leaves to feed them. Add to all this⁸, that when you expected a little rest during the rain, your labor is renewed by the brooks, which are to be dammed in with banks lest they should overflow the meadows too much exposed to their current.

30 Come now, and hear what it is that so mightily divides us.

I who took so much delight in fine clothes⁹ and dressing my hair, whom you have known without the help of presents to gain the favor of covetous Cynara¹⁰, and to sit from noon drinking of good Falernian wine; can now content myself with a humble supper, and a quiet nap upon the banks of some sweetly murmuring brook. It is no shame to have been a little wild, but to persist in these follies is scandalous.

There no envious eyes take from¹¹ my pleasures, no dark hatred or malicious tongue poisons them. My neighbours smile to see me busy in removing the clods and stones from off my land. You had rather be in town to gnaw with my other servants your daily allowance¹²; all your wishes carry you to join their number. The cunning slave, on the other side, envies you the use of the woods, horses, and gardens. The lazy ox would be

ANNOTATIONS.

⁵ *Inhospitable deserts.* *Inhospita tesqua.* *Tesqua* or *tesca*, properly eminences covered with woods, and of difficult access: here it stands for any rugged desert places.

⁶ *Tavern.* *Uncta popina.* *Uncta* for rich, well stocked: as *Juvenal* says, *Unctamque Corinthum.*

⁷ *You farther labor, &c.* *Et tamen urges.* The expression is beautiful, and proper in treating of agriculture. *Virgil* has *insequi arva, terram insectari.* As to the sense of the passage, *Crugius* gives it thus: *Hæc accipienda sunt velut à villico scripta; aut Horatio nunciata in sui laboris commendationem.* "These words are to be considered as coming from *Horace's* steward; or spoken by the poet in his name, and in commendation of his diligence." It may seem a little strange, that *Dacier*, after this, should tell us he had not seen one commentator, who had not mistaken the sense of this passage; and yet immediately add the very same explication himself: for his words are: "It is not *Horace* who

speaks here; he only repeats the complaints of his steward, of which this is the conclusion: That by being sent into the country, he was not only deprived of all the pleasures and amusements of the town, but condemned at the same time to hard and incessant labor." Wherein does this differ from what *Crugius* had said before?

⁸ *Add to all this, &c.* *Addit opus pigro rivus.* *Pigro* is here for *cessanti*. He complains that rainy weather, though it freed him from his ordinary labor, yet gave him no respite from business: for that instead of reposing himself, he was obliged to dam up the banks, lest the brooks by swelling should overflow the pasture-ground.

⁹ *Fine clothes.* *Quem tenues decuere togæ.* There is here a piece of pleasantry, which has for the most part escaped notice. *Horace*, to render the comparison between him and his steward the juster, begins with a portraiture of the life he led in his younger years, and opposes it to that which his steward

Quæ tu pulchra putas. Fornix tibi & uncta popina
Incutiunt urbis desiderium; video; & quod
Angulus iste feret piper & thus ocyus uva;
Nec vicina subest vinum præbere taberna
Quæ possit tibi; nec meretrix tibicina, cujus
Ad strepitum salias terræ gravis: & tamen urges
Jampridem non tacta ligonibus arva, bovemque
Disjunctum curas, & strictis frondibus explēs.
Addit opus pigro rivus, si decidit imber,
Multâ mole docendus aprico parcere prato.

Nunc age, quid nostrum concentum dividat, audi.

Quem tenues decuere togæ nitidique capilli,
Quem scis immunem Cynaræ placuisse rapaci,
Quem bibulum liquidi mediâ de luce Falerni;
Cæna brevis juvat, & prope rivum somnus in herbâ:
Nec luisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum.
Non istic obliquo oculo mea commoda quisquam
Limat, non odio obscuro morfuque venenat.
Rident vicini glebas & faxes moventem.
Cum servis* urbana diaria rodere mavis;
Horum tu in numerum voto ruis. Invidet usum
Lignorum, & pecoris tibi calo argutus, & horti.

lucæ; nunc cæna brevis, & somnus in herbâ prope rivum juvat illum: nec pudet luisse, sed non incidere ludum. Istic non quisquam limat mea commoda obliquo oculo, non venenat obscuro odio morfuque. Vicini rident me moventem glebas & faxes. Tu mavis rodere urbana diaria cum servis; ruis voto in numerum horum. Argutus calo invidet tibi usum lignorum, & pecoris, & horti.

* tu urbana, Bentl.

ANNOTATIONS.

steward had led at Rome. This last delighted in the public shows, haunted taverns, and frequented infamous houses; Horace had done the same, and we see the opposition fairly stated in every thing. But herein lies the difference: the steward is impatient to return again to the same life, the poet had entirely renounced it; the steward had forgot all the hardships he was obliged to submit to at Rome, but the poet well remembered the pleasures he had tasted in a country-life. This remark may perhaps be of some use towards a clearer understanding of the Epistle

¹⁰ FAVOR OF COVETOUS CYNARA. This circumstance tends not a little to our poet's honor. Cynara was naturally covetous, and yet he found the art to please her, without any help from the side of interest. Horace, in several parts of his works, takes notice of his passion for that celebrated

courtezan, which happened when he was very young.

¹¹ ENVOIOUS EYES TAKE FROM, &c. Obliquo oculo mea commoda limat. Limat, terit, deterit, as the old scholiast explains it. For though the ancients said, *limis oculis aliquem adspicere*, to look askint, yet they never used the single word *limat* in that sense; and therefore it can signify nothing here but to diminish or take from. Cicero also uses it in this sense, when he says, *De tuâ prolixâ beneficiâque naturâ limavit aliquid posterior annus*. Such was the superstition of the ancients; they fancied that an envious eye diminished, and tainted what it looked upon.

¹² TO GNAW WITH MY OTHER SERVANTS YOUR DAILY ALLOWANCE. Urbana diaria rodere mavis. Diaria was the same as *demenſum*, the allowance granted to slaves by the day. This was less in town than in the country; for their allowance was always proportioned to their

be¹³ dressed in horse-trappings; and the horse be tied to the plough. My mind is, that every one keep to the business he understands best.

ANNOTATIONS.

their labor. Hence Horace uses the word *rodere*, which not only marks the small quantity, but also the bad kind of bread that was given to slaves in the city.

¹³ The lazy ox would be, &c. *Optat ephippia bos piger*. *Ephippium* is a word of Greek derivation, signifying properly the saddle and furniture of a horse. Horace,

no

The KEY.

HORACE, in this Epistle, gives us the picture of an unsteady mind. His farm in the country was commonly managed by a master-servant, who was a kind of overseer or steward, and as such had the whole care of it entrusted to him in his master's absence. The office was at this time executed by one, who had formerly been in the lowest station of his servants at *Rome*, and, weary of that bondage, had earnestly desired to be sent to this employment in the country. But now that he had obtained his wish, he was disgusted with a life so laborious and solitary, and wanted to be again restored to his first state. The poet, in the mean time, who was detained at *Rome*, by his concern for a friend, who mourned the

loss

EPISTLE XV.

TO NUMONIUS VALA.

He inquires concerning Velia and Salernum, and of other things relating to a pleasant life.

VALA, how is the winter at Velia¹, what climate have you at Salernum², of what temper are the people that inhabit those parts? Are the roads commodious? (for Antonius Musa³ assures

me

ANNOTATIONS.

¹ How is the winter at Velia? Velia was a city of *Lucania*, upon the borders of the sea, and built by the *Phocians* in the reign of *Servius Tullus*. It is to be observed, that in the natural order of construction, the whole parenthesis beginning at *Nam mihi Baias*, and running on for eleven lines together, ought to begin the Epistle; which should be followed by the 24th verse: *Scribere te nobis, tibi nos accredere par est, quæ sit hyems Velia*. But both in the translation and *ordo*, that the reader might not

be too much embarrassed, I have followed the method of the poet; thinking it sufficient to make this remark here. Horace frequently falls into this enormous length of sentences, inasmuch that it is sometimes very difficult to trace out his meaning, or discover the true arrangement of parts. We have a remarkable instance of it in the Ode, *Qualem Ministrum*, Book IV. Lyric poetry indeed allows of greater liberty this way, than any other composition; but I hardly think it can be defended upon any

Optat ephippia bos piger; optat arare caballus.
Quam scit uterque libens, censebo, exerceat artem.

uterque libens exerceat artem, quam scit.

Bos piger optat ephippia; caballus optat arare. Censebo, ut

ANNOTATIONS.

no doubt, in this alludes to the known sale of the ox and the horse; and perhaps to some particular one, in great esteem at that time.

THE KEY.

loss of his brother, and had no less impatience to get into the country, than his steward to be in town, writes him this Epistle to correct his inconstancy, and make him ashamed of complaining that he was unhappy in a place, which gave so great delight to his master, who thought he never had any real enjoyment of life, when absent from it. The subject has nothing elevated in itself, but the poet enlivens it by a variety of interesting reflections, and pleasing images. The exact date of this Epistle cannot be determined, but there is great reason to think that it was a work of his latter years, because he speaks of his youth as long since past, and boasts of a constancy that belonged not to that time of his life.

EPISTOLA XV.

Ad NUMONIUM VALAM.

Percurſatur de Velia & Salerno, deque rebus ad jucundè vivendum idoneis.

QUÆ sit hyems Velia, quod cœlum, Vala, Salerni,

Quorum hominum regio, & qualis via? (nam mihi Baias

Musa supervacuas Antonius; & tamen illis

mibi; & tamen

ORDO.

O Vala, quæ sit hyems Velia, quod cœlum Salerni, quorum hominum sit regio, & qualis via? (nam Antonius Musa censet Baias supervacuas esse

ANNOTATIONS.

any good grounds, and whatever may be said in excuse for it, it is still less pardonable in great masters. Numonius Vala, to whom this Epistle is addressed, is the same, who was afterwards lieutenant to Quintilius Varus, in Germany, where he behaved so ill, as to be reputed the chief cause of the loss of the Roman army. For he abandoned his general, and passed the Rhine with all the cavalry.

^a Salernum. A small town in the ter-

ritories of Picenum, which the Romans had fortified to keep that country in awe, it having taken part with Hannibal, when he invaded Italy.

³ Antonius Musa. Physician to Augustus, and the brother of Euphorbus, physician to king Juba. He had the good fortune to cure Augustus, when he was given over by the other physicians, and this chiefly by prescribing the cold bath. Augustus recompensed him liberally, and the people, to testify

- me that the waters of *Baiæ*⁴ can be of no service to me; and yet the people are highly incensed, when they see me use the cold bath in the midst of winter⁵. It is certain that it mortifies them extremely to see their myrtle-groves deserted, and those sulphureous waters undervalued which have gained so great a reputation for driving away the obstinate humors⁶ so apt to settle upon the nerves; they bear no good-will to such invalids, as have the courage to expose their heads and breasts to the waters of *Clusium*⁷, or venture to retire to *Gabii*, and those colder parts.
- 10 I have therefore resolved to change the place, and ride past my usual stages. Whither so fast⁸? I am not bound either for *Cumæ*⁹ or *Baiæ*, will the angry rider say, turning the bridle a little to the left¹⁰: but a horse understands only the language of the rein). Which abound most in corn? Do they drink of rain-water kept in cisterns, or fountains supplied by a perpetual spring? (for I make but little account of the wine of those parts. When in my rural retirement I can sit down contented with any kind; but when I draw near to the sea, I must have what is generous and soft, what may serve to drive away care, diffuse
- 20 through my heart and veins a rich hope, and make me appear eloquent and young to some bewitching *Lucanian* fair). Which of these spots abound most in hares and boars? Which of the coasts are most fertile in fish? that I may return thence plump and smooth like a true *Pheacian*. It belongs to you to instruct me,
- 25 on these heads, and me to follow your advice.

*Mænius*¹¹, after he had bravely squandered away the fortune left him by his parents, began to set up for a wit; an unsettled buffoon¹², who had no fixed eating-place; when hungry he made

no

A N N O T A T I O N S.

testify their gratitude, erected a statue to him. This brought the cold bath into great reputation. But some months after, this prescription, which had been so successful with *Augustus*, was the cause of young *Marcellus*'s death. It is likely therefore that this Epistle was writ before that accident, for we can scarce suppose that *Horace* would have ventured upon the use of the cold bath afterwards.

4 *Baiæ*. Between *Naples* and *Cumæ*, near the *Lucrine* lake; it was famous for its hot baths.

5 In the midst of winter. *Antonius Musa* was probably the first, who advised the use of the cold bath in the midst of winter; for before him none but hot baths had been prescribed: a remedy so short and dangerous could not continue long in vogue, and therefore it was soon dropt. But as there is nothing more changeable than the prac-

tice of physic, which adopts at one time what it had rejected at another, a physician of *Marseilles* brought it again into repute under the reign of *Vespasian*: and this new practice was so well received, that the rivers and canals were to be seen full of old men shivering amidst shoals of ice.

6 The obstinate humors so apt, &c. Commentators are here at a loss to find out what *Horace* means by the *cessans morbus*. *Dacier* thinks it must be the gout, for which the baths of *Baiæ* were extremely good, the water there being strongly impregnated with sulphur. *Est autem utilis sulfureata nervis*, says *Pliny*. He observes, however, that we are to distinguish; for though it be good for the gout when caused by a cold humor, yet, when it is occasioned by a hot humor, it requires a contrary remedy. Hence *Hippocrates* advises to ease the pain by pouring cold water upon the part affected.

7 *Clusium*

EPIST

Me fa

Per m

Dicta

Sulfur

Qui c

Clusiu

Muta

Præte

Est it

Dicet

Major

Collec

Dulci

Rure

Ad m

Quod

In ver

Quod

Trac

Utra

Pingu

Scrib

Ma

Forti

Scurr

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Uter tri

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7 Cl

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Virgil

Vo

Me facit invifum, gelidâ cum perluor undâ
 Per medium frigus. Sanè myrteta relinqui,
 Dictaque ceſſantem nervis elidere morbum
 Sulfura contemni, vicus gemit; invidus ægris,
 Qui caput & ſtomachum ſupponere fontibus audent
 Cluſinis, Gabioſque petunt, & frigida rura.
 Mutandus locus eſt, & diverſoria nota
 Præteragendus equus. Quò tendis? Non mihi Cumas
 Eſt iter aut Baias, lævâ ſtomachofus habenâ
 Dicit eques: ſed equi frænato eſt auris in ore).
 Major utrùm populum frumenti copia paſcat;
 Collectoſne bibant imbres, puteoſne perennes
 Dulcis* aquæ: (nam vina nihil moror illius oræ.
 Rure meo poſſum quidvis perferre patique;
 Ad mare cum veni, generoſum & lene requiro,
 Quod curas abigat, quod cum ſpe divite manet
 In venas animumque meum, quod verba miniſtret,
 Quod me Lucanæ juvenem commendet amicæ.)
 Tractus uter plures lepores, uter educet apros;
 Utra magis piſces & echinos æquora celent,
 Pinguis ut inde domum poſſim Phæaxque reverti:
 Scribere te nobis, tibi nos accredere par eſt.

Mænius ut, rebus maternis atque paternis
 Fortiter abſumptis, urbanus cœpit haberi;
 Scurra vagus, non qui certum præſepe teneret;

numque meum cum ſpe divite, quod miniſtret verba, quod commendet me juvenem Lucanæ amicæ.)
 Uter tractus educet plures lepores, uter plures apros; utra æquora magis celent piſces & echinos,
 ut poſſim reverti inde domum pinguis Phæaxque: par eſt te reſcribere hæc nobis, nos accredere
 tibi. Mænius, rebus paternis atque maternis fortiter abſumptis, ut cœpit haberi urbanus; va-
 gus ſcurra, qui non teneret certum præſepe;

* jugis, Bentl.

facit me inviſum illis,
 cum perluor gelidâ un-
 dâ per medium frigus.
 Sanè vicus gemit myr-
 teta relinqui, ſulfura-
 que dicta elidere mor-
 bum ceſſantem nervis
 contemni; invidus æ-
 gris, qui audent ſup-
 ponere caput & ſto-
 machum fontibus Clu-
 ſinis, petuntque Gabios,
 & rura frigida. Lo-
 cus eſt mutandus, &
 æquus præteragendus
 nota diverſoria. Eques
 ſtomachofus lævâ ha-
 benâ dicit, Quò tendis?
 Non eſt mihi iter Cu-
 mas aut Baias: ſed
 auris equi eſt in ore
 frænato.) Utrùm ma-
 jor copia framenti paſ-
 cat populum; bibantne
 imbres collectos, puteoſ-
 ne perennes aquæ dul-
 cis: (nam nil moror
 vina illius oræ. Poſ-
 ſum perferre patique
 quidvis meo rure; cum
 veni ad mare, requiro
 lene & generoſum, quod
 abigat curas, quod
 manet in venas ani-

ANNOTATIONS.

7 Cluſum. A city of Tuscany. Gabii, a village between Rome and Præneſte.

8 Whitber ſo faſt? Horace ſpeaks of what is to happen to him in his journey, as if it was already begun. For in riding from Rome to Velia, he was obliged to paſs near to Baiæ, where he had often been; whence he concludes that his horſe would be inclined to turn to the uſual ſtages.

9 Cumæ. Cumæ was the firſt city founded by the Greek colonies in Italy; if we can credit the relation of Strabo. Its ſituation was north of Baiæ, upon the Tuſcan ſea. It was built by the Eubæans, in conjunction with the Æolians, which laſt gave it the name of Cumæ, from a city ſo called in their own country. The chiefs of this expedition were Hippocles and Megasthenes. Heſiod was a native of Cumæ in Æolia, whence Virgil calls his poems Cumæum carmen.

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10 A little to the left. As he entered Campania, the road divided into two. That towards the right led to Baiæ and Cumæ, and that to the left to Capua, Velæ, and Salernum.

11 Mænius. The Epistle concludes with the foregoing verſe; but as it was dry, and had nothing entertaining, Horace enlivened it with a ſtory in his uſual manner, which had occurred to him from the mention he makes of his own humor: that when at his houſe in Campania, he could be contented with any thing; but at Tarentum, he required what was good and cheriſhing. The character of Mænius is here treated with all the bitterneſs of ſatire. He is the ſame with the celebrated debauchee of Book I. Sat. 1.

Quid mi igitur ſuades? ut vivam Mænius?

12 An unſettled buffoon. For there were two

- no distinction between a citizen and an enemy; ready to invent whatever calumnies¹³ against all without distinction; the very destruction¹⁴, gulf, and havoc of the market; who constantly laid out all he could come at upon his insatiable belly. When he could get little or nothing from those who favored or dreaded his petulant tongue, he would sit down to a feast of sheep's guts, devouring as much as might have served three bears; protesting loudly that all gluttons ought to have their bellies seared with a red-hot iron¹⁵. Yet this same Mænius so wonderfully sober¹⁶, when he happened upon any thing of a better kind, after turning all into smoke and ashes; Truly, says he, I do not much wonder, if men spend their estate upon good eating; when nothing can be better than a fine thrush, or eat more charming than a hog's harslet. Just such a one am I: for when I have nothing better, I commend my quiet and frugal repast: but when aught finer and more relishing offers, then say I, you only are wise and happy, who lay out your money in purchasing fine houses and fertile lands¹⁷.

A N N O T A T I O N S.

two kinds of them; some who kept entirely to one master; others who changed from one to another, and always fixed where they met with the best entertainment.

¹³ Ready to invent whatever calumnies. Horace has elsewhere taken notice of this detracting humor of Mænius, in the third Satire of his first Book.

Mænius absentem Novium cùm carperet.

¹⁴ The very destruction, &c. Horace calls Mænius the ruin and destruction of the market, in the same sense as *Parmeno*, in Terence, says of *Tbais*: *Fundi nostri calamitas*: "The flood that ravages our heritage."

¹⁵ Seared with a red-hot iron. This was the ordinary punishment of gluttonous slaves: as thieves were marked in the hand, &c.

¹⁶ Yet this same Mænius so wonderfully sober. *Correctus Mænius idem*: this is the reading according to which I have translated it. Commentators have observed that in some manuscripts we find, *diceret urendos correctus Bestius*. Dacier remarks, that if this be the true reading, *Bestius* must certainly have been a surname given to Mænius, because of his voracious appetite. *Cræquius*, on the other side, imagines this *Bestius* to be a different person from Mænius, and is followed

The KEY.

AUGUSTUS having been recovered from a dangerous illness, by the use of the cold bath, which his physician, *Antonius Musa*, had prescribed; that new practice came into great reputation, and the hot baths, which had hitherto only been in use, began by degrees to lose their credit. *Antonius Musa*, who, from the success of his prescription, had, as is natural, become mighty fond of it, advised, among others, *Horace* to make trial of it. The poet for some time used the baths of *Clusium* and *Gabii*; but finding the country there too cold, and the winter extremely severe; he determined to try bathing in the sea, in some milder climate: but before he finally fixed his

Impransus non qui civem dignosceret hoste;
 Quælibet in quemvis opprobria fingere sævus;
 Pernicies, & tempestas, barathrumque macelli;
 Quicquid quæsierat ventri donabat* avaro.
 Hic, ubi nequitiae fautoribus & timidis nil
 Aut paulum abstulerat, patinas cœnabat omasi
 Vilis & agnini, tribus urfis quod satîs esset;
 Scilicet ut ventres lamnâ candente nepotum
 Diceret urendos correctus† Bestius. Idem,
 Quicquid‡ erat nactus prædæ majoris, ubi omne
 Verterat in fumum & cinerem; Non herculè miror,
 Aiebat, si qui comedunt bona; cùm sit obeso
 Nil melius turdo, nil vulvâ pulchrius amplâ.
 Nimirum hic ego sum: nam tuta & parvula laudo,
 Cùm res deficiunt, satîs inter vilia fortis:
 Verùm ubi quid melius contingit & unctius, idem
 Vos sapere, & solos aio benè vivere, quorum
 Conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis.

30 qui impransus non dig-
 nosceret civem ab hoste;
 sævus fingere quælibet
 opprobria in quemvis;
 pernicies, & tempestas,
 barathrumque macelli;
 donabat avaro ventri
 quicquid quæsierat.
 35 Hic, ubi abstulerat nil
 aut paulum fautoribu-
 & timidis nequitiae, cœ-
 nabat patinas omasi vi-
 lis & agnini, quod esset
 satîs tribus urfis; Sci-
 licet ut diceret ventres
 nepotum urendos esse
 lamnâ candente. Idem
 hic correctus Mænius,
 quicquid nactus erat
 majoris prædæ, ubi
 vertit at omne in fu-
 mum & cinerem; aie-
 bat, Non herculè mir-
 45 or, si qui comedunt
 bona; cùm nil melius

fit obeso turdo, nil pulchrius amplâ vulvâ. Nimirum ego sum hic: nam cùm res deficiunt, satîs
 fortis inter vilia, laudo tuta & parvula: verùm ubi quid melius & unctius contingit, ego idem aio,
 vos solos sapere, & benè vivere, quorum pecunia conspicitur fundata nitidis villis.

* donaret, Bentl.

† corrector, Id.

‡ si quid, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

lowed by Sanadon, who tells us that Corne-
 lius Bestius was a man noted for the severity
 and strictness of his manners. Persius, in
 his Satires, gives us the same idea of him,
 as Horace here; and opposes him to the
 philosophers of Greece. According to this
 latter explication, it ought to be englished
 thus: *Protesting like another rigid Bestius, &c.*
And yet the same Mænius.

17 Fine houses and fertile lands. Quorum
 conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis. Ni-
 tidæ villæ is the same here, as politi campi;

lands well cultivated, diligenter exculci; for
 politus is the same as nitidus: hence the
 expression *positiones agrorum*, for the good
 culture of lands. *Villæ nitidæ*; neat villas
 or houses surrounded with fertile fields,
 that could support a good table, and bring
 in wherewith to buy plenty of the best pro-
 visions, are here opposed to those magnifi-
 cent houses, on which the great men some-
 times threw away their whole estates, and
 left nothing wherewith to support a rank
 and table suitable to this great appearance.

THE KEY.

his choice, he writes to his friend Numonius Vala, who had been using
 for some time the baths of Velia and Salernum in Lucania. He
 prays him to send him an account of that country, whether the
 winter was mild, or the accommodations good. We may say of this
 Epistle, that it has a good and a bad part. In the beginning we
 meet with a perplexity of style and construction, that is hardly to be
 excused: we must read, at least, twenty lines before we can come
 at the natural order of the thoughts and periods. The latter part
 has nothing of this embarrassment: it is a simple and lively repre-
 sentation

The KEY.

sentation of a character; which the poet in the end applies to himself.

This

EPISTLE XVI.

TO QUINTIUS.

He describes the situation of his house in the country, and praises a country-life. He counsels Quintius to aim rather at real goodness, than the bare appearance.

TO save you the trouble, my Quintius¹, of inquiring, whether my lands supply their master with grain, or enrich him with olives, fruits and pasture-ground, or vines creeping round the elm; I design to weary you with a long description² of it. Imagine to yourself a continued chain of mountains, divided only
 5 by a shady vale; yet so that the rising sun gilds it on the right hand, and declining in his rapid chariot warms it towards the left. The air is temperate and mild. How would you judge, were you to see my brambles bending under a load of cornels and damsons? if my oaks and holms supply the flocks with acorns, and their master with a refreshing shade? You would
 10 without doubt fancy that the delicious shades of Tarentum had changed their situation, and drawn nearer to Rome. There is also a spring large enough to form a brook that bears its name: not even Hebrus strays round Thrace with a purer and cooler stream; it is moreover excellent against disorders in the head
 15 or stomach. These sweet, and (if you will believe me) pleasant retreats, secure my health from the dangers of the September-season.

You are happy indeed³, if you are really what men take you to be. It is now a long time that all Rome has boasted of your hap-

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¹ My Quintius. This Quintius, according to Dacier, is the same with that Quintius Hirpinus, to whom our poet addresses the 11th Ode of Book II. This family was one of the most ancient and considerable of Rome, and had often filled with honor the chief dignities of the state.

² Weary you with a long description. *Scribetur tibi forma loquaciter.* And yet after all, the description takes up no more than ten lines. Horace loved brevity, and, of all things, was careful not to tire his readers.

³ You are happy indeed. We have often already

The KEY.

This Epistle, according to *Sanadon*, was written in the year of the city 731. *Dacier* makes it 729.

EPISTOLA XVI.

Ad QUINTIUM.

Fundum suum describit, & laudat vitam rusticam. Quintium hortatur ut studeat non tam haberi, quàm esse vir bonus.

ORDO.

NE perconteris, fundus meus, optime Quinti,
Arvo pascat herum, an baccis opulentet olivæ,
Pomifne & * pratis, an amictâ vitibus ulmo;
Scribetur tibi forma loquaciter & situs agri.

Continui montes, ni dissociantur opacâ
Valle; sed ut veniens dextrum latus aspiciat Sol,
Lævum discedens curru fugiente vaporet.
Temperiem laudes. Quid, si rubicunda benignè †
Cornâ vepres & pruna ferant ‡? si quercus & ilex
Multâ fruge pecus, multâ dominum juvet || um-
brâ?

Dicas adductum propiùs frondere Tarentum.
Fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus, ut nec
Frigidior Thracam nec purior ambiat Hebrus,
Infirmo capiti fluit utilis, utilis alvo.
Hæ latebræ dulces, etiam (si credis) ** amœnæ, 15
Incolumem tibi me præstant Septembribus horis.

Tu rectè vivis, si curas esse quod audis.
Jactamus jampridem omnis te Roma beatum.

nomen rivo, ut nec Hebrus frigidior nec purior ambiat Thracam, fluit utilis infirmo capiti, utilis alvo. Hæ dulces latebræ, etiam amœnæ (si credis), præstant me incolumem tibi horis Septembribus. Tu vivis rectè, si curas esse quod audis. Nos omnis Roma jampridem jactamus te beatum.

* an, Bentl. † benigni, Id. ‡ ferunt, Id. || juvat, Id. ** & (jam si credis), Id.

OPTIME Quinti,
ne perconteris, u-
trum fundus meus
pascat herum arvo, an
opulentet baccis olivæ,
pomifne & pratis, an
ulmo amictâ vitibus;
forma & situs agri
scribetur tibi loquaciter.
Montes sunt continui,
nisi quòd dissociantur
opacâ valle; sed ita
ut veniens Sol aspiciat
dextrum latus, & Sol
discedens vaporet læ-
vum fugiente curru.
Laudes temperiem.
Quid, si vepres ferant
benignè rubicunda cor-
nâ & pruna? si quer-
cus & ilex juvet pecus
multâ fruge, dominum
multâ umbrâ? Dicas
Tarentum adductum
propiùs frondere. Est
etiam fons idoneus dare

ANNOTATIONS.

already observed of *Horace*, that he is not very solicitous to connect his words and sentences. He is fond of agreeable transi- tions, and frequently starts from his sub- ject: but the sense, upon examination, will always be found to be strictly connected,

and pursued to the last. For after acquaint- ing *Quintius*, that in his retreat he studied more his own convenience, than the empty applause of the croud, he takes occasion from thence to recommend to him the same way of life, and that he strive rather to

happiness. But I fear you trust more to the testimony of others
 20 than of your own mind; and fancy that happiness may subsist
 without virtue and wisdom: thus, while the people assure you
 that you are well and in perfect health, the lurking fever is not
 perceived, till the fit seizes you at table with your hand yet in
 the dish. Fools through false modesty conceal their sores till
 they are past cure.

25 If any one speak ⁴ to you of victories gained by land and sea,
 and fill your ears ⁵ with these soothing words of flattery: Jupiter,
 who in watching ⁶ over your safety consults also the happiness of
 the city, leaves it still in doubt, whether the people are more anx-
 ious for your preservation, or you for the welfare of the people:
 you would be sensible at once that these praises belonged only to
 30 Augustus. But when you suffer yourself to be addressed by the
 title of a wise and good man; tell me honestly, have you the con-
 science to answer to this character as your own?

QUINT. To be sure ⁷; for I love to be held a good and worthy
 man, as well as another.

HOR. But he ⁸ who gives you this title to-day, will, if the fancy
 take him, deprive you of it to-morrow: as when he bestows the
 fasces upon one unworthy of them, he withdraws them upon
 the first disgust. Resign these, says he; they are mine. I resign,
 35 and retire dejected. Were the same to brand me for a thief,
 charge me with all manner of impurity, and exclaim against me
 as one that had strangled my father with my own hands: would
 such false calumnies disturb me, or make me change color?
 What but a vicious and deceitful mind ⁹ is pleased with false
 praise, or moved by undeserved reproach? Who then is the good
 40 and upright man?

QUINT.

ANNOTATIONS.

find himself really happy, than only to be
 thought so.

⁴ If any one speak, &c. No private man,
 that is not lost in folly, can take for his
 own the praises that belong only to a great
 prince, famed for his victories and success.
 And yet wherein is it less ridiculous, to
 imagine ourselves wise and virtuous, with-
 out any real perception of these qualities
 within ourselves, only because the people
 ignorantly ascribe them to us?

⁵ Fill your ears, &c. *Vacuas permulceat
 aures*; that is, *vacantes, apertas*, ears open to
 flattery.

⁶ Jupiter, who in watching, &c. This
 is perhaps the finest elegium that was ever
 given to a prince; and is taken from the
panegyric made upon *Augustus* by *Varius*,
 one of the best poets, as well as best critics
 in his time. What can be imagined greater

than a prince living upon such terms with
 his subjects, that it is matter of doubt,
 whether they are more concerned for his
 preservation, or he for theirs? Nor, if we
 consider the latter part of *Augustus's* life,
 was this *panegyric* high strained. History
 is full of his acts of generosity and bene-
 ficence towards the *Romans*, and of their
 reciprocal tenderness and concern for him.
Dacier has a beautiful remark upon this,
viz. That as what subjects do for their
 prince during their lives, may be justly sus-
 pected to proceed from interest; so it is
 worthy our notice, that in the case of *Aug-
 ustus* there were some instances of affection
 shewn him by his subjects, that cannot be
 charged with any thing of this kind. How
 common was it for dying persons to com-
 mand by their wills, that their heirs should
 offer sacrifice in the Capitol, for their not
 surviving

Sed vereor ne cui de te plus quàm tibi credas ;
 Neve putes alium sapiente bonoque beatum :
 Neu, si te populus sanum rectèque valentem
 Dictitet, occultam febrem sub tempus edendi
 Dissimules, donec manibus tremor incidat unctis.
 Stultorum incurata pudor malus ulcera celat.
 Si quis bella tibi terrâ pugnata marique
 Dicat, & his verbis vacuas permulceat aures :
 Tene magis salvum populus velit, an populum tu,
 Servet in ambiguo, qui consulit & tibi & urbi,
 Jupiter : Augusti laudes agnoscere possis.
 Cum pateris sapiens emendatusque vocari ;
 Respondeſne tuo, dic sodes, nomine ? Nempe
 Vir bonus & prudens dici delector ego, ac tu.
 Qui dedit hoc hodie, cras, si volet, auferet : ut si
 Detulerit fasces indigno, detrahet idem.
 Pone ; meum est, inquit. Pono, tristisque recedo.
 Idem si clamet furem, neget esse pudicum,
 Contendat laqueo collum pressisse paternum :
 Mordear opprobriis falsis, mutemque colores ?
 Falsus honor juvat, & mendax infamia terret
 Quem, nisi mendosum & mendacem * ? Vir bonus
 est quis ?

20 Sed vereor ne credas
 plus cui de te quàm
 tibi ; neve putes alium
 beatum sapiente bono-
 que : neu, si populus
 dictitet te sanum rectè-
 que valentem, dissimu-
 les febrem occultam sub
 25 tempus edendi, donec
 tremor incidat manibus
 unctis. Malus pudor
 celat incurata ulcera
 stultorum. Si quis dicat
 tibi bella pugnata esse
 terrâ marique, & per-
 mulceat vacuas aures
 his verbis : Jupiter,
 qui consulit & tibi
 & urbi, servet in
 ambiguo, populusne
 magis velit te sal-
 vum, an tu populum :
 possis agnoscere laudes
 Augusti. Cum pateris
 vocari sapiens emen-
 datusque ; dic sodes,
 respondeſne tuo nomine ?
 30 QUINT. Nempe ego
 delector dici vir bonus
 & prudens, æquè ac
 tu. HOR. Qui dedit

hoc hodie, auferet cras, si volet : ut si detulerit fasces indigno, idem detrahet. Pone, inquit ; est meum. Pono, recedoque tristis. Si idem clamet me esse furem, neget esse pudicum, contendat pressisse paternum collum laqueo : mordear falsis opprobriis, mutemque colores ? An falsus honor juvat quem, & infamia mendax terret quem, nisi mendosum & mendacem ? Quis igitur est vir bonus ?

* medicandum, Bentl.

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surviving Augustus ? Quod superstitem Augustum reliquissent ? All the honors, adds that judici. us commentator, which were decreed to this prince, come far short of this instance of tenderness and piety, which was often shewn him by his subjects, when in the very arms of death ; beyond which there is neither fear, nor flattery, nor hope.

7 To be sure, &c. It is Quintius that here answers Horace, and gives the reply commonly made to the like question. Every one would willingly pass for a good man ; but the poet places the folly of it in a strong light, by bringing in the word dici. We ought not to content ourselves with passing for good men ; we should labor to be so really : for, as Seneca very well says, Quis prudens se ob aliena miratur ? What wise man can applaud himself for virtues which he is conscious he does not possess ? A really good man, though not altogether indifferent

as to what the world may think or say of him, yet is most attentive to form his behaviour to the approbation of his own mind, as knowing that this testimony alone can secure his quiet and peace.

8 But he, &c. This is the reply which Horace makes to Quintius. Were the people steady in their approbation, there would be less reason to find fault with those who are at so much pains to acquire it ; because it would procure them the same advantages, at least with regard to the people, as real virtue : but as there is nothing more changeable, it is mere madness to build our hopes on a foundation so chimerical and uncertain.

9 What but a vicious and deceitful mind ? Quem, nisi mendosum & mendacem ? Mendosus, vicious, ignorant ; one who had no right notion of happiness. Mendax, false, dissembling, counterfeit. Sanadon, and other critics, instead of mendacem, read medicandum,

QUINT. He who obeys¹⁰ the decrees of the fathers, and never swerves from law and justice; whose decisions are respected by all, and put an end to the greatest differences; whose testimony and advice is of weight to gain the hardest cause.

HOR. Yet this man both at home and by all the neighbourhood is known to be at bottom an errant¹¹ knave, concealed
 45 under a specious mask. If my slave tell me¹², I never committed theft, nor fled: It is well, say I, you have escaped the discipline of the whip. I have been guilty of no murder: You are not nailed upon the cross to feed the crows. But I am a man of honesty and worth¹³: That is what I can by no means grant¹⁴: for the cunning wolf is aware of the pit, the hawk
 50 of the snare, and the kite of the lurking hook. Good men detest vice from a love to virtue; whereas you are held in awe by the sole fear of punishment. Give but hopes of escaping undiscovered, you will regard nothing either sacred or profane.
 55 For when from a thousand bushels of beans you steal only one; my loss indeed is not so great, but the crime is still the same. This man of virtue¹⁵, you now described, so revered at the bar, and in every court of justice, when he offers to the Gods the sacrifice of a hog or an ox; after invoking with a clear and distinct voice, Janus and Apollo, gently moves his lips for fear of being

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dicandum, which they think agrees better with the metaphorical expressions used before; *sanum, valentem, febrem, ulcera*: which all point at the maladies of the soul.

¹⁰ *He who obeys, &c.* This takes in all the qualities, that generally gain a man the reputation of virtue and honesty in the opinion of the world: but the definition is still very imperfect, as it speaks only of what regards a man's outside, and does not reach the frame of the heart. *Horace*, in this, imitates the Socratic manner; for that philosopher proposed always, first, the vulgar opinion, in order to refute and oppose it.

¹¹ *To be at bottom an errant knave.* Vanity, complaisance, and a notion of honor, or some other interested views, make men put on a disguise in public; whereas domestic life unmasks them, and discovers them in their true and real characters. When a magistrate appears in public, what an air of gravity does he affect, what circumspection in his words, what a regard to equity in his whole behaviour? In a man bred up at court, what complaisance, what politeness, and exact observance of decency and good manners? But follow either the one or other to their closets, the whole scene is changed. Extravagance, fantastical conceits, passion, pride, avarice. Thus men

of the most abandoned lives, for want of a knowledge of their private characters, often pass for finished models of virtue. It is this rash and precipitate way of judging, which the poet here censures. A man may be a knave at bottom, with all those qualities, that go to make a fair character in the eye of the world.

¹² *If my slave tells me.* This comparison is brought in here, to place the ridicule of the former definition in a stronger light. The man, who aims only at obeying the laws, is no more than exempt from the penalties annexed to them; as a slave, who is no fugitive nor thief, escapes punishment: but neither the one nor the other can upon that account claim the character of virtue and goodness; because they may act only from a vicious motive, and, notwithstanding their strict adherence to the law, be still ready to break it, where they can do it with impunity.

¹³ *A man of honesty and worth.* *Sanctus & frugi.* *Frugi* is a word of a very weighty and extensive signification; for under the notion of frugality, the ancients comprehended justice, constancy, fortitude, and temperance. In a word, *Cicero*, in the Book of his *Tusculan Questions*, opposes *frugi* to *nequam*, and *frugalitas* to *nequitia*.

¹⁴ *That*

Qui consulta patrum, qui leges juraque servat;
 Quo multæ magnæque secantur judice lites;
 Quo responfore*, & quo causæ teste tenentur.
 Sed videt hunc omnis domus & vicinia tota
 Introrsum† turpem, speciosum pelle decorâ.
 Nec furtum feci, nec fugi, si mihi dicat‡
 Servus: Habes pretium, loris non ureris, aio.
 Non hominem occidi: Non pasces in cruce corvos.
 Sum bonus & frugi: Renuit negat atque || Sabellus:
 Cautus enim metuit foveam lupo, accipiterque 50
 Suspectos laqueos, & opertum milvius hamum.
 Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore;
 Tu nihil admittes in te formidine pœnæ.
 Sit spes fallendi, miscebis sacra profanis.
 Nam de mille fabæ modiis cùm surripis unum; 55
 Damnum est, non facinus, mihi pacto lenius isto.
 Vir bonus, omne forum quem spectat, & omne tri-
 bunal,
 Quandocunque Deos vel porco vel bove placat;
 Jane pater, clarè, clarè cùm dixit, Apollo,

QUINT. Qui servat
 consulta patrum, qui
 servat leges juraque;
 quo judice multæ &
 magnæ lites secantur;
 quo responfore, & quo
 teste causæ tenentur.
 HOR. Sed omnis do-
 mus & tota vicinia
 videt hunc turpem in-
 trorsum, speciosum de-
 corâ pelle. Si servus
 dicat mihi, Nec feci
 furtum, nec fugi: aio,
 Habes pretium, non u-
 reris loris. Non occidi
 hominem: Non pasces
 corvos in cruce. Sum
 bonus & frugi: Sa-
 bellus renuit atque ne-
 gat: lupo enim cau-
 tus metuit foveam, ac-
 cipiterque laqueos sus-
 pectos, & milvius ha-
 mum opertum. Boni
 oderunt peccare amore
 virtutis; tu admittes

nihil in te formidine pœnæ. Sit spes fallendi, miscebis sacra profanis. Nam cùm surripis unum
 de mille modiis fabæ; damnum lenius est mihi isto pacto, non facinus. Vir hic bonus, quem omne
 forum, & omne tribunal spectat, quandocunque placat Deos vel porco vel bove; cùm dixit, Jane
 pater clarè, Apollo clarè,

* Quo res sponfore, Benth. † introrsus, Id. ‡ dicit, Id. || negitatque.

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14 That is what I can by no means grant. Renuit negat atque Sabellus. These words have occasioned great differences among commentators, as to the manner of explaining them. Some contend that Sabellus is here for Samnis, and denotes the poet himself, who was of Venusium, a city belonging to the Samnites. Others reject this explanation as harsh and far-fetched. Vander-Beken, in particular, conjectures, that Sabellus was the proper name of one whose character was much the same as that of Ofellus, and well known at that time. Sanadon, however, though he agrees with Vander-Beken in rejecting the first explication, cannot yet approve of this notion. To what purpose is it, says he, to bring in abruptly a man, whose authority could be of little service in giving weight to the poet's reasoning? He therefore proposes another conjecture, which he fancies agrees better to the design and sentiments of Horace. He thinks that Sabellus is here for Sabinus, which is not without example, and that it is a general name to denote the peasants of that canton or district, where Horace had his country-seat. The poet tells us, in another place, that he

had eight slaves employed in manuring his land, and it is doubtless one of these here brought in debating with his master, and boasting his faithful services, in that he was neither thief, murderer, nor fugitive. Horace allows it, and tells him he meets with usage accordingly. But when the rogue proceeds to argue from this, that he is a man of worth and probity, he stops his career, and sends him back to the peasants of his district for their testimony. They were better judges, because they knew more of him, and could discern every day many things that never came to his master's ears. I have been pretty full in representing the different opinions, that the reader may be at liberty to judge for himself. The two latter are ingenious, but I think strained, which is the reason of my following rather the other in the version.

15 This man of virtue. Horace here lets us into another vice, common to those who falsely affect a character of virtue; they want also to deceive the world by putting on a face of devotion. They go to the temple, offer sacrifices, and pray so as to be heard by all. When they have prayed to gain

- 60 being heard: Beautiful Laverna¹⁶, says he, give me the art to deceive; give me always to pass for a man upright and just; shade my crimes in impenetrable night, and cover my frauds with a dark cloud. It is hard to find in what a miser, who in walking the streets stoops to take up a halfpenny¹⁷ nailed to the ground, is better or more free than a slave: for desire is ever accompanied
 65 with fear; and where fear is, there can be no true liberty. The man who is perpetually busy and attentive in amassing wealth, has thrown down his arms, and basely abandoned the post of virtue¹⁸. If a slave does not please, there is yet no necessity to kill him; he may be sold to advantage, or made useful in many
 70 respects: employ him in attending your flocks, or manuring the ground; he may be sent to traffic even in the rudest seasons, contribute to plenty, and stock the country with corn and provisions. A wise and good man¹⁹ will have the courage to say; Pentheus, king of the Thebans, what indignities will you compel me to suffer?

PENT. I will strip you of all you possess.

- 75 BAC. What my flocks, my lands, my furniture, and wealth? Take all, I allow it.

PENT. I will shut you up in close prison, and load you with chains.

BAC. A God will come²⁰ to deliver me, as soon as I desire it.

HOR. He means, according to my notion, I will die: death is the end of all human miseries²¹.

The

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gain the good opinion of the public, they mutter their secret wishes for success to their villanies and hypocrisy. It is not the poet's design to censure either private or public prayer, but the abuse of it.

¹⁶ Beautiful Laverna. As among the heathens, their Gods were for the most part of their own making, it was natural that thieves, finding themselves persecuted on earth, should think of some heavenly support whereupon to depend. The hatred which follows this set of men ought in reason to have fallen upon a Goddess, who was supposed to be their protector; but as she favored also those whose designs were dark and full of deceit, or who wanted to have their views hid, hence Laverna came to be honored by the people with a public worship: she had an altar near one of the gates of Rome.

¹⁷ Stoops to take up a halfpenny. Men of a covetous temper stoop to the meanest arts of acquiring wealth. Horace justly here compares them to that sordid set, who descended so low as to stoop to take up a piece of false money, nailed to the ground by chil-

dren on purpose to deceive them. *Perfusus* copies from this in his fifth Satire, when he says,

Inque luto fixum pessis transcendere nummum?

"Can you pass over a piece of money fixed to the ground, without stooping to take it up?" Where *Cornutus* observes: *Solent pueri, ut ridendi causam habeant, assim in silice plumbatum affigere, ut qui viderint, se ad colligendum inclinent, nec tamen possint avellere. Quo facto pueri etiam adclamare solent.* "Children sometimes, for their diversion, fix a piece of lead in the earth, to deceive people as they pass, who stoop to take it up, but find it so well secured that they cannot bring it away: upon which the boys set up a loud shout."

¹⁸ Abandoned the post of virtue. This gives a noble and beautiful idea of life. God hath sent us into this world to combat vice, and maintain a constant war against our passions. The man who gives ground is like the coward who has thrown down his arms.

¹⁹ A wise and good man. After rejecting the several false notions of virtue, he lays

Labra movet metuens audiri : Pulchra Laverna, 60
 Da mihi fallere ; da justum sanctumque* videri ;
 Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice nubem.
 Quî melior servo, quî liberior sit avarus,
 In triviis fixum cum se demittit ob assem,
 Non video : nam qui cupiet, metuet quoque ; porro 65
 Qui metuens vivit, liber mihi non erit unquam.
 Perdidit† arma, locum virtutis deferuit, qui
 Semper in augendâ festinat & obruitur re.
 Vendere cûm possis captivum, occidere noli ;
 Serviet utiliter : sine pascatur durus, aretque ;
 Naviget, ac mediis hyemet mercator in undis ;
 Annonæ profit, portet frumenta penusque.
 Vir bonus & sapiens audebit dicere ; Pentheu,
 Rector Thebarum, quid me perferre patique
 Indignum coges ? Adimam bona. Nempe pecus, rem,
 Lectos, argentum : tollas licet. In manicis & 76
 Compedibus sævo te sub custode tenebo.
 Ipse Deus, simul atque volam, me solvet. Opinor,
 Hoc sentit ; moriar : mors ultima linea rerum est.

Vir bonus & sapiens audebit dicere ; Pentheu, rector Thebarum, quid coges me indignum perferre patique ? PEN. *Adimam bona.* BAC. *Nempe pecus, rem, lectos, argentum : licet tollas.* PEN. *Tenebo te in manicis & compedibus sub sævo custode.* BAC. *Deus ipse, simul atque volam, solvet me.* HOR. *Opinor, sentit hoc ; moriar : mors est ultima linea rerum malarum.*

* justo sanctoque, Bentl.

† prodidit, Id.

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lays it down as his opinion, that the truly good man is he, who dreads shame and infamy more than death, as he elsewhere expresses himself :

Pesque leto flagitium timet.

But instead of giving a formal definition of him, he produces him at once upon the stage, which has a far better effect. The dialogue, wherewith this Epistle concludes, is taken from the *Bacchantes* of *Euripides*, where the poet brings in *Pentheus*, king of *Thebes*, instead of adoring *Bacchus*, threatening him with chains : *Bacchus* therefore here represents the man of virtue, and begins the dialogue, *Pentheus*, king of *Thebes*, &c.

²⁰ *A God will come.* In *Euripides* he who speaks says, that *Bacchus* will deliver him ; that his, that he will deliver himself when he pleases. *Horace* happily explains this, by supposing the God to be death ; who, when we are unable to help ourselves, comes at last to our aid, and delivers us from all our miseries. But it is to be observed withal, that this explication of *Euripides* is founded upon the notion of the *Stoics*, who thought it lawful for a man to

kill himself, when he could no longer support life with dignity. The error and weakness of this maxim has been owned by the greatest philosophers, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Socrates*, who have all condemned it as contrary both to reason and religion.

²¹ *Death is the end of all human miseries.*

Mors ultima linea rerum est. This expression is metaphorical, and taken from the practice of chariot-races. *Linea* was a line marked on the sand, and whitened with chalk, to determine the beginning and end of the course. *Euripides* also, in his *Electra*, alludes to the same, when he says ; *He who has happily begun the course, ought not yet to be too confident of obtaining the prize, till he has arrived near to the line, and held out the full career of life.* We are farther to observe, that *mors ultima linea rerum est*, does not mean that death is the end of all things, as some have inconsiderately rendered it ; but, death is the end of all human miseries, *ultima linea rerum malarum.* So *Virgil*, often in the same manner : *Fessi verum, sunt lacrymæ rerum, trepidæ rerum.*

The

THE KEY.

AS to the occasion of this Epistle, we may, with some degree of probability, conjecture, that *Quintius Hirpinus* had writ to *Horace*, reproaching him with his long stay in the country, and to desire a description of that little retirement which he was so fond of, and where he found so much happiness, that he could not resolve to quit it. *Horace* yields to his request, and, after a short account of his retreat, and the manner in which he enjoyed himself in it, falls into a profound digression concerning virtue, where, after rejecting several false accounts and definitions, he endeavours to settle a true notion of it. As this dissertation was of a serious nature, to give it the more sprightly turn, he carries it on in the way of dialogue; and sets it off with images and beautiful descriptions, that strongly affect the imagination, and entertain as well as instruct. His chief design is to shew, that true goodness does not consist in the opinion which others have of us, but in a consciousness of real worth in ourselves;

EPISTLE XVII.

TO SCÆVA.

He gives some precepts how we are to use the friendship of the great, and compares *Aristippus* with *Diogenes*.

ALTHOUGH, Scæva¹, you are abundantly capable to govern yourself, and are no way at a loss as to the manner of living with the great; yet listen to what your friend, who still wants to be taught, has to say upon the subject; as if a blind guide would pretend to shew you the way: yet still, I say, attend, whether even we may not start some hints, which you will think
5 it worth while to treasure up and pursue.

If you are fond² of ease and rest, and asleep till seven³ in the morning;

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¹ *Scæva*. This was a surname common to several very considerable families in *Rome*, which makes it difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish the particular person to whom *Horace* addresses this Epistle. *Scæva* signifies the same as *Læva*, the left hand; *Scævola* and *Scævius* are diminutives of it, and probably surnames given to families whose founders had been left-handed. The

old Scholiast calls this *Scæva*, *Lollius*, when he says, *Ad Scævam Lollium equitem Romanum hæc epistola scribitur*. *Baxter* adds, that he was the same with him to whom the next Epistle, *Si bene te novi*, is addressed. *Crediderim hunc esse Lollium Scævam, ad quem præcedentem scripsit*.

² If you are fond, &c. *Horace* here enters upon the subject of his Epistle, and in a manner

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selves; and that it is equally ridiculous to answer to the character of virtue, without this inward testimony, as for a private man to receive the praises that belong only to a hero or prince. Whatever a great philosopher could have said in prose, *Horace* has here reduced into verse. But it would have required a *Socrates* or a *Plato* to deliver it with that air of politeness and delicacy which reigns through this Epistle. Science and erudition are not here, as, for the most part, in the writings of the learned, hedged round with thorns. The dialogue is entirely in the *Socratic* manner, and full of that spirit and keenness for which this philosopher was particularly eminent. *Julius Scaliger* gives no great cause to admire his skill in criticism, in the judgment he passes upon this Epistle, when he says, *In sextâ decimâ, ubi rus descripsit, exilit temerè ad discutienda præcepta sapientiæ.* “*Horace*, in describing his country-seat, falls rashly into discussing the precepts of philosophy.”

The time of its composition is wholly uncertain.

EPISTOLA XVII.

Ad SCÆVAM.

De principum ac potentum amicitia præcipit, & Aristippum cum Diogene comparat.

ORDO.

QUAMVIS, Scæva, satis per te tibi consulis,
& scis

Quo tandem pacto deceat majoribus uti;
Disce, docendus adhuc quæ censet amicus; ut si
Cæcus iter monstrare velit: tamen aspice, si quid
Et nos, quod cures proprium fecisse, loquamur.

Si te grata quies & primam somnus in horam

quod cures fecisse proprium. Si grata quies, & somnus in primam horam

O Scæva, quamvis
satis consulis tibi
per te, & scis quo tan-
dem pacto deceat uti
majoribus; disce tamen
ea, quæ amicus ad-
huc docendus censet; ut
5 si cæcus velit monstrare
iter: tamen aspice, si
& nos loquamur quid,

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manner that does credit to his judgment. We ought always, at our first setting out, to consider what way of life will be most agreeable to us, and direct our aim accordingly. There are two passions that principally rule the heart, and are ever at variance with each other, ambition, and a love of ease. *Horace*, with a view to these, proposes two different ways of life to *Scæva*;

the one private, in a calm retreat, and remote from affairs; the other public, and in an attendance upon the court.

3 Till seven, &c. Et primam somnus in horam. It has been already observed, that the *Romans* began the account of their hours from sun-rising, and divided both night and day into twelve hours: their first hour therefore answered to our seventh.

4 Feren-

morning; if you dislike dust and the rattling of coach-wheels, or the still more disagreeable noise of a tavern; I would advise you to retire to Ferentinum⁴. For pleasures are not confined to the rich only; nor has he made an ill choice⁵, whose birth
 10 and death have passed away in obscurity. But if you want to be useful to your friends, and indulge yourself more freely in the pleasures of life; make your court to the great. If Aristippus⁶ could sit down, and contentedly dine upon a plate of herbs, he would disdain to cringe to kings. If Diogenes, who thus censures me, knew how to ingratiate himself with kings, he would
 15 despise his plate of herbs. Tell me, which of these philosophers in your opinion reasoned best; or, as you are the younger, hear why I prefer the sentence of Aristippus. For it is said, that he thus eluded the raillery of the snarling Cynic⁷: I am the buffoon of the great⁸, and find my account in it; you of the people. It is
 20 better sure⁹ and more honorable to ride upon a fine horse, and live at the expence of a king. I make my court; you, though you pretend to want for nothing, stroll about begging alms, and sink yourself below them that serve you. Every shape, station, and circumstance of life, sat well on Aristippus; who lost no opportunity to advance himself, but was still easy in his
 25 present fortune. Whereas he, whom patience fences with a double folding of cloth¹⁰, I should wonder much, if he made any tolerable figure in a different scene of life. The first will not delay till he is clad in robes of purple, but resort in any dress to the most noted places, and acquit himself equally well in

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⁴ *Ferentinum*. There were two towns of this name; one among the *Latins*, the other in *Tuscany*. It is of the latter probably that *Horace* speaks, as being the most private and retired.

⁵ *Nor has he made an ill choice*. To lead a private life, has been said to be a favorite maxim with *Epicurus*; but *Diogenes Laërtius* takes no notice of it. The opinion of this philosopher, according to *Seneca*, was, that a wise man ought not to force himself into the management of public affairs, but when the state stood in absolute need of his services. *Non accedet ad rempublicam sapiens, nisi si quid intulerit*. This maxim appears upon reflection to be just and rational. A wise man will not be very forward to involve himself in business; he is too well aware of the difficulties and perplexities that attend it: but if the interest of his country, and the good of society require his aid, he will overlook all these, and, moved by public spirit, and a sense of virtue, exert himself with the greatest industry and vigor.

⁶ *If Aristippus*. *Horace*, after laying it down as a maxim, that every one ought to live according to his taste and liking, suddenly introduces *Diogenes* opposing this decision, and condemning every degree of indulgence. In these three verses the poet does little more than repeat word for word what *Diogenes* said one day to *Aristippus*, with his answer. The story is thus related by *Laërtius*: *Diogenes, as he was one day preparing some herbs for his dinner, attacked Aristippus who happened to pass that way: If you (says he) could contentedly feed upon herbs, you would scorn to cringe to kings. Aristippus smartly replied; And could you successfully make your court to kings, you would disdain to busy yourself in preparing of herbs.*

⁷ *Snarling Cynic*. *Diogenes* was a native of *Sinopus*, and son of *Icesus* the banker. It is said of him, that he was obliged to fly his own country, being accused of deceiving the people by counterfeit money; and that retiring to *Athens*, he became a disciple

Delectat; si te pulvis strepitusque rotarum,
 Si lædit caupona; Ferentinum ire jubebo.
 Nam neque divitibus contingunt gaudia solis;
 Nec vixit malè, qui natus moriensque fefellit.
 Si prodesse tuis, pauloque benignius ipsum
 Te tractare voles; accedes ficcus ad unctum.
 Si pranderet olus patienter, regibus uti
 Nollet Aristippus. Si sciret regibus uti,
 Fastidiret olus, qui me notat. Utrius horum
 Verba probes & facta, doce; vel junior, audi
 Cur sit Aristippi potior sententia. Namque
 Mordacem Cynicum sic eludebat, ut aiunt:
 Scurror ego ipse mihi; populo tu. Rectius hoc &
 Splendidius multò est, equus ut me portet, alat rex.
 Officium facio; tu poscis vilia rerum,
 Dante minor; quamvis fers te nullius egentem.
 Omnis Aristippum decuit color, & status, & res;
 Tentantem majora, ferè præsentibus æquum.
 Contrà, quem duplici panno patientia velat,
 Mirabor, vitæ via si conversa decebit.
 Alter purpureum non expectabit amictum,
 Quidlibet indutus celeberrima per loca vadet,

delectat te; si pulvis
 strepitusque rotarum, si
 caupona lædit te; ju-
 bebo ire Ferentinum.
 10 Nam gaudia neque
 contingunt solis diviti-
 bus; nec vixit malè,
 qui natus moriensque
 fefellit. Si voles pro-
 desse tuis, tractareque te
 ipsum paulò benignius;
 15 ficcus, pauper, accedes
 ad unctum, divitem.
 Si Aristippus pranderet
 patienter olus, nollet uti
 regibus. Si Diogenes,
 qui notat me, sciret
 uti regibus, fastidiret
 olus. Doce, utrius ho-
 21 rum probes verba &
 facta; vel junior, audi
 cur sententia Aristippi
 sit potior. Namque,
 ut aiunt, eludebat sic
 25 Cynicum mordacem:
 Ego ipse scurror mihi;
 tu populo. Hoc multò
 rectius & splendidius
 est, ut equus portet, rex
 alat me. Ego facio

officium; tu, minor dante, poscis vilia rerum; quamvis fers te egentem nullius. Omnis color, & status, & res, decuit Aristippum; tentantem majora, ferè æquum præsentibus. Mirabor con-
 trà, si via conversa vitæ decebit illum, quem patientia velat duplici panno. Alter non ex-
 pectabit purpureum amictum, indutus quidlibet vadet per loca celeberrima,

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disciple of *Antisthenes*, the chief of the Cynic sect. He affected an uncommon severity of manners, but notwithstanding very much discredited his sect by his pride, impudence, and buffooneries. He spent the greatest part of his life at *Corinth*, and died in the same year with *Alexander the Great*.

⁸ I am the buffoon of the great. *Sanaden* very ingeniously remarks here, that *Aristippus* does not mean to represent himself really a buffoon; but only repeats the injurious word that *Diogenes* had used in speaking to him, and substitutes afterwards a softer one in its place, when he calls himself a courtier: *officium facio*. We are farther to observe with regard to this answer of *Aristippus*, that he does not defend an attachment to the great, merely from motives of self-interest: all he aimed at was to make *Diogenes* sensible, that it was more honorable to gain the favor of great men, than of the vulgar.

⁹ It is better sure, &c. *Rectius hoc & splendidius multò est*. *Heinsius* pretends, that he had seen in an ancient edition of our poet,

and that *Scaliger* had also marked it in the margin of his book; *Regibus, hoc & splendidius multò est*. This correction he is mighty fond of, but I think without reason; for *regibus* serves only to embarrass the sense. *Bentley*, on the other side, by his different way of pointing these lines, changes them entirely from the commonly received sense; for it is thus that we ought to read them according to him:

Scurror ego ipse mihi; populo tu: rectius hoc & splendidius multò est. Equus ut me portet, alat rex,

Officium facio. Tu poscis vilia rerum, Dante minor.

But it is hard to think that *Horace* would have used these grave and magnificent terms to praise the playing the part of a buffoon; whereas it is natural enough to join them with *equus ut me portet, alat rex*: and *officium facio*, is very fitly opposed to *tu poscis vilia*.

¹⁰ With a double folding of cloth. *Duplici panno*. The ancients called any thing double that served for two several purposes. This

in either character: the other dreads an embroidered coat of
 30 Miletus¹¹ like the bite of a mad dog or a serpent: he would
 rather die of cold, than appear but in his threadbare cloak: re-
 store it, and leave him to his incurable folly.

To gain mighty battles¹², and lead in triumph through the
 city a troop of captive foes, is mounting up to the throne of
 Jupiter, and treading the paths of immortality. It is therefore
 35 no small praise to gain the favor of such distinguished heroes.
 But it is not for every one to attempt a voyage to Corinth¹³. He
 that doubts of success, quietly sits still: and so far is well. But
 what? the man who happily dares, has he not done bravely?
 What we want is here, or no where. This man dreads the bur-
 40 den, as too great either for his strength or courage: another
 attempts it, and happily succeeds. Either virtue is an empty
 name, or honor and recompence are due to the man who nobly
 enterprizes.

They who avoid speaking of poverty before their patron, will
 receive more than the importunate. There is a great difference
 between taking modestly what is given, and greedily ravishing.
 45 This is the capital point, and source of all. He who complains
 that he has a sister with no fortune, a mother in low circum-
 stances, and an estate neither capable of sale, nor sufficient to
 supply his wants; what does he but cry, Give me whereupon
 to live? Another starts up, and prays that he also may share of his
 50 prince's bounty¹⁴. But were the raven wise enough to feed in
 quietness, its portion would be the greater, and with much less
 envy and contention.

He, whose company is desired by some great man to Brun-
 dusium, or delicious Surrentum, and who complains of the badness
 of the roads, and cold rainy weather; or pretends that his desk
 55 was broke open, and all his money stolen; practises the known
 deceits

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has made some fancy that *Diogenes's* cloak is here called *double* on this very account; for he not only made it serve him as a cloak, but also for a bed: but this is, at best, no more than an ingenious conjecture. The *pallium* of the *Greeks* was very large, and the common way of wearing it was by taking up the two ends on each side, and fastening them behind with a clasp. Instead of this, the sect of *Cynics*, who very little regarded the fashion, doubled their mantle before, and thus were in a manner wrapped round with it. *Virgil* uses the word *duplex* in the same sense, in the fifth Book of the *Æneid*:

Hæc fatus duplicem ex bumeris rejecit a-
mictum.

Sannodon tells us, that *duplex* is often put for *coarse, thick*; and explains *duplici panno* in

this sense, as better opposed to *purpureum a-*
mictum; which follows soon after.

¹¹ *An embroidered coat of Miletus.* *Mileti*
textam. Of all the people of *Asia*, the *Mi-*
lesians were most famed for the magnificence
 of their habits; for both their wool and
 dye were excellent. *Virgil* celebrates them
 in his *Georgics*:

—*Milesia vellera nymphae*
Carpebant.

¹² *To gain mighty battles.* *Horace* conti-
 nues his reasoning, to prove that an active
 life, the life of a man who aims at acquiring
 the favor of the great, is preferable to the
 indolent life of those who renounce all com-
 merce with the world, and are actuated by
 no ambition. His reasoning is thus: Princes
 who gain great victories, and triumph

over

Personamque feret non inconcinus utramque:
 Alter Miletī textam cane pejū & angue
 Vitabit chlamydem: morietur frigore, si non
 Retuleris pannum: refer, & sine vivat ineptus.
 Res gerere, & captos ostendere civibus hostes,
 Attingit solium Jovis, & cœlestia tentat.
 Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est.
 Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.
 Sedit, qui timuit ne non succederet: esto.
 Quid? qui pervenit, fecitne viriliter? Atqui
 Hic est, aut nusquam, quod quærimus. Hic onus
 horret,

Ut parvis animis & parvo corpore majus:
 Hic subit, & perfert. Aut virtus nomen inane est,
 Aut decus & pretium rectè petit experiens vir.

Coram rege suo* de paupertate tacentes,
 Plus poscente ferent. Distat, sumasne pudenter,
 An rapias. Atqui rerum caput hoc erat, hic fons.
 Indotata mihi soror est, paupercula mater,
 Et fundus nec vendibilis, nec pascere firmus,
 Qui dicit; clamat, Victum date. Succinit alter,
 Et mihi dividuo findetur munere quadra.
 Sed tacitus pasci si posset corvus, haberet
 Plus dapis, & rixæ multò minus invidiæque.

Brundisium comes, aut Surrentum ductus a-
 mœnum,

Qui queritur salebras, & acerbum frigus, & imbres;
 Aut cistam effractam, & subducta viatica plorat;
 Nota refert meretricis acumina, sæpè catellam,

fundus nec vendibilis, nec firmus pascere; clamat, Date victum. Alter succinit, Et quadra
 findetur mihi dividuo munere. Sed si corvus posset pasci tacitus, haberet plus dapis, & multò
 minus rixæ invidiæque. Comes dictus Brundisium, aut amœnam Surrentum, qui queritur sale-
 bras, & acerbum frigus, & imbres; aut plorat cistam effractam, & viatica subducta; refert
 nota acumina meretricis, sæpè fœtis catellam,

* sua, Bentr.

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over their enemies, almost equal the Gods, and acquire immortal renown; in like manner they, whose merit recommends them to the favor of these true images of the Deity, are by this raised above the rest of their species. The poet here both makes his court to Augustus, and defends the part he had himself chosen; for, in the first Satire of the second Book, he tells us, that envy itself must own he had lived in reputation with the great.

Cum magnis vixisse invita fatebitur usque Invidia.

13 To attempt a voyage to Corinth. This was a very ancient Greek proverb, which took its rise from Laius, a famous courtesan.

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of that city, whose terms were so high, that only the richest could pretend to her. Dacier is shocked at this comparison, and thinks it far below the dignity of the subject: he is persuaded it could never have come from Horace, and that it must have been foisted in by some grammarian. Sanadon, to remove this difficulty, gives a different turn to the words: he observes, that, according to Suidas, this proverb arose from the danger of going to Corinth by sea. As this explication agrees better with what the poet says afterwards, fecitne viriliter? I have chosen to follow it in the version.

14 That he also may share of his prince's bounty. Et mihi dividuo findetur munere quadra.

T

deceits of a cunning jilt, ever lamenting the loss of a fine necklace or girdle¹⁵; till in time no credit is given to her real losses and griefs.

A traveller once cheated will not easily stoop to take up a beggar¹⁶ that hath broke his leg among cross-ways; not though
60 he sheds a torrent of tears; and swearing by Osiris¹⁷ cries, Believe me; it is true indeed: cruel as you are, take up the lame. Seek a stranger¹⁸, re-echoes all the neighbourhood, we know you too well.

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quadra. *Quadra* was properly a wooden of beggars, drawn to any door by the noise platter or trencher, in which the people which another had made in asking alms. received their allowance at public distributions of provisions. It often too means the same as *panis quadratus*, bread with strokes or lines in it; that is, bread divided into small parts, by lines drawn upon it, crossing each other. Instead of *findetur*, *Lambinus* it cannot, with any likelihood, be the reads *findatur*, which seems better to express meaning of the word in this place: for it the poet's meaning: *Let me have one half of* is not to be supposed that *Horace* would have *the cake*; for this was the common address joined *catella* in this sense with *periscelis*; besides,

¹⁵ *The loss of a fine necklace or girdle.*
Sæpe catellam, sæpe periscelidem. *Torren-*
tius fancies that *catella* means here a little dog. It is true, that then, as well as now, the ladies were fond of these animals; but each other. Instead of *findetur*, *Lambinus* it cannot, with any likelihood, be the reads *findatur*, which seems better to express meaning of the word in this place: for it the poet's meaning: *Let me have one half of* is not to be supposed that *Horace* would have *the cake*; for this was the common address joined *catella* in this sense with *periscelis*; besides,

The KEY.

THERE is nothing of greater importance to those whose talents and birth give them hopes of rising in the world, than to know how to acquire and retain the favor of the great. *Horace*, in this Epistle, gives us his thoughts upon the subject; and, I believe, every one who reads them will allow that he speaks like a man of experience, and one who was well acquainted with the task he took in hand. He had passed almost his whole life among the great, and shared largely both of their esteem and liberality. As he was the distinguished favorite of a great minister, and lived in a manner always at court, he had the best opportunities to study the genius of it; and his delicate piercing apprehension furnished him with the truest lessons of politics, as well as enabled him to unravel all the mysteries of a court-conduct. It would be hard to determine whether our poet shews himself a greater master in morality, or the knowledge of civil life: it is certain that his works
abound

EPIST. XVII. QUINTI HORATII FLACCI. 291

Sæpè periscelidem raptam sibi flentis; uti mox
Nulla fides damnis verisque doloribus adfit.
Nec semel irrisus triviis attollere curat
Fracto crure planum; licèt illi plurima manet
Lacryma; per sanctum juratus dicat Osirim,
Credite; non ludo: crudeles, tollite claudum.
Quære peregrinum, vicinia rauca reclamationat.

60 sæpè periscelidem raptam sibi; uti mox nulla fides adfit damnis verisque doloribus. Nec viator semel irrisus curat attollere triviis planum fracto crure; licèt plurima lacryma manet illi; & juratus per sanctum Osirim di-

cat, Credite; non ludo: crudeles, tollite claudum. Rauca vicinia reclamationat, Quære peregrinum.

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besides, he is speaking of the pretended losses of courtezans, who would not be apt to counterfeit the loss of a lap-dog. *Catella* is doubtless here for *catenula*, a diminutive of *catena*, and signifies a little chain, which ladies commonly wore upon their wrists by way of bracelets. *Periscelis*, a garter: those in use among the Romans were commonly rich, and of great value. But as this is not the fashion now-a-days, I have changed it to girdle in the translation.

¹⁶ *A beggar. Fracto crure planum. Planus*, from the Greek *πλάνος*, signifies a beggar, vagabond, or impostor.

¹⁷ *Osiris*. He was accounted the patron of vagabonds, as having himself made the round of the world: for *Osiris* is the same as *Apis* and *Serapis*, or the Sun. *Theodorus Marcilius* is at a loss to think how it could be usual to swear by *Osiris*, who was a Deity that had no pity, and punished severely.

¹⁸ *Seek a stranger, &c.* An allusion to the common answer given in these cases, *Tollat te, qui non nôrit*; which, as we learn from *Quintilian*, passed afterwards into a proverb.

The KEY.

abound with admirable precepts in both these ways. The two Epistles, in particular, to *Scæva* and *Lollius*, have been accounted master-pieces in their kind; the one is a nice criticism upon the fantastical humor of the great, the other a defence of their conduct who seek their favor with honorable views. He prefers an active life, wherein men endeavour to distinguish themselves, and acquire some reputation, to the indolence of the *Cynic* philosophers, who condemned ambition, and renounced all commerce with the great. There is nothing in this Epistle from whence to form a conjecture of its date; there is reason to think, however, that it was written when he was in years: for to handle a subject of this kind with so much delicacy and success, bespeaks long practice in the world, and great experience of men and manners. It is reasonable, therefore, to believe, that this and the following Epistle were some of the last of our poet's works, and written, probably, two or three years before his death.

EPISTLE XVIII.

TO LOLLIVS.

It contains some precepts as to the manner of living in friendship with the great, and settling in ourselves a tranquillity of mind.

IF I know any thing of you, Lollius¹, where you once profess yourself a friend, you will avoid every appearance of flattery. As a matron differs² both in habit and air from a courtesan, so will a friend differ from a base flatterer. But there is a vice the very reverse of this³, and in my opinion still more insupportable: an impertinent, gross, unmannerly rudeness, which distinguishes itself by a rough beard⁴, and black teeth, affecting at the same time to pass for virtue and plain-dealing. Virtue holds the middle⁵ between opposite vices, and is equally distant from both extremes. The one carries his complaisance to excess, and, like the buffoons of the lowest couch⁶, is so attentive to every nod of his patron, repeats his words with so much affectation, and so eagerly catches every thing he says; that one may take him for a young boy repeating a lesson after his master, or one, who having an inferior part in a play endeavours all he can to set off the principal actor⁷. The other wrangles

ANNOTATIONS.

¹ Lollius. In the original it is *liberrime Lolli*. Lollius, we may conjecture, was a man naturally free and open in speaking his sentiments. Nay, it is thought that he carried his freedom to excess, and was guilty of the vice which Horace censures as the contrary of this; an unmannerly rudeness.

² As a matron differs, &c. We have here the comparison of a flatterer to a courtesan, and a true friend to a chaste matron. It is certain, that a courtesan and flatterer have so near a resemblance, that the definition, which Plato gives of the latter, may be very well applied to the former: *A commerce of pleasure, without any regard to honor*. The same may be said of the definition given by Theophrastus: *An infamous commerce, but profitable to the flatterer*. Plutarch, in his treatise how to discern a flatterer from a friend, saith, the friendship of a flatterer is the same as the friendship of a courtesan, and opposes it to true friendship, which he calls *chaste and virtuous*.

³ The very reverse of this. Freedom itself

ought to keep within the bounds of complaisance; for an excess here is rather more odious, as our poet declares, than flattery, and apparently more troublesome in society.

⁴ Rough beard. *Quæ se commendat tonsâ cute*. So the greater part of editions have it. They who affected this severe and rigid manner, discovered it not only in their temper, but in the neglect of their persons. Thus they used only scissars in cutting their beards. This is the manner in which Davier thinks it ought to be explained. Torrensius, after rejecting the opinion of Muretus and Lambinus, which is much the same as that already mentioned, explains it thus: *Ad libertatem potius, quæ se jactitet, referendum est; perinde ac si stricim & ad cutem usque radendo, nihil aut in se, aut in amico vitiosum ferat, cum atros interea dentes radendo exerceat*. Sanadon contends, that we ought to read, *commendat quæ se intonsâ cute*; because the common reading, as he thinks, expresses quite the contrary of what Horace meant.

⁵ Virtue holds the middle. *Virtus est mediocris*.

EPISTOLA XVIII.

Ad LOLLIVM.

*Continet præcepta de amicitia præsertim cum potentioribus
colenda, & de animi tranquillitate.*

O R D O.

SI benè te novi, metues, liberrime Lolli,
Scurrantis speciem præbere, professus amicum.
Ut matrona meretrici dispar erit atque
Discolor, infido scurræ distabit amicus.
Est huic diversum vitio vitium propè majus :
Asperitas agrestis, & inconcinna, gravisque,
Quæ se commendat tonsâ cute, dentibus atris,
Dum vult libertas mera dici*, veraque virtus.
Virtus est medium vitiorum, & utrinque reductum.
Alter in obsequium plûs æquo pronus, & imi
Derisor lecti, sic nutum divitis horret,
Sic iterat voces, & verba cadentia tollit ;
Ut puerum sævo credas dictata magistro
Reddere, vel partes mimum tractare secundas,

*L*iberrime Lolli, si
novi te benè, tu
professus te amicum,
metues præbere speciem
scurrantis. Ut matrona
erit dispar atque discol-
or meretrici, sic ami-
cus distabit infido scur-
ræ. Est vitium di-
versum huic vitio, &
propè majus : asperitas
agrestis, & inconcinna,
gravisque, quæ com-
mendat se tonsâ cute,
atris dentibus, dum
vult dici mera libertas,
veraque virtus. Virtus
est medium vitiorum,
& reductum utrinque.

*Alter pronus in obsequium plûs æquo, & derisor imi lecti, sic horret nutum divitis, sic iterat ejus
voces, & tollit verba cadentia ; ut credas puerum reddere dictata sævo magistro, vel mimum
tractare partes secundas.*

* dici mera, Bentl.

A N N O T A T I O N S.

medium vitiorum, & utrinque reductum. Vir-
tue can only consist in a just medium, equal-
ly distant from both extremes ; for it is as
much lost in excess, as in defect. But it is
to be observed, that this medium is not al-
ways the same in all cases ; for, as *Aristotle*
observes, it is not a medium in respect of
things, but in respect of persons, and must
of consequence change with persons, cir-
cumstances, and occasions. It is the geome-
trical middle, so much talked of by the an-
cients ; the other may be defined an arith-
metical middle, which *Plutarch* calls *base and
vulgar*. In fine, what would be the middle
between opposite vices to one, would not be
so to another. This is the doctrine of *Ari-
stotle*, and the true explication of the poet's
meaning.

6 *Buffoons of the lowest couch.* Imi derisor
lecti ; literally, a rallier of those who sit at the
lower end of the table. This is the mean-
ing most commonly put upon the words ;
but it does not at all seem to give us the
true sense. *Horace* is speaking of the vice of
flattery, as it regards a great man flattered

by one of his dependents, which does not
at all imply a rallying of those seated at the
lower end of the table. We are farther to
remember, that these were for the most part
buffoons and parasites, and more accustomed
to rally others than be rallied themselves ;
besides, that there is here no question of
what is done at table. *Horace* advances a
general proposition, and, to make flatterers
appear the more odious, he says very judi-
ciously, that in pushing their complaisance
too far, they degenerate into mere buffoons ;
such as in *Satire 8. Book II.* he calls *imi
convivæ lecti* ; and here *derisores imi lecti*.
This will receive some light from a passage
in *Seneca, Epist. 27. Satellius quadratus, stul-
torum divitum adrosor, & quod sequitur arrisor,
& quod duobus bis adjunctum est, derisor.*

7 To set off the principal actor. It is not
easy to judge of the beauty and justness of
this comparison, unless we were better ac-
quainted with the manner and rules follow-
ed by these under-actors : for it appears by
this and a great many other passages, that
they were a kind of mimics of the chief
actor,

- 15 wrangles eternally about trifles⁸; armed with jargon he combats every thing you say. What? am not I to be believed sooner than another? must I not speak my mind without restraint? I would reject with scorn the longest life upon such base conditions. And what mighty matter after all is in dispute? Whether Castor or Docilis is the most expert gladiator; whether the Minucian or Appian way⁹ leads most directly to Brundisium. If you are obstinately given to women, or ruin yourself by destructive gaming; if prompted by vanity you dress and spend beyond what your fortune can afford; if you are possessed with an insatiable thirst and eagerness after gain, or a dread of and care to avoid poverty: your rich friend, though himself more vicious in a tenfold degree¹⁰, will hate and despise you; or, if he does not hate, will enslave you to his caprice; and, like a pious mother, will endeavour to have you more wise and virtuous than himself: for he says, and with a good deal of reason too: (It is madness to contend) My riches allow of some follies¹¹; your estate is but small. Close trimming will best become you while
- 30 you depend upon another¹²: think not therefore to vie with me. When Eutrapelus¹³ had a design to ruin any one, he was sure to dress him out in a magnificent habit. For already, said he, fancying himself a great man from this difference of apparel he will form new projects and hopes; sleep till mid-day; sacrifice friendship and honor to the pursuit of a mistress; borrow money at
- 35 excessive interest: till at last he is forced to turn gladiator, or, hired by some gardener, drive his horse laden with herbs to market.

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actor, and designed to set him off to the greater advantage. This appears from a passage of Seneca, who, speaking of a man that affected to applaud every thing spoken by Caelius, says, *Optimum judicavit quidquid dixisset sequi, & secundas agere.*

⁸ Wrangles eternally about trifles. *Rixatur de lana sæpe caprinâ.* A proverbial expression among the Romans, to signify disputing about things of no consequence.

⁹ Whether the Minucian or Appian way. *Brundisium Numici melius via ducat, an Appi.* *Numici*, the common reading in the original, is certainly an error, as the old Scholiast has observed; instead of which it ought to be *Minuci*. There were two ways that led from Rome to Brundisium; the Appian way, paved by the censor Appius; and the Minucian, which took its name from the consul Tiberius Minucius, by whom it was begun in the year of the city 448, seven years after the Appian.

¹⁰ Though himself more vicious in a tenfold

degree. It is allowed by all, as a constant and never-failing truth, that a resemblance of characters produces friendship and mutual liking; yet the poet assures us here, that a great man, though himself a slave to many vices, yet hates these very vices in his friend: and this is just. For friendship is founded upon a likeness of virtuous, not of vicious characters. Vice is always attended with excessive self-love, and is dissatisfied that another should enjoy the same pleasures. Besides, the great, sensible of the hatred that criminal pleasures always draw after them, are willing, if possible, to screen their own vices under the virtues of their friends. We may very well apply here what Cicero says, though in a different sense, in his treatise *de Amicitia*, Sect. 22. *Sed plerique perversi, ne dicam impudenter, amicum habere talem volunt, quales ipsi esse non possunt.* "But the greater part of mankind are so perverse, not to say impudent, that they would have their friends be such as it is not in their power

Alter rixatur de lanâ sæpè caprinâ * ;
 Propugnat nugis armatus. Scilicet, ut non
 Sit mihi prima fides : & verè quod placet ut non
 Acriter elatrem, pretium ætas altera sordet.
 Ambigitur quid enim ? Castor sciat an Docilis plus ;
 Brundisium Minucî meliùs via ducat, an Appî. 20
 Quem damnosa Venus, quem præceps alea nudat ;
 Gloria quem supra vires & vestit & ungit ;
 Quem tenet argenti sitis importuna famelque,
 Quem paupertatis pudor & fuga : dives amicus,
 Sæpè decem vitis instructior, odit & horret ;
 Aut, si non odit, regit ; ac, veluti pia mater,
 Plus quàm se sapere, & virtutibus esse priorem
 Vult : & ait propè vera : Mææ (contendere noli)
 Stultitiam patiuntur opes ; tibi parvula res est.
 Arcta decet sanum comitem toga : define mecum 30
 Certare. Eutrapelus, cuicumque nocere volebat,
 Vestimenta dabat pretiosa. Beatus enim jam
 Cum pulchris tunicis sumet nova consilia & spes ;
 Dormiet in lucem ; scorto postponet honestum
 Officium ; nummos alienos pascet : ad imum
 Thrax erit, aut olitoris aget mercede caballum. 35

15 Alter sæpè rixatur de
 lanâ caprinâ ; armatus
 nugis propugnat. Scilicet,
 et si altera ætas
 fuerit pretium, ut pri-
 ma fides non sit mihi ;
 & ut non elatrem a-
 criter quod verè pla-
 cet, sordet. Quid e-
 nim ambigitur ? Utrum
 Castor an Docilis sciat
 plus ; utrum via Mi-
 nucî, an via Appî du-
 cat meliùs Brundisium.
 25 Quem Venus damnosa,
 quem alea præceps nu-
 dat ; quem gloria &
 vestit & ungit supra
 vires ; quem sitis im-
 portuna famelque ar-
 genti tenet, quem pudor
 & fuga paupertatis :
 amicus dives, sæpè in-
 structior decem vitis,
 odit & horret illum ;
 aut, si non odit, regit ;
 ac, veluti pia mater,
 35 vult eum sapere plus
 quàm se, & esse pri-
 orem virtutibus : & ait

propè vera : Mææ opes patiuntur stultitiam (noli contendere) ; est tibi res parvula. Toga arcta
 decet sanum comitem : define certare mecum. Eutrapelus dabat vestimenta pretiosa, cuicumque
 volebat nocere. Dixit, jam enim beatus sumet cum pulchris tunicis nova consilia & spes ; dormiet
 in lucem ; postponet honestum officium scorto ; pascet alienos nummos : ad imum, denique, erit
 Thrax, aut aget caballum olitoris mercede.

* & addit, Bentl.

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“to be themselves.” This affords a strong
 proof of the superiority which virtue has
 over vice : it is loved by the vicious as well
 as the virtuous, whereas vice is hated by
 both.

“My riches allow of some, &c.” A plea-
 sant way of reasoning, as if power and
 wealth gave a man a privilege to be weak
 and wicked without control. As ridiculous,
 however, as this reasoning appears, the poet
 tells us, that it is in some sense true. The
 vices of the rich do not, indeed, draw after
 them so much censure as those of the poor ;
 besides, they are better able to support them
 without ruining themselves and families,
 as is often the case, when a man of but a
 moderate fortune gives into these extrava-
 gances. This I take to be the poet’s true
 meaning here.

“While you depend upon another. Arcta
 decet sanum comitem toga. Comes signifies, here,
 a man who attaches himself to some noble
 patron, or prince, and is of his court. Such
 ought to appear with robes less flowing and

magnificent than their patrons. It is the
 same with what he says in the seventh E-
 pistle, *parvum parva decent* ; for the robe
 here is to be understood of all ; the build-
 ings, table, equipage, &c.

“Eutrapelus. This is the celebrated
 Volumnius, the intimate friend of Cicero,
 who had so great a genius and turn for
 raillery, that he got the surname of Eu-
 trapelus. Cicero writes to him, that in this
 species of wit he dreaded no man but him,
 and thought himself more than a match for
 any other. *Urbanitatis possessionem, amabè,
 quibusvis interditiis defendimus, in qua te
 unum metuo, cæteros contemno.* The same Vo-
 lumnius having written to Cicero, without
 subscribing by his surname Eutrapelus ; that
 orator, in his answer, tells him, that at
 first he took it for a letter from Volumnius
 the senator, but that the genteel raillery,
 and pleasant humor it was full of, soon con-
 vinced him of his mistake. *Deinde Eutra-
 pelia literarum fecit ut intelligerem tuas esse.*
 Where it is easy to see, that the word Eu-
 trapelus,

Be not over curious ¹⁴ to penetrate into the secrets of your friend; but when of his own accord he intrusts you with them, let nothing be forced out of you either in wine or anger. Nor is it prudent to commend your own diversions, and censure his; nor
 40 when he goes out a-hunting, should you be in the humor to make verses. For it was this that raised a difference between the celebrated twins, Amphion and Zethus ¹⁵; till at length Amphion renounced the harp: for he is thought to have yielded to the too severe humor of his brother. Do you, in like manner, comply with the grateful importunities of your powerful friend; and when he leads out into the fields his dogs, and mules laden with
 45 Ætolian nets ¹⁶; rouze, and lay aside, as unseasonable, graver studies, that you may sup with him upon the game purchased by your toil. Hunting is an exercise the Romans have always been fond of, it is reputable, promotes health, and gives agility to the
 50 limbs: above all it is a fit diversion for you, who enjoy so vigorous a health, and can in swiftness contend with the hound, or in strength with the boar. Add moreover, that no man handles his arms with more address. You are not ignorant of the applause with which you perform your exercises in the field of Mars. Even in early youth you learnt the first rudiments of
 55 war, and served in Spain under that renowned leader, who has recovered our ensigns from the temples of the Parthians; and, if any thing is yet wanting to an universal empire, prepares to bring it under subjection by the terror of his arms ¹⁷. In fine, to exclude all pretences, and render you quite inexcusable; although no man is more exact in observing all the rules and measures of a just behaviour ¹⁸, yet in the country you do not stick to join in
 60 youthful sports. An army of youths divides into two bands, with each an equal number of ships: you put yourself at the head of one, and your brother of the other; the Lucrine lake serves instead of the Adriatic: there you represent the naval fight at Actium ¹⁹, and encounter with all the heat of real enemies,

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trapelia, which in the Greek signifies pleasures, must allude to the surname of *Voluminus*.

¹⁴ *Be not over curious*. The advice which Horace gives here, is well founded. Friends, no doubt, have a pleasure in imparting their secrets to each other, but then it ought to be done voluntarily; for where there is too great curiosity on either side, it justly begets suspicion.

¹⁵ *Amphion and Zethus*. They were twins, the sons of Jupiter and Antiope, and remarkable for their different tempers. *Amphion* was fond of music, and *Zethus* took delight in tending of flocks. But as

Zethus was naturally rugged and stiff in his disposition, and mortally hated the harp, this bred perpetual contests between them, till *Amphion*, at length, for the sake of harmony with his brother, renounced music entirely. *Euripides* had left a particular account of this quarrel between the two brothers, in his *Antiope*, but that is now lost. However, *Plato* has preserved some remains of it in his *Gorgias*, where *Callicles*, exhorting *Socrates* to quit philosophy for rhetoric, makes use of the same arguments as *Zethus* did with *Amphion*, to persuade him to give over music.

¹⁶ *Ætolian nets*. *Ætolia* was a province

Arcanum neque tu scrutaberis ullius* unquam;
 Commissumque teges, & vino tortus & irâ.
 Nec tua laudabis studia, aut aliena reprêndes;
 Nec, cùm venari volet ille, pœmata panges.
 Gratia sic fratrum geminorum, Amphionis atque
 Zethi, dissiluit; donec suspecta severo
 Conticuit lyra: fraternis cessisse putatur
 Moribus Amphion. Tu cede potentis amici
 Lenibus imperiis; quotiesque educet in agros
 Ætolis onerata plagis jumenta, canesque;
 Surge, & inhumanæ senium depone Camenæ,
 Cœnes ut pariter pulmenta laboribus empta.
 Romanis solenne viris opus, utile famæ,
 Vitæque, & membris: præsertim cùm valeas, &
 Vel cursu superare canem, vel viribus aprum
 Possis. Adde, virilia quod speciosius arma
 Non est qui tractet. Scis quæ clamore coronæ
 Prœlia sustineas campestria. Denique sævam
 Militiam puer, & Cantabrica bella tulisti
 Sub duce, qui templis Parthorum signa refixit †;
 Nunc &, si quid abest, Italiam adjudicat armis.
 Ac, ne te retrahas, & inexcusabilis absis ‡;
 Quamvis nil extra numerum fecisse modumque
 Curas, interdum nugaris rure paterno.
 Partitur lintres exercitus: Ætia pugna,
 Te duce, per pueros hostili more refertur:
 Adversarius est frater; lacus, Adria; donec

Neque tu unquam
 scrutaberis arcanum
 ullius; tegesque com-
 missum, tortus & vino
 & irâ. Nec tu lau-
 dabis tua studia, aut
 reprêndes aliena; nec
 panges pœmata, cùm
 ille volet venari. Nam
 sic gratia geminorum
 fratrum, Amphionis &
 Zethi, dissiluit; donec
 lyra suspecta severo
 conticuit: Amphion
 putatur cessisse moribus
 fraternis. Cede tu le-
 nibus imperiis potentis
 amici; quotiesque educet
 jumenta onerata Æto-
 lis plagis, canesque in
 agros; surge, & de-
 pone senium inhumanæ
 Camenæ, ut pariter
 cœnes pulmenta empta
 laboribus. Opus hoc
 est solenne viris Ro-
 manis, utile famæ,
 vitæque, & membris:
 præsertim cùm valeas,
 & possis superare vel
 canem cursu, vel aprum
 viribus. Adde, quod
 non est ullus qui tractet
 speciosius arma virilia.
 Scis quæ clamore coronæ
 sustineas prœlia cam-
 pestria. Denique puer

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existens tulisti sævam militiam, & bella Cantabrica sub duce, qui refixit signa Romana templis Parthorum; & si quid abest, nunc adjudicat Italiam armis. Ac, ne retrahas te, & ut absis inexcusabilis; quamvis curas fecisse nil extra numerum modumque, interdum tamen nugaris paterno rure. Exercitus partitur lintres: pugna Ætia refertur, repræsentatur, hostili more per pueros, te duce: frater est adversarius; lacus Lucrinus, Adria; donec

* illius, Bentl.

† refigit, Id.

‡ absites, Id.

A N N O T A T I O N S.

vince of Greece abounding in boars. Here was the famous hunting-match of the Calydonian boar, slain by Meleager.

17 By the terror of his arms. Italiam adjudicat armis. Armis is here an essential word; and it is a mistake in some to go about to change it for *avis*. Adjudicat armis, adds by the terror of his arms. Italiam instead of Romanis.

18 Measures of a just behaviour. This, as Dacier conjectures, is meant to soften what he is about to say of the amusements of Lollius; for we are to reflect, says that judicious commentator, that he speaks to a man who had been consul ten years before the writing of this Epistle. The poet writes

with great politeness and delicacy, but at the same time with the finest address, in making court to Augustus for his friend, who, though a man of that dignity and gravity, as to do nothing but according to weight and measure, yet took a pleasure to amuse himself with representing the naval fight at Ætium, which had done so much honor to that emperor.

19 Naval fight at Ætium. Ætia pugna. Augustus, in memory of this victory gained over Antony, instituted games to be celebrated every five years upon the first of August. Lollius did more, he gave an actual representation of the naval combat itself; and this may probably be what afterwards

gave

mies, till victory declares for one side or the other. He who ima-
 65 gines that you approve of his particular taste, will in his turn greatly applaud yours²⁰. But to go on with my advices (if it is so that you stand in need of an adviser); think often what you²¹ say concerning another, and to whom. Shun an inquisitive man, for he is always a great tattler; open ears are the most
 70 unfit to retain secrets; and a word, when once it has escaped you, cannot be recalled.

Beware of taking a fancy to any slave belonging to your much to be esteemed friend; lest he lay you under obligations by so small a gift, or torment you by a refusal. Think again
 75 and again²² before you recommend; lest you are made to blush for the miscarriages of another. For often we are deceived, and recommend to our friend one very undeserving of his favor. You should therefore cease to screen a man, whose faults become notorious, and who has plainly imposed upon you; that you may
 80 be the better able to defend against unjust reproach him, whom you know thoroughly²³; and protect an innocent man who puts all his confidence in you: for when calumny falls thus without mercy upon him, are you not sensible of the danger that at the same time threatens yourself? When your neighbour's house is on fire, your own is far from being out of danger; and flames
 85 when neglected are wont to spread and gather strength. The friendship of the great seems inviting to those that have never made trial²⁴; but he who has had experience of it is cautious. While the ship is urged on by prosperous gales, look to your way, lest a change happen, and suddenly drive you back. Gloomy tempers hate those of a lively turn; the facetious man, on the other side, cannot bear a gloomy temper; the active are mortal enemies to
 90 sluggards, and sluggards to the active and diligent. They who
 delight

ANNOTATIONS.

gave rise to the *Naumachiae*, so often celebrated by the emperors.

²⁰ Greatly applaud yours. *Utroque tum laudabit pollice ludum*. This is an expression borrowed from the combats in the *Circus*. When the people clenched the fingers of both hands between one another, and held the two thumbs upright close together, this was done to express their admiration of the art and courage shewed by both combatants, and a sign to the conqueror to spare the life of his antagonist, as having performed his part remarkably well. *Horace* here calls this mark of approbation *laudare utroque pollice*. The phrase it commonly went by was, *primere pollicem*: But *vertere pollicem*, which was a contrary motion, or bending back of the thumbs, signified the dissatisfaction of the spectators, and author-

ized the victor to kill the other combatant outright for a coward.

²¹ Think often what you, &c. An excellent precept for those who live at court, where are so many whisperers and tale-bearers, who make a merit of supplanting and blackening each other.

²² Think again and again. There is nothing in which we ought to be more cautious and reserved than in recommending; for, besides the difficulty of forming a true judgment concerning another, man is naturally so changeable, that there is great reason to be upon our guard; and it is just as possible that he may grow worse, as amend. It is for this reason that *Plato*, sending the philosopher *Helicon* to *Dionysius* the tyrant, writes thus: *I tell you this, not without fear and concern, because I speak of a man who is not indeed*

Alterutrum velox victoria fronde coronet.

Consentire suis studiis qui crediderit te,

Fautor utroque tuum laudabit pollice ludum.

Protinus ut moneam (si quid monitoris eges tu);

Quid de quoque viro, & cui dicas, sæpè videto.

Percontatorem fugito, nam garrulus idem est;

Nec retinent patulæ commissa fideliter aures;

Et semel emissum volat irrevocabile verbum.

Non ancilla tuum jecur ulceret ulla, puerve,

Intra marmoreum venerandi limen amici;

Ne dominus pueri pulchri caræve puellæ

Munere te parvo beet, aut incommodus angat.

Qualem commendes, etiam atque etiam aspice;

ne mox

Incutiant aliena tibi peccata pudorem.

Fallimur, & quondam non dignum tradimus. Ergo,

Quem sua culpa premet, deceptus omitte tueri;

Ut* penitus notum, si tentent crimina, serves;

Tuterisque tuo fidentem† præsidio: qui

Dente Theonino cùm circumroditur, ecquid

Ad te post paulò ventura pericula sentis?

Nam tua res agitur, paries cùm proximus ardet;

Et neglecta solent incendia sumere vires.

Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici;

Expertus metuit. Tu, dum tua navis in alto est,

Hoc age, ne mutata retrorsum te ferat aura.

Oderunt hilarem tristes, tristemque jocos;

Sedatum celeres, agilem gnavumque remissi.

velox victoria coronet

alterutrum fronde. Qui

crediderit te consentire

suis studiis, ut fautor

laudabit tuum ludum

utroque pollice. Pro-

tinus, porro, ut moneam

(si tu eges quid moni-

toris); sæpè videto

quid dicas de quoque

viro, & cui. Fugito

percontatorem, nam

idem est garrulus; nec

patulæ aures retinent

fideliter commissa; &

verbum semel emissum

volat irrevocabile. Non

ancilla ulla puerve,

intra marmoreum limen

venerandi amici, uret

tuum jecur; ne dominus

pulchri pueri caræve

puellæ beet te parvo

munere, aut incommo-

dus angat. Etiam at-

que etiam aspice qua-

lem hominem commen-

des; ne mox aliena

peccata incutiant pu-

dorem tibi. Fallimur,

& quondam, aliquan-

do, tradimus non dig-

num. Ergo cùm sis

deceptus, omitte tueri

quem culpa sua premet;

ut serves penitus no-

tum, si crimina tentent;

tuterisque amicum fi-

dentem tuo præsidio: qui cùm circumroditur dente Theonino, ecquid sentis pericula ventura paulò post ad te? Nam cùm paries proximus ardet, res tua agitur; & incendia neglecta solent sumere vires. Cultura amici potentis est dulcis inexpertis; expertus metuit. Tu, dum navis tua est in alto, hoc age, ne aura mutata retrorsum. Tristes oderunt hilarem, jocosique tristem; celeres sedatum, remissi agilem gnavumque.

* At, Bentl.

† fidenter, Id.

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indeed a bad, but a changeable animal. In this fear and distrust I have particularly informed myself concerning him from all his fellow-citizens. There is not one but speaks well of him; but examine him thoroughly yourself, and be upon your guard. I do not deny but there are cases wherein a recommendation of this kind would be harsh and unfriendly; but these I am persuaded are very rare; and when we are not well assured of the person by a long acquaintance, it is safest to err on this side. Lollius himself is a strong proof of this. At the time when Horace wrote this Epistle, there was not one but would have answered for Lollius to Augustus; yet the event made it appear how

much they would have been deceived, and that whoever had recommended him to that prince, would have had cause to repent of it ever afterwards.

23 Him, whom you know thoroughly. Because, when we always appear in behalf of the guilty, our protection becomes useless to the innocent: but if we immediately abandon them upon the first detection of their crimes, our appearance for the innocent will afterwards stand them in great stead.

24 Inviting to those who have never made trial. The pomp and splendor wherewith great men are surrounded, make us apt to think their friendship valuable; but a little experience soon convinces us that it is a most

delight to drink from noon of intoxicating Falernian wine²⁵, hate the man who refuses his glass: it is in vain that you tell them you dread during night the vapors of wine. Smooth up
95 your forehead²⁶: a modest man often passes for morose, and a prudent silence for rude censure.

Above all, strive by reading²⁷ and the conversation of learned men to inform yourself, how you may pass your days with the greatest tranquillity; that you may not always be preyed upon by vexatious desires, or agitated by the hope and fear of things but moderately useful²⁸: whether virtue be the gift of nature,
100 or the fruit of our own cares²⁹: what can diminish our anxieties, or make us friends with ourselves; if tranquillity results from honors or riches, or the calm enjoyments of an obscure and retired life³⁰. When I sit by the refreshing stream of Digentia³¹, that supplies with drink the inhabitants of Mandela, a district
105 wrinkled with cold; what do you imagine are my sentiments, or what my petitions to heaven? To enjoy in quiet what I have, or even less³²; that if the Gods have allotted me any farther portion of days, I may live to myself; that I may have a choice collection of books, and provision for a year³³ always in possession; and never fluctuate in the dread of an uncertain hour,
110 It is enough³⁴ to ask of Jupiter, those things he can give and take

ANNOTATIONS.

most rigorous slavery, and sometimes throws us into difficulties that we cannot extricate ourselves from.

²⁵ *Of intoxicating Falernian wine.* *Potiores bibuli mediâ de nocte Falerni.* Critics differ in their manner of explaining this passage; for some refer *bibuli* to *potiores*, making it signify *hard drinkers*; and others to *Falerni*: in which case we must render it intoxicating *Falernian* wine. Bentley thinks we ought to read *liquidi Falerni*, because Horace uses the same epithet in the 14th Epistle of this Book:

Quem bibulum liquidi mediâ de luce Falerni.

²⁶ *Smooth up your forehead.* *Deme supercilio nubem.* The ancients called those wrinkles which appear upon the forehead above the eye-brows when any thing displeases us, *clouds*; for as clouds obscure the face of heaven, so wrinkles obscure the forehead, and cause an appearance of sadness.

²⁷ *Above all, strive by reading.* This Epistle concludes with a set of the finest moral maxims and reflections. Horace, after giving Lollius some precepts with regard to his manner of living with the great, gives him also some rules for his conduct towards himself. He endeavours chiefly to make him sensible that happiness does not consist

in the favor of princes, but must be the fruit of our own reflection and care, and a steady purpose of keeping our passions within the bounds of moderation.

²⁸ *Things but moderately useful.* *Ne favor, & rerum mediocriter utilium spes.* An admirable verse: fear and hope always accompany desire. Under things moderately useful, Horace comprehends whatever is the object of avarice and ambition; because, as Plato says, they are only of a middle nature; not useful in themselves, and good but in proportion to the virtuous dispositions of him who possesses them. As Chremes says, in the *Heautontimoroumenos* of Terence,

Atque hæc perinde sunt, ut illius animus qui ea possidet;

Qui uti scit, ei bona; illi, qui non utitur rectè, mala.

"It is certain that all these derive their value from the mind of him who possesses them; they are good to him who knows the proper use to be made of them; but the contrary to him who puts them to a wrong use."

²⁹ *Gift of nature, or the fruit of our own cares.* This was always a greatly disputed point among the ancients: some maintained that virtue was the gift of nature, others,

Potiores bibuli * mediâ de nocte † Falerni
Oderunt porrecta negantem pocula; quamvis
Nocturnos jures te formidare vapores.

Deme supercilio nubem: plerumque modestus
Occupat obscuri speciem, taciturnus acerbi.

Inter cuncta leges & percontabere doctos,
Quâ ratione queas traducere leniter ævum;
Ne te semper inops agitet vexetque cupido;
Ne pavor, & rerum mediocriter utilium spes:
Virtutem doctrina paret, naturane donet:
Quid minuat curas, quid te tibi reddat amicum,
Quid purè tranquillet; honos, an dulce lucellum,
An secretum iter, & fallentis femita vitæ.

Me quoties reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,
Quem Mandela bibit, rugosus frigore pagus;
Quid sentire putas, quid credis, amice, precari?
Sit mihi quod nunc est, etiam minus; ut † mihi
vivam

Quod superest ævi, si quid superesse volunt Dî;
Sit bona librorum & proviſæ frugis in annum
Copia; ne || fluitem dubiæ spe pendulus horæ.

reficit me; quid, amice, putas sentire, quid credis precari? Sit mihi quod nunc est, etiam minus; ut vivam mihi quod ævi superest, si Dî volunt quid superesse; sit bona copia librorum, & frugis proviſæ in annum; ne pendulus fluitem spe dubiæ horæ.

* Liquidi, Bentl.

† luce, Id.

† at, Id.

|| neu, Id.

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others, that it was to be acquired by study and practice; but neither seem to have examined the matter to the bottom. They who argue so strongly for nature, have manifestly overlooked her infirmities and weakness. They who ascribe all to study and reflection, never thought of the errors men fall into, when they follow no other guide but themselves. Plato was aware of both these, and therefore very judiciously makes virtue the gift of God.

30 *The calm enjoyments of an obscure, &c.* It is not the poet's design here to create in Lollius a disgust of his present way of life, or make him quit the court to enjoy retirement: that had been imprudent, dishonest, and contrary to his own sentiments of things. His true aim is to persuade him, that if happiness is to be found only in peaceable retirement, that ought to be his study even in the exercise of his employment. By this he gives him a tacit advice to moderate his ambition and avarice; because, in a retired life, riches and honors are rather a troublesome burden than any needful help.

31 *Digentia.* A fountain and rivulet,

at the foot of mount Lucretius, that ran through the territories of Mandela.

32 *What I have, or even less.* We have here a fine picture of the manner in which Horace sought for tranquillity: he was so far from desiring more, that he could even be satisfied with less: he wanted to live for himself, cultivate his mind, and be freed from uncertainty.

33 *Books, and provision for a year.* In his Odes he tells us, that we ought to have no thought about to-morrow: here he speaks of making provision for a year. To obviate this seeming contradiction, it is to be observed, that in the Odes he speaks of the attachment we should have to life: that we ought always to be ready to resign it, and count upon every day as our last. Here he speaks of things necessary to the support of life; for though we should always be prepared to quit life, yet, as the time of its continuance is very uncertain, prudence requires that some provision be made in this view.

34 *It is enough, &c.* Horace distinguishes between the things we ought to hope for from

Potiores bibuli Falerni de nocte mediâ oderunt negantem pocula porrecta; quamvis jures te formidare nocturnos vapores. Deme nubem supercilio: plerumque modestus occupat speciem obscuri, taciturnus acerbi. Inter cuncta leges & percontabere doctos, quâ ratione queas traducere ævum leniter; ne inops cupido semper agitet vexetque te; ne pavor, & spes rerum mediocriter utilium: doctrinane paret virtutem, naturane donet: quid minuat curas, quid reddat te amicum tibi, quid purè tranquillet; honos, an dulce lucellum, an iter secretum, & femita fallentis vitæ. Quoties Digentia gelidus rivus, quem Mandela bibit, pagus rugosus frigore,

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take away; that he give life and wealth: an equal mind I must owe to my own study and care ³⁵.

ANNOTATIONS.

from the Gods, and those we are to expect only from ourselves. This will be set in a clearer light in the next remark.

35 *An equal mind I must owe to my own study and care.* Life and riches depend, he says, upon the Gods; but an equal mind upon ourselves. This was not only the notion of the *Stoics*, but of all the heathens; as we learn from *Cotta*, whom *Cicero*, in his third Book, *De Naturâ Deorum*, makes to speak in this manner: *Atque hoc quidem omnes mortales sic habent, externas commodi-*

tates, vineta, segetes, oliveta, ubertatem frugum & fructuum, omnem denique commoditatem prosperitatemque, à Diis se habere; virtutem autem nemo unquam acceptam Deo retulit. Nimirum rectè: propter virtutem enim jure laudamur, & in virtute rectè gloriamur; quod non contingeret, si id donum à Deo, non à nobis haberemus. "It is a notion universally received by all mankind, that external blessings, vineyards, corn, groves of olives, plentiful crops, in fine, all the advantages and blessings of life,

The KEY.

THIS Epistle is to be considered as a continuation of the former, and goes on to lay down a set of precepts for the conduct of civil life. It will be necessary to remark here, that there are great disputes as to the person to whom our poet addresses this Epistle. *Dacier* contends that this, as well as the second of the same Book, is addressed to *Lollius*, who had been consul, and made so considerable a figure at the court of *Augustus*. Others will have it, that this was young *Lollius*, the son of the former. The argument, by which they support this conjecture, is drawn from the 55th verse. *Militiam puer, & Cantabrica bella tulisti.* *Lollius*, say they, to whom *Horace* writes, fought under *Augustus*, against the *Cantabrians*. Now this war was undertaken in the year of *Rome* 728, and that same year *Lollius* the father was sent into *Galatia*, where he commanded in quality of proprætor. *Dacier* allows all this to be true, but imagines that no consequence can be drawn from it against the elder *Lollius* being the person addressed in this Epistle. *Lollius* accom-

panied

EPIST. XVIII. QUINTI HORATII FLACCI. 303

Sed satis est orare Jovem, quæ donat * & aufert ;
Det vitam, det opes : æquum mî animum ipse pa-
rabo.

*Sed est satis orare Jo-
vem, quæ donat &
aufert ; det vitam, det
opes : ipse parabo mî
æquum animum.*

* Ponit, Bentl.

ANNOTATIONS.

"life, come from the Gods; yet no one
"imagines that virtue comes from them.
"For we are justly praised for virtue, and
"with reason glory in it; which could not
"be, if it were the gift of God, and not
"the fruit of our own care." This we
see was the sentiment of the heathens; but
Christianity gives us very different notions,
and teaches us to believe that virtue is
wholly the gift of God. Indeed one is apt
to wonder how men of such quick parts
and sagacity in other things, should be so
far misled here, as never to reflect upon
the weakness of human nature, and how
easily it may be drawn from an upright
course.

THE KEY.

panied *Augustus* in his first expedition against the *Cantabrians*, which
was in the year of the city 726. This war lasted almost four
years; for *Augustus* did not return from it till 729, the year of his
tenth consulship. It was not therefore till after this expedition, that
Augustus sent *Lollius* into *Galatia*, towards the end of 728, or be-
ginning of 729, as may be expressly collected from *Dion*, Lib. liii.
Amyntas dying soon after the conclusion of this war, *Augustus* did not
give the kingdom to his sons, but made it a Roman province. Thus
Galatia was henceforward governed by a *proprætor*. This indeed
seems to put the matter beyond doubt. He fancies therefore, that
Horace wrote this Epistle to him, at the same time that *Augustus* made
him governor to his grandson *Caius Cæsar*, which was not till the
year 742 of *Rome*, and the 54th or 55th of the poet's age. It abounds
with maxims and sentiments, fit for *Lollius* to instil into the mind of
his young pupil, and while it instructs in the behaviour most proper
for a court, gives us, at the same time, a lively and delicate satire upon
the lives of princes, and great men; leaving us to conclude, that
there is no slavery equal to that of a court.

EPISTLE XIX.

TO MÆCENAS.

Of the ill-judged imitation of some of his cotemporary poets, and of his own poetry in particular.

LEARNED Mæcenas, if you give any credit to old Cratinus¹, no verses, made by poets² that drink only of water, can either please, or acquire a lasting fame. For ever since Bacchus³ has ranked the poets with his Fauns and Satyrs, the
 5 enchanting Muses have favored of wine almost from day-break. Homer⁴ from his frequent praises of wine is judged to have been no enemy to that liquor: and father Ennius himself never attempted to sing the great exploits of war till warmed by a cheerful glass. For this is the law enacted by Bacchus: The forum and prætor's tribunal⁵ be the lot of the sober and temperate; but I forbid them to attempt the poetic strain. Ever since
 10 he first pronounced this formal edict, the poets have not ceased night and day to carouse. How shall we think then? If any one take it into his head to imitate Cato by a stern fierce look, walking with his feet bare, or wrapping himself in a narrow cloak; is he therefore possessed of the virtue and upright manners of
 15 Cato? Hyarbitas⁶, aiming at the character of a wit and fine rallier, is said to have burst with emulation in copying the manner of Timagenes. Where a model can be imitated only in its vices, the experiment is dangerous. If by chance I should turn pale,

ANNOTATIONS.

¹ *Cratinus*. We have already spoken of the poet *Cratinus*, in the notes upon the fourth Satire of the first Book. He was so great a lover of wine, that *Aristophanes*, in one of his comedies, represents him as having died of grief, upon seeing a cask broke, and all the wine lost.

² *No verses, made by poets, &c.* *Nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt, &c.* This verse, &c. is probably taken from some poem of *Cratinus*. As men will always endeavour to palliate their vices, and are fond of every pretext to cover them, *Cratinus* might pretend, that he drank pretty freely of wine, to give his poems that fire and vivacity, which was necessary in works designed for posterity, and which was never found in the verses of such poets as drank only water. *Epicharmus* was of the same sentiments in this particular with *Cratinus*;

for he says, that a drinker of water can never make a good dithyrambic. Wine, it is certain, warms not only the body, but, as *Plato* says, the soul; and there are many instances of men, who, when sober, have an imagination cold and lifeless, but, after drinking a little, are full of spirits and vivacity. But it is only the moderate use of wine that produces this effect; for excess checks the thought, and clips the wings of fancy.

³ *Ever since Bacchus*. That is, as *Dacier* explains it, ever since there have been poets; for *Bacchus* is equally the God of poets, as of the *Fauns* and *Satyrs*. *Heinsius* pretends that *Bacchus* presides by the invention of satire, and that *Horace* means to say, that ever since the invention of that species of poetry, *Bacchus* has ranked the poets with his *Satyrs*. But this is altogether without foundation: it is plain that he speaks of poetry

EPISTOLA XIX.

Ad MÆCENATEM.

De vitiis quorundam poetarum, ac de sua poësi.

ORDO.

PRISCO si credis, Mæcenas docte, Cratino,
 Nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt,
 Quæ scribuntur aquæ potoribus. Ut malè sanos
 Adscripsit Liber Satyris Faunisque poëtas,
 Vina ferè dulces oluerunt mane Camenæ.
 Laudibus arguitur vini vinofus Homerus:
 Ennius ipse pater nunquam nisi potus ad arma
 Profiliuit dicenda. Forum putealque Libonis
 Mandabo siccis; adimam cantare severis.

Hoc simul edixit*, non cessavere poëtæ
 Nocturno certare mero, putere diurno.
 Quid? si quis vultu torvo ferus, & pede nudo,
 Exiguæque togæ simulet textore Catonem;
 Virtutemne repræsentet moresque Catonis?
 Rupit Hyarbitam Timagenis æmula lingua,
 Dum studet urbanus, tenditque disertus haberi.
 Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile. Quòd si

mero, putere diurno. Quid? si quis ferus torvo vultu, & nudo pede, textoreque exiguæ togæ, simulet Catonem; repræsentetne virtutem moresque Catonis? Lingua æmula Timagenis rupit Hyarbitam, dum studet esse urbanus, tenditque haberi disertus. Exemplar imitabile vitiis decipit. Quòd si

* Edixi, Bentl.

ANNOTATIONS.

poetry in general; for, without any regard to the invention of satire, poets have been always ranked with the *Fauns* and *Satyrs*. Hence our poet, in his first Ode;

— *Me gelidum nemus,
 Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori
 Secernunt populo.*

4 *Homer*. This is, without doubt, taken from *Cratinus*, who had written a piece expressly to prove that *Homer* was a lover of wine, and drew his chief arguments from the praises which that poet gives it in his works.

5 *The forum and prætor's tribunal. Forum putealque Libonis*. All the difficulty of this passage is, to determine who is the speaker. Some maintain that it is *Cratinus* or *Ennius*, others *Horace*. These last, to support their conjecture, instead of *edixit*, in the tenth verse, read *edixi*. *Heinsius* pleads for *Mæcenas*, and reads *edixi*. But all these conjectures are without foundation. It be-

longs only to the God of poetry to give out edicts, and this is to be considered as the proof of what *Horace* advances in the third verse. *Ut malè sanos adscripsit Liber*; for he repeats a part of the edict, by which he had made this association. It is therefore *Bacchus* who speaks. We have already explained what is to be understood by the *puteal*, upon the sixth Satire of Book II. v. 35.

6 *Hyarbitas. Rupit Hyarbitam Timagenis æmula lingua*. The construction here would be equivocal, were it not determined by the sense: what I take to be designed by the poet, is this: *Lingua Hyarbitæ, æmula Timagenis, rupit Hyarbitam*. *Hyarbit* is burst in endeavouring to imitate the railleries of *Timagenes*. *Timagenes* was a rhetorician of *Alexandria*, who, being taken captive by *Gabinus*, was brought to *Rome*, where he was bought by the son of *Sylla*, and afterwards got his liberty. *Cæsar* honored him with his fa-

vor.

pale, the whole tribe of poets would fall to drinking of cum-
min⁷. O servile herd of imitators, how oft have you raised
20 my choler, how oft my laughter, by your eager busy tumults!

I was the first who ventured to wander over unknown tracts,
and set foot in unfrequented wilds. He who has just confi-
dence in his own strength, will always make himself a leader
to others. I was the first among the Romans who attempted the
Iambics of Paros⁸, copying Archilochus⁹ in his versification
25 and satirical turn, but not in his subjects, or those bitter ex-
pressions so fatal to Lycambes¹⁰. But that you may not there-
fore adorn me with a crown of shorter flowers, because I have
not ventured to change the measures and structure of his verse:
the rapid Muse of Archilochus¹¹ is softened by the sweet accents
of Sappho and Alcæus, without borrowing either his subjects or
arrangement: you see neither a father-in-law attacked with
30 malignant satire, nor a mistress reduced to hang herself in de-
spair. I only, of all our bards, have dared to make this Archi-
lochus known to the Romans. It is thus I triumph in the boast
of a new species of poetry, and have the pleasure to find myself
approved by the best judges.

35 Would you know, why the ungrateful reader¹² loves and com-
mends my works in private, while at the same time he decries
them in public? Because¹³ I hunt not after the applause of the
fickle mob by entertainments, and presents of old threadbare
clothes. Because, being a hearer¹⁴ and admirer of the works
of our most distinguished writers, I disdain to cringe and pay
40 court to a set of pitiful grammarians. Hence all this spite and
malice. If I tell them, that I am ashamed to give an air of im-
portance to trifles, or recite in public works that do not merit
the attention of a crowded assembly: You rally us, say they,
and

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vor. But as he was much given to raillery, and observed no measures with any person, he soon lost the good graces of his patron, who forbade him his palace. Provoked at the affront, he burnt the history, which he had written of the life of that prince. Seneca thus characterizes him: *Homo acida lingua, & qui nimis liber erat, disertus, & dicax, à quo multa improbe, sed venuste dicta.* He pushed his raileries to an extreme, without any regard to what was decent, or useful. Horace therefore means, that Hyperbatus burst by imitating Timagenes in what least deserved imitation about him; for he imitated what was ill about Timagenes, not what was good. It is for this reason that he adds: *Decipit exemplar vitii imitabile.*

⁷ Cummin. Dioscorides tells us, that it has

the property of making those who drink of it, or are anointed with it, to look pale: *Colorem bibentium aut perunctorum mutat in pallorem.* Pliny says the same in his 20th Book.

⁸ The Iambics of Paros. *Parios ego primus Iambos*; that is, the Iambics of Archilochus, who was of Paros.

⁹ Copying Archilochus, &c. Horace here states the difference between a just and a servile imitation. Were one to write pastorals, like Virgil and Theocritus, he could not be called a servile copier, if, following the numbers and measures of those poets, he also equalled their elevation, enthusiasm and fire; provided he takes care not to write upon the same subjects, and in the same words, only perhaps a little changed and transposed. The several kinds of poetry

EPIST. XIX. QUINTI HORATII FLACCI. 307

Pallere casu, biberent exsangue cuminum.

O imitatores, servum pecus, ut mihi sæpè
Bilem, sæpè jocum vestri movere tumultus !

Libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps,
Non aliena meo pressi pede. Qui sibi fidit
Dux, regit examen. Parios ego primus Iambos
Ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus
Archilochi, non res, & agentia verba Lycamben.

Ac ne me foliis ideo brevioribus ornes,
Quodd timui mutare modos & carminis artem :
Temperat Archilochi Musam pede mascula Sappho,
Temperat Alcæus : sed * rebus & ordine dispar,
Nec focerum quærit quem versibus oblinat atris,

Nec sponsæ laqueum famoso carmine nectit.
Hunc ego, non alio dictum prius ore, Latinus
Vulgavi fidicen. Juvat immemorata ferentem
Ingenuis oculisque legi, manibusque teneri.

Scire velis, mea cur ingratus opuscula lector
Laudet ametque domi, premat extra limen iniquus ?

Non ego ventosæ plebis suffragia venor
Impensis cœnarum, & tritæ munere vestis.
Non ego, nobilium scriptorum auditor & ultor,
Grammaticas ambire tribus & pulpita dignor.

Hinc illæ lacrymæ. Spissis indigna theatris
Scripta pudet recitare, & nugis addere pondus,

casu pallere, biberent
cuminum exsangue. O
imitatores, pecus ser-
vum, ut tumultus ves-
tri sæpè movere mihi
bilem, sæpè jocum ! Ego
princeps posui libera
vestigia per vacuum,
pressi meo pede vestigia
non aliena. Qui fidit
sibi, ille dux regit ex-
amen. Ego primus
ostendi Latio Parios I-
ambos, secutus numeros
animosque Archilochi,
non res, & verba a-
gentia Lycamben. Ac
ne ideo ornes me foliis
brevioribus, quodd timui
mutare modos & artem
carminis : mascula Sap-
pho temperat pede suo
Musam Archilochi,
Alcæus temperat : sed
dispar rebus & ordine,
nec quærit focerum
quem oblinat atris ver-
sibus, nec nectit laque-
um sponsæ famoso car-
mine. Ego Latinus
fidicen vulgavi hunc,
non prius dictum alio
ore. Juvat me feren-
tem immemorata legi-

que oculis ingenuis, tenerique manibus. Velis scire, cur lector ingratus laudet ametque mea opus-
cula domi, iniquus premat extra limen ? Ego non venor suffragia ventosæ plebis impensis cœnarum,
& munere tritæ vestis. Ego, auditor & ultor scriptorum nobilium, non dignor ambire tribus gram-
maticas & pulpita. Hinc illæ lacrymæ. Si dixi, Pudet me recitare scripta indigna spissis
theatris, & addere pondus nugis :

* Et, Bentl.

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are free to all ; the subject and expressions
are the property of the poet who first started
them.

¹⁰ *Lycambes.* The father of *Neobule*,
whom he promised in marriage to the poet
Archilochus ; but breaking his word, pro-
voked the poet to write against him in so
bitter a strain, that both he and his daugh-
ter hanged themselves in despair.

¹¹ *The rapid Muse of Archilochus.* Com-
mentators generally explain this as if *Horace*
meant, that besides the poems he had made
in *Iambics*, like *Archilochus*, he was also
the author of others in *Alcaic* and *Sapphic*
verse. *Dacier* gives a very different turn
to the passage, and such as seems to agree
better to the poet's design. *Horace*, ac-
cording to him, says, that he softened the
rapid Muse of *Archilochus* by the soft ac-

cents of *Sappho* and *Alcæus* ; and that by a
mixture of these three several kinds of
poetry, he made a fourth, unknown till his
time. *Mascula Sappho*, the male *Sappho*,
whose poetry was masculine and vigorous.

¹² *Ungrateful reader.* *Ungrateful*, be-
cause he did not acknowledge in public
the pleasure which the reading of our
poet's works gave him in private.

¹³ *Because I hunt not after, &c.* *Horace* ridi-
cles here with great pleasantry the foolish
vanity of certain poets his contemporaries,
who, to gain the applause of the populace,
courted them with entertainments and
presents.

¹⁴ *Because, being a hearer, &c.* *Non ego*,
nobilium scriptorum auditor & ultor. This
verse presents us with a double sense : for
either it may mean, that he did not go to
hear

and reserve your poems for the ears of Jupiter: you are much pleased with yourself, and imagine that the true poetical honey distils only from your pen. I am afraid to answer them in a
 45 way of raillery; and dreading to be torn in pieces by the nails of my provoked adversary, I cry out, that I dislike the field of battle, and beg a truce. For mirth often ends in strife and anger¹⁵; anger begets fierce hatred, and hatred all the calamities of war.

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hear the works of those famous writers, when they recited them, nor read his own in revenge for the distaste they gave him; as *Juvenal*, Sat. 1.

Semper ego auditor tantum, numquamne reponam?

According to this, *nobilium scriptorum* is an irony: or, we may consider *nobilium scriptorum auditor & ultor*, as the definition of a great critic accustomed to read the best authors, and revenge the insults offered by the

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THIS Epistle is to be esteemed rather a satire against the poets of that age, who, pretending that *Bacchus* was the God of poetry, and that the most ancient and best poets were great lovers of wine, imagined that, by equalling them in this particular, they also equalled them in merit; and while they imitated only their vices, flattered themselves, that they were possessed of all their virtues. *Horace* here exposes the ridicule of these ill-judged imitations. He observes, that they who have a just confidence in their own strength, despise a slavish imitation, and follow the ancients with that masterly skill and discernment, as plainly to shew, that they themselves would have marked out the same track, had not the others gone before them. The several kinds of poetry are free to all, but every one ought to have an air and manner peculiar to himself, and such as may distinguish

EPIST. XIX. QUINTI HORATII FLACCI. 309

Si dixi: Rides, ait, & Jovis auribus ista
 Servas: fidis enim manare poetica mella
 Te solum, tibi pulcher. Ad hæc ego naribus uti 45
 Formido; & luctantis acuto ne fecer ungui,
 Displicet iste locus, clamo, & diludia posco.
 Ludus enim genuit trepidum certamen & iram;
 Ira truces inimicitias, & funebre bellum.

ait, Rides, & servas
 ista auribus Jovis:
 enim, pulcher tibi, fidis
 te solum manare mella
 poetica. Ego formido
 uti naribus ad hæc;
 & ne fecer acuto ungui
 luctantis, clamo, Iste
 locus displicet, & posco
 diludia. Enim ludus

genuit certamen trepidum & iram; ira genuit truces inimicitias, & funebre bellum.

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the ignorant, who decried their works. I have fallen in with the latter explication, but give both here, that the reader may judge for himself.

¹⁵ For mirth often ends in strife and anger. Horace, without doubt, by this gradation, meant to ridicule the practice of some of

those poetasters, who employed the figures, and other ornaments of writing, without judgment or propriety. Dacier fancies he had in his eye a passage of *Epicharmus*, who, in one of his comedies, has a climax of much the same kind.

The KEY.

distinguish him from all others. This is what, our poet tells us, had been his particular care; for although he wrote, as *Archilochus* had done before him, in *Iambics*, yet, by softening the forward and fierce Muse of that poet, and aiming at the sweetness of *Sappho* and *Alcæus*, he had produced a new species of poetry, that deserved no less praise than either of the others. He afterwards proceeds to give a reason why, though he was commended by the best and most candid, yet there were not wanting little critics, who made it their study to defame him, and sink his reputation. They exclaimed, that by an excess of vanity and self-love he disdained to produce his writings in the assemblies of his fellow-poets, and read them only to great men and princes. The whole is written in a fine taste, and full of spirit and vivacity.

It would be difficult to fix its precise date; we only know that it was among the last of his works.

EPISTLE XX.

To his Book.

He warns it, desiring to be made public, of the ill treatment it must expect; and mentions some things it is to make known relating to its author.

YOU seem to me, my book, to have a constant eye upon Janus and Vertumnus¹: you want to come abroad, forsooth, smoothed and done up by the hands of the Soffi². You hate to be shut up under keys and seals³ so grateful to the well-born: you are in great affliction to be thus confined to a few, and extol
5 without ceasing the public shops: it was not thus that I bred you up. Fly then whither your impatient desires would so fain carry you: there is no possibility of a return when you have once got abroad. What have I done, wretch? what have I madly desired? will be your language, when you find yourself exposed to affronts: and you may remember how close even I, though so partial an admirer, have squeezed you together⁴, when satiated with reading. But if I am not blinded by my indignation at your folly, you will be esteemed and valued at Rome, as long
10 as you retain the graces of novelty: but as soon as you begin to be thumbed by the vulgar; you will be left a prey to the moths, sent to Utica⁵, or wrapt round the drugs⁶ that are dispatched to Lerida. Your counsellor whom you so often despised will then

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¹ *Janus and Vertumnus.* In the Roman forum, just at the entrance of the *Tuscan ward*, was a statue of *Janus*, and another of *Vertumnus*: all this place was surrounded with booksellers' and stationers' shops. Hence *Horace* says of his book, that it kept its eye upon *Janus* and *Vertumnus*, to express its desire of being made public.

² *By the hands of the Soffi.* The *Soffi* were two brothers, and the most noted booksellers in *Rome*. It is farther to be observed, that bookseller and bookbinder were commonly joined together in our poet's days.

³ *Keys and seals.* The *Romans* took the greatest care to breed up their children in the greatest innocence of manners. Their precaution went so far, that they not only locked up their apartments, but also sealed them, that no suspected person might be able to get into them.

⁴ *Squeezed you together.* *Et scis in breve*

te cogi, cum plenus languet amator. To understand this passage perfectly, we must have some notion of the form of ancient books. They were of parchment, rolled up close together, so that in reading them they were to be unwrapped and gradually extended. Thus, when the reader was tired with any piece, instead of unfolding it altogether, he rolled it up anew; and if he was impatient, or any way out of humor, he would naturally squeeze it close together. This is what the poet means by *in breve te cogi*; I forced you into a small compass. For herein he paints strongly the behaviour of a man who was satiated with a book; he rolled it up close, and tied it fast with a cord, as if he thereby condemned it never to be more opened. But this is not the chief difficulty; we are more at a loss to account how *Horace* comes to say of a book that had not yet been made public, *scis in breve te cogi*. How could the book have

EPISTOLA XX.

Ad LIBRUM SUUM.

Proponit ei, cupienti exire in lucem, incommoda eventura; Et de se quædam vulganda mandat.

VERTUMNUM Janumque, liber, spectare videris:

Scilicet ut prostes Sossiorum pumice mundus.
Odisti claves, & grata figilla pudico:
Paucis ostendi gemis, & communia laudas;
Non ita nutritus. Fuge quò discedere * gestis:
Non erit emissio redditus tibi. Quid miser egi?
Quid volui? dices, ubi quis † te læserit: & scis
In breve te cogi, cum plenus ‡ languet amator.
Quòd si non odio peccantis desipit augur,
Carus eris Romæ, donec te deferat ætas.
Contrectatus ubi manibus sordescere vulgi
Cœperis; aut tineas pasces taciturnus inertes,
Aut fugies Uticam, aut vinctus mittêris Ilerdam.

Romæ, donec ætas deferat te. Ubi contrectatus manibus vulgi cœperis sordescere; aut taciturnus pasces tineas inertes, aut fugies Uticam, aut mittêris unctus Ilerdam.

* Descendere, Bentl.

† quid, Id.

‡ plenus cum, Id.

O R D O.

O Liber, videris spectare Vertumnum Janumque: scilicet ut prostes mundus pumice Sossiorum. Odisti claves, & figilla grata pudico: gemis ostendi paucis, & laudas communia; non nutritus ita. Fuge quò gestis discedere: non erit redditus tibi emissio. Dices, ubi quis læserit te, Miser quid egi? quid volui? & scis, cum amator plenus languet, cogi te in breve. Quòd si augur non desipit odio peccantis, eris carus

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have this experience, when still in his own hands, and seen only by a few? All this is to be ascribed to the modesty of the poet. Amator is here for Horace himself, who says to his book: You know that even I, who love you tenderly, am sometimes satiated with you, and roll you up close together, as if I never intended to look into you more. What treatment are you therefore to expect from strangers?

5 Utica. After the destruction of Carthage, Utica was the capital city of Africa, and held a constant commerce with Rome. The booksellers, when a work was not sufficient to make its way at Rome, where learning flourished, and performances were rated according to their merit, sent it into some remote province. As the inhabitants of these were not always the best judges, the reputation of its being what was latest published at Rome, commonly served to make it sell.

6 Or wrapt round the drugs. Aut unctus mittêris Ilerdam. The word unctus is that which gives room to think that Horace foretells it would be the fate of his book, to be wrapt round the drugs sent by the Roman merchants into Spain; for they carried on a great trade with Ilerda, now Lerida. This sense, according to the opinion of Dacier, is just and natural. Some, however, instead of unctus, read vinctus; and pretpd, that our author means it would be made to serve as covers to the letters sent to Lerida, called by the Romans, *opisthographæ*: for as ancient books were writ only on one side, such of them as were of no significance were often made use of to cover letters, which saved the expence of paper, pretty considerable in that age. As these letters were generally tied round with silk, the poet employs the word vinctus, to signify bound, made fast. Bentley contends for vinctus, but makes it to signify inctus, against your will, in spite of yourself.

then laugh at your fate; and do as he in the fable⁷, who, unable to keep his ass from running upon a precipice, pushed him
 15 headlong himself in a violent passion: for who would give himself the trouble to save a creature obstinately bent upon its own ruin? This destiny also awaits you, to languish out an old age in remote villages teaching children the first elements of language⁸. Remember, if this prove your fate, to tell your hearers, when the raging heat of the sun hath brought a croud of them together; that born of a father⁹ who was only a freedman, and
 20 to a small fortune, I spread my wings to a greater compass, and carried my flight¹⁰ above my condition: thus what you take from my birth, will be placed to merit. Tell them also that though but of little size, I had the good fortune to please those of the most distinguished character in Rome both for war and peace; that I was very early grey-headed, fond of a warm sun,
 25 of a hasty temper, but easy to be appeased. If any one by chance should inquire concerning my age; tell him that I was forty-four years complete in December, of the year in which Lollius had Lepidus for his colleague¹¹ in the consulship.

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⁷ *He is the fable.* The poet alludes here to a fable, which, though lost to us, was, no doubt, well known in his time: a man endeavouring to hinder his ass from running upon the border of a precipice, and finding him obstinately bent to pursue the same track, was resolved to lend a helping hand, and so pushed him over.

⁸ *The first elements of language.* The Romans made their children be taught *Latin* with a great deal of care, and this was certainly a wise practice. Nothing is more ridiculous than to fancy that we ought not to learn a language because it is natural.

Experience makes it apparent, that nature alone is not sufficient to the speaking of it with exactness. *Horace* foretels of his book, that in old age it would be employed in teaching youth the elements of language. But it is worth while to remark, that what he speaks of as not likely to happen till late, fell out before, or at most very soon after his death. For *Quintus Cecilius*, a grammarian of *Epirus*, had already begun to read the modern poets to children.

⁹ *That born of a father.* This entertaining account is founded upon the usual practice of grammarians, who, upon putting any

The KEY.

HORACE's works appeared at several times, and in a very different order from that in which we now read them. We may see of several of his pieces, that they were intended as prefaces to some collection. This now before us was put at the head of some Satires and Epistles he published in the forty-fourth year of his age. *Sanadon* calls it a preface to his moral poems. He speaks of them as a child weary of being under the eye and tutorage of a father, and desirous, above all things, to get abroad, and be at liberty. The father.

Ridebit monitor non exauditus; ut ille,
 Qui malè parentem in rupes detrufit afellum
 Iratus: quis enim invitum fervare laboret?
 Hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem
 Occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus.
 Cùm tibi fol tepidus plures admoverit aures;
 Me libertino natum patre, & in tenui re
 Majores pennas nido extendiffè loquëris:
 Ut quantum generi demas, virtutibus addas.
 Me primis urbis belli placuiffè domique;
 Corporis exigui, præcanum, folibus aptum,
 Irasce celerem, tamen ut placabilis effem.
 Fortè meum fi quis te percontabitur ævum;
 Me quater undenos fciat impleviffè Decembres,
 Collegam Lepidum quo duxit Lollius anno.

15 Monitor non exauditus
 ridebit; ut ille, qui
 iratus detrufit afellum
 malè parentem in ru-
 pes: quis enim laboret
 fervare invitum? Hoc
 quoque manet te, ut
 balba senectus occupet
 20 te docentem pueros ele-
 menta in extremis vicis.
 Cùm fol tepidus admo-
 verit tibi plures aures;
 loquëris me natum fu-
 iffè libertino patre, &
 extendiffè pennas ma-
 jores nido in tenui re:
 25 ut addas tantum vir-
 tutibus, quantum de-
 mas generi. Loquëris,
 inquam, me, exigui
 corporis, placuiffè pri-

mis urbis belli domique; præcanum, aptum folibus, celerem irasce, tamen ut effem placabilis. Si quis fortè percontabitur te meum ævum; fciat me impleviffè quater undenos Decembres, anno quo Lollius duxit Lepidum collegam confulatu.

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any book into the hands of their scholars, never failed to acquaint them with the fortune, condition, and moft remarkable particulars in the life of its author.

¹⁰ Carried my flight. *Majores pennas nido extendiffè loquëris.* This was a proverbial way of fpeaking among the Romans, to exprefs a man who had raifed himfelf above his proper rank and birth. Ambition is always a vice, but a noble emulation to rife by merit fpeaks a generous and great mind.

¹¹ Lollius bad Lepidus for his colleague. That is, in the year of the city 731. *Augustus* was named conful with *Lollius* for the following year, but being then in *Sicily*, and purpofing to pafs thence into the *East*, he

declined accepting that charge. *Lepidus* and *Silanus* both entered themfelves candidates, and, by their cabals, filled *Rome* with faction and diforder. At laft the party of *Lepidus* carried it. Now, from the year of the city 688, when our poet was born, to the year 732, are juft forty-four years complete. *Horace* entered his forty-fifth year in the month of *Decem'ber*, when *Lollius* and *Lepidus* entered upon the confulship. *Sanadon* differs a little from this computation; he tells us that *Horace* was born on the 3th of *December* 689 of the city, and that *Lollius* and *Lepidus* entered upon the confulship *December* 733.

The KEY.

ther is introduced, making feveral very grave remonftrances, if poffible, to deter him by a view of the danger he will be expofed to; but finding all his endeavours ineffectual, gives him fome inftructions, and then fets him free. The character which the poet gives of himfelf, towards the end of this Epiftle, is natural and open. We meet with nothing of difguife in it, either from vanity or modefty. As he does not diflemble his birth, fo he does not affect to conceal his merit, or the degree of credit it had raifed him to with all the great characters of the age.

THE

THE SECOND BOOK OF EPISTLES.

EPISTLE I.

TO AUGUSTUS.

He praises Augustus; inveighs against the foolish admiration of the ancients; and urges Cæsar to encourage poetry and poets.

WHILE you, Cæsar, sustain alone the weight of so many and important cares, defend the empire by your arms, reform it by your laws, and adorn it by an innocency of manners¹; it were defrauding the public weal to intrude upon moments so precious by a long discourse².

5 Romulus, Bacchus, Castor and Pollux³, who by their great and useful exploits merited to be received among the Gods; yet while they were employed upon earth, in terminating bloody wars, founding cities, or establishing colonies⁴, found with grief that they were far from meeting with the acknowledgment due to their
10 merit. Even the hero who crushed the dreadful hydra, and by a labor imposed on him by fate surmounted the opposition of so many monsters, found that envy was only extinguished in death⁵. For whoever remarkably excels others, raises a jealousy by this superiority⁶: yet no sooner is he removed from us, than
his

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¹ Reform it by your laws, and adorn it by an innocency of manners. Augustus, by his example, and good laws, reformed the licentious disorders that so much infested Rome. This Horace elsewhere says, in the 5th Ode of his 4th Book:

Mos & lex maculosum edomuit nefas.

² Law and example have abolished vice and "impurity." Hence the Romans intrusted him with the perpetual government of their laws and manners. Suetonius: *Recepit & morum legumque regimen æquè perfectum*. The poet here says no more than what all the historians of that age confirm; a thing that seldom happens in the praises given to princes.

³ Long discourse. And yet this is one of Horace's longest works; if we except the 3d

Satire of the 2d Book, and the Art of Poetry. The poet speaks thus, perhaps, not to disgust Augustus at the very entrance; or it may be to intimate to him, that his pleasure in writing was so great, as to have inclined him to send a much longer Epistle.

⁴ Romulus, Bacchus, Castor and Pollux. The Romans had placed the statues of Augustus, even in his own life-time, with those of Bacchus, Castor, Hercules, and Romulus. This is plain from what Horace says, in the 3d Ode of Book III.

*Quos inter Augustus recumbens
Purpureo bibit ore nectar.*

Horace was not insensible of the pleasure which it gave Augustus to see himself compared to those heroes, whom the Greeks and Romans had chosen for their tutelar Deities.

EPISTOLARUM

LIBER SECUNDUS.

EPISTOLA I.

Ad AUGUSTUM.

*Cæsarem laudat; stultam poetarum veterum admirationem in-
sectatur; postremo benevolentiam Augusti in poëtas stimulat.*

ORDO.

CUM tot sustineas & tanta negotia solus,
Res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,
Legibus emendes; in publica commoda peccem,
Si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Cæsar.

Romulus, & Liber pater, & cum Castore Pollux,
Post ingentia facta * Deorum in templa recepti,
Dum terras hominumque colunt genus, aspera bella
Componunt, agros assignant, oppida condunt;
Ploravere suis non respondere favorem
Speratum meritis. Diram qui contudit hydram, 10
Notaque fatali portenta labore subegit,
Comperit invidiam supremo fine domari.
Urit enim fulgore suo, qui prægravat artes

O Cæsar, cum tu so-
lus sustineas tot &
tanta negotia, tuteris
res Italas armis, ornes
moribus, emendes legi-
bus; peccem in publica
commoda, si morer tua
tempora longo sermone.
Romulus, & pater Li-
ber, & Pollux cum
Castore, recepti post
facta ingentia in tem-
pla Deorum, dum co-
lunt terras genusque
hominum, componunt
aspera bella, assignant
agros, condunt oppida;
ploravere favorem spe-
ratum non respondere suis meritis.

Hercules, qui contudit diram hydram, subegitque nota
portenta fatali labore, comperit invidiam tantum domari supremo fine. Ille enim, qui prægravat
artes poeticas infra se, urit suo fulgore.

* fata, Benth.

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It is for this reason that he so often men-
tions those great names, to give a higher
idea of the glory of Augustus. Above all,
he is careful not to forget Romulus; for
some time before Augustus had been very
desirous to assume that name, and was
withheld only by the fear of raising a suspi-
cion that he aimed at the royalty.

4 Founding cities, or establishing colonies.

It is known that Romulus, Castor, and Bacchus,
built cities, and settled colonies in those
places whence they had driven the first in-
habitants. Augustus did the same: Italiam
duodetriginta coloniarum numero deducitarum ab
se frequentavit. "He peopled Italy with
"eight and twenty colonies which he
"brought thither," says Suetonius. In like
manner he built the city of Nicopolis, near

Actium, after the defeat of Antony. He also
built several cities in Spain, and restored
others that were fallen to decay.

5 That envy was only extinguished in
death. Cleon, in the 8th Book of Curtius,
says, Nec Herculem quidem & patrem Libe-
rum prius dicatos Deos, quam vicissent secum
viventium invidiam. "That neither Her-
cules nor Bacchus were ranked with the
"Gods, till they had surmounted the envy
"of their contemporaries." Cleon avoids
saying expressly, that it was only by death
men could conquer envy; but Callisthenes
answers: Homines carere sequitur aliquando, nun-
quam comitatur divinitas. Hence Horace calls
it, laurum morte venalem.

6 Raises a jealousy by this superiority.
Qui prægravat artes infra se positas; that
is,

his memory begets a veneration. You, great prince, reap even
 15 in your own life-time the reward of divine honors due to
 your worth; we raise altars to you, and swear by your name;
 acknowledging that never yet hath appeared⁷, nor will ever ap-
 pear, your equal.

But this your people⁸, knowing and just in one instance, when
 they rank you above all the great commanders, either of Greece
 or Rome, are yet far from deciding with the same equity in other
 20 cases; for there is a general hatred and contempt of whatever
 has not abandoned earth, and run out the period assigned by
 fate. So great is the prepossession in favor of antiquity⁹, that
 they regard the laws of the twelve tables¹⁰ enacted by the de-
 cemvirs, the treaties entered into by our kings with the Gabii
 25 and Sabines¹¹, the books of the pontiffs¹², and the ancient vo-
 lumes of our first poets¹³, as so many oracles pronounced by the
 Muses themselves upon mount Alba¹⁴. If, because among the
 writings of the Greeks, the most ancient are the best, we pretend
 to weigh also those of the Romans with the same balance¹⁵; it is
 30 in vain to say any thing farther: one may advance any absurdity,
 that black is white, and white black¹⁶. We have attained the
 utmost

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is, *Qui artifices ipso inferiores meritis suis premit.* A shining merit always excites jealousy, because it alarms the vanity of those who are eclipsed by it. Nothing is more unjust, or below real generosity, than this behaviour; yet it is an evil that seems to have taken deep root in the heart of man. How many would have fewer enemies, had they less merit?

7 *Newer yet hath appeared, &c.* He says here in a single verse, what takes up four in the 2d Ode of Book IV.

*Quo nihil majus meliusve terris
 Fata donavere, bonique Divi;
 Nec dabunt, quamvis redeant in aurum
 Tempora prisce.*

One may observe here the great difference between the simple style of an epistle or satire, and the majesty and magnificence of the ode.

⁸ *But this your people.* Horace, by praising in one instance the justice of the Romans, and blaming their partiality in another, raises our idea of the merit and grandeur of Augustus. What can more flatter the vanity of a prince, than to describe a people fond only of antiquity, yet all agreeing to prefer him before whatever past ages have produced, that is great and illustrious? Augustus had besides this advantage, that he was perhaps the only instance of a hero dis-

tinguished in this manner during his own life.

⁹ *So great is the prepossession in favor of antiquity.* The poet enters naturally into his subject, and the manner of passing from the elogium of the prince, to the matter of the Epistle, is managed with great address. There happened in the dispute between the partizans of the ancients and moderns, what almost always happens in all debates. Each had carried their admiration and censure too far. The question was reducible to two points; the one of right, the other of fact. Can years add any real merit to a work? This is a question of right. Let both sides pronounce without prejudice, and it will be found they must necessarily agree. But the ancients, whose works remain, do they come nearer to our idea of perfection in writing, than the authors of latter ages? This is a question of fact, where prejudice, conceit, interest, ignorance, &c. often sway our judgments, and make us pronounce differently. Horace explains himself fully on both these heads, and in a manner that may serve as a rule to ascertain our judgment. He opposes the *partizans* of antiquity, who imagine that age gives value to a work. As to the point of fact, without entering into a minute detail, he contents himself with saying that there are many things bad

Infra se positas : extinctus amabitur idem.
 Præfenti tibi maturos largimur honores ;
 Jurandasque tuum per nomen * ponimus aras ;
 Nil oriturum aliàs, nil ortum tale fatentes.
 Sed tuus hic † populus, sapiens & justus in uno,
 Te nostris ducibus, te Graiis anteferendo,
 Cætera nequaquam simili ratione modoque
 Æstimat ; &, nisi quæ terris semota, suisque
 Temporibus defuncta videt, fastidit & odit.
 Sic fautor veterum, ut tabulas peccare vetantes,
 Quas bis quinque viri sanxerunt, fœdera regum
 Vel Gabiis vel cum rigidis æquata Sabinis,
 Pontificum libros, annosa volumina vatum,
 Dictitet Albano Musas in monte locutas.

Si, quia Græcorum ‡ sunt antiquissima quæque
 Scripta, vel optima, Romani pensantur eadem
 Scriptores trutinâ ; non est quòd multa loquamur :
 Nil intra est oleam ||, nil extra est in nuce duri.

Idem extinctus amabitur. Nos largimur maturos honores tibi præfenti ; ponimusque aras jurandas per tuum nomen ; fatentes nil tale adhuc ortum, nil oriturum aliàs. Sed hic tuus populus, sapiens & justus in uno, scilicet anteferendo te nostris ducibus, te Graiis, nequaquam æstimat cætera simili ratione modoque ; & fastidit & odit, nisi quæ videt semota terris, defunctaque suis temporibus. Sic fautor veterum, ut dictitet Musas locutas fuisse in Albano monte, tabulas vetantes peccare, quas bis quinque viri sanxerunt, fœdera regum æquata vel cum Gabiis vel cum rigidis Sabinis, libros pontificum, & volumina annosa vatum. Si, quia quæque scripta Græcorum antiquissima, vel sunt optima, Romani scriptores pensantur eadem trutinâ ; non est quòd loquamur multa : nil duri est intra oleam, nil extra est in nuce.

* Numen, Benth. † hoc, Id. ‡ Graiorum, Id. || olea, Id.

A N N O T A T I O N S.

as well as good in the ancients, and that in general they fall below the moderns.

¹⁰ *The laws of the twelve tables.* In the year of the city 300, the Romans, who had hitherto been governed by very imperfect laws, sent three deputies into Greece, to make an exact collection of the laws of Solon. Upon the return of the deputies, the Decemviri were created ; that is, ten of the most distinguished citizens were appointed with sovereign authority, to dispose these laws under proper heads, and propose them to the people. They were at first summed up in ten tables, but the year following, two more were added. Hence they were called the laws of the twelve tables.

¹¹ *Gabii and Sabines.* He means the treaties of peace which Romulus made with the Sabines, and Tarquin the Proud with the Gabii.

¹² *Pontiffs.* They had been instituted by Numa. Their books regulated whatever concerned religion.

¹³ *Ancient volumes of our first poets.* The prophetic books of the Sibyls, and other poets and prophets of that time ; for instance, of the poet Marcius.

¹⁴ *Mount Alba.* There is something very diverting in this reflection of the poet, as if the Romans were of opinion, that the Muses

had quitted Helicon and Parnassus, to come upon mount Alba, and that they had there dictated the treaties and prophecies ; because Numa retired thither to hold his pretended conferences with the nymph Ægeria, one of the Muses, to whom he consecrated this place, and built her a temple. There is nothing so ridiculous, that the mere vulgar of mankind will not some time or other swallow as an undoubted truth.

¹⁵ *With the same balance.* The ancientest writings among the Greeks were accounted the best, and were really so. But if that happened not to be the case with the Romans, why were they to be judged by a false rule ? The works of antiquity are not esteemed because ancient, but because they are good. The ignorant can hardly be persuaded of this, because all they know of a work is, that it is ancient ; they have no notion of its real beauties.

¹⁶ *Black is white, and white black.* Nil intra est oleam, nil extra est in nuce duri. A proverbial way of speaking, which, as it is not in use with us, obliged me in the version to take what seemed equivalent to it in our language. It signifies as much as denying what the hand touches, and eye sees ; or maintaining a direct absurdity : for every one

utmost height of fortune in painting, music¹⁷, and the exercises of the palæstra; we surpass the Greeks themselves. If it is with poetry as with wine¹⁸, which age ripens and brings to maturity; I desire to know, what precise number of years is required to give value to a work. A writer, who lived a hundred years ago, is he to be ranked with the ancients and esteemed perfect, or is he no more than a modern and a dunce? Let us banish all dispute by establishing some fixed period.

ROM. The writer¹⁹, who died a hundred years ago, is undoubtedly ancient and good.

- 40 HOR. But he who wants perhaps only a month or a year to complete his term; what rank ought he to hold? are we to esteem him a sound ancient, or is he to be numbered with those, whom this and the following age will reject with contempt?

ROM. He, who wants only a month or year of the sum, may be honestly ranked with the ancients.

- 45 HOR. I receive your concession, and, like him who bared the horse's tail²⁰ pulling out hair by hair, I take away one year, then another; until, over-reached by the insensibly sinking heap²¹, nothing remains to you who consult only the calendar, and estimate merit by years, accounting that only valuable; which has been consecrated by the Goddess Libitina²². Ennius, who
50 boasted²³ that he was wise, valiant, and a second Homer, if we will believe the critics, has done but little to support that character, or give weight to the dreams of Pythagoras²⁴. Nævius is now²⁵ no longer in any body's hands.

ROM.

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one knows by his feeling, that the very reverse of what the proverb asserts, is true.

¹⁷ In painting, music, &c. Horace instances in three arts which the Greeks had carried to the highest perfection, painting, music, and the palæstra. The Romans, even at their best, were but faint copiers of the Greeks in these. Horace speaks of it here as a thing generally owned; that it would be the greatest absurdity on earth to maintain that the Romans had the superiority in them.

¹⁸ With poetry as with wine. It is a piece of mirth in the poet, the better to shew the ridicule of the contrary opinion. According to your way of talking, says he, poetry is like wine, both ripen with age. Yet it is reasonable to know the precise time, when a work attains perfection. This perfectly exposes the absurd prejudices in favor of antiquity, and introduces naturally the reasoning that follows.

¹⁹ The writer, &c. This is the answer to Horace's question, and begins a dialogue full of pleasantry and mirth. The adversary is insensibly led to see his error, and stumbles upon an absurdity, before he is aware:

²⁰ Bared the horse's tail. The poet had here in view a celebrated story of Sertorius, who, to revive the courage of his army after a defeat, and convince the soldiers, that by degrees they might be able to compass, what it was impossible to effect at once, ordered two horses to be brought before him, the one old and weak, and the other young and strong: then commanded the weaker horse to be given to a man in the bloom of youth and vigor, and the stronger to one old and infirm; and desired of each that he would endeavour to bring away the tail. The young man tugged hard with both his hands, but in vain. The old man in pulling away hair by hair, soon brought away the tail of his young horse.

²¹ Insensibly sinking heap. This way of reasoning is the most dangerous of any, and that against which an adversary finds it the hardest matter in the world to defend himself. Hence Persius, towards the end of his sixth Satire; to signify an impossibility, says;

Inventus, Chrysippe, rui finitor acervi.
"The way has been found, Chrysippus, to answer

Venimus ad summum fortunæ; pingimus, atque
 Psallimus, & luctamur Achivis doctius unctis.
 Si meliora dies, ut vina, poemata reddat;
 Scire velim, chartis pretium quotus arroget annus.
 Scriptor, abhinc annos centum qui decidit, inter 36
 Perfectos veteresque referri debet, an inter
 Viles atque novos? Excludat jurgia finis.
 R. Est vetus atque probus, centum qui perficit annos.
 H. Quid? qui deperiit minor uno mense vel anno;
 Inter quos referendus erit? veteresne poetas, 41
 An quos & præsens & postera respuet ætas?
 R. Ille quidem veteres inter ponetur honestè,
 Qui vel mense brevi vel toto est junior anno.
 H. Utor permissio, caudæque pilos ut equinæ,
 Paulatim vello, & demo unum, demo etiam * unum; 45
 Dum cadat elusus ratione ruentis acervi,
 Qui redit ad † fastos, & virtutem æstimat annis,
 Miraturque nihil, nisi quod Libitina sacravit.
 Ennius & sapiens, & fortis, & alter Homerus, 50
 Ut critici dicunt, leviter curare videtur,
 Quò promissa cadant & somnia Pythagoræa.
 R. Nævius in manibus non est, & mentibus hæret

velo anno. HOR. Utor permissio, velloque paulatim, ut pilos caudæ equinæ, & demo unum, demo etiam unum; dum ille elusus ratione ruentis acervi cadat, qui redit ad fastos, & æstimat virtutem annis, miraturque nihil, nisi quod Libitina sacravit. Ennius & sapiens, & fortis, & ut critici dicunt, alter Homerus, an videtur leviter curare, quò promissa & somnia Pythagoræa cadant? Nævius non est in manibus. ROM. Et hæret penè recens mentibus:

* Et idem, Bentl.

† in, Id.

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"answer your syllogism of the heap." For it is impossible for one to disengage himself from it, when he is once fairly entangled. Cicero, in his Academic Questions, says, it is because nature gives no knowledge of the bounds of things; *Rerum natura nullam nobis cognitionem dedit finium, ut nullā in re statuere possimus quatenus.* I shall not here go about to explain Cicero's reason, which I take to be a very frivolous one. It is enough to observe, that the argument itself is a mere sophism; but that Horace has found the secret to give it weight, by applying it so aptly against the injudicious admiration of antiquity, so prevalent at that time.

22 By the Goddess Libitina. That is, We value only the works of the dead. See what we have said of Libitina, in our notes upon the sixth Satire of Book II.

23 Ennius, who boasted, &c. Ennius & sapiens, & fortis, & alter Homerus. Heinsius gives us a very different reading of this verse, which, as he thinks, ought to run thus: Ennius, & sapiens Euphorbus, & alter Homerus. The epithet sapiens no way belongs to Euphorbus, but agrees very well to Pythagoras.

Horace therefore says, that Ennius, full of the notion of transmigration taught by Pythagoras, boasted of being a wise man, or Pythagoras, a brave man, or Euphorbus, &c. The criticism of Heinsius, therefore, can have no just foundation. Let us open the design and intent of the poet. Horace, after having diverted himself a little at the expense of his adversary, proceeds to prove, by more solid reasons, that the ancient Latin poets fell short of that merit commonly ascribed to them. For instance, Ennius, one of the first in reputation, and who boasted that he had been Pythagoras and Homer, is far from supporting what he says of himself. The critics reproach him, that his verses discredit his doctrine of the metempsychosis, and that we meet with nothing in his works resembling this prince of the Greek poets.

24 Dreams of Pythagoras. Quò promissa cadant & somnia Pythagoræa. Promissa, his boasts, that the soul and genius of Homer had passed into him. Somnia Pythagoræa; the doctrine of the metempsychosis, of which that philosopher was the inventor or restorer.

25 Nævius is now, &c. Nævius in manibus non est.

hilus

ROM. Yet almost all the world has him by heart, as if published but yesterday: so true is it, that every ancient poem is
 55 sacred and venerable. When a dispute arises, whether Accius or Pacuvius²⁶ was the best poet; the last carries away the reputation of learning, the other of the sublime. It is agreed that Afranius²⁷ comes very near up to Menander; that Plautus copies closely²⁸ Epicharmus the Sicilian in hurrying on his plot; that Cæcilius succeeds best in moving the passions, Terence²⁹
 60 in painting life and manners. These are the poets that Rome learns by heart, and runs in crowds to behold in their too confined theatres; these only are they whom they own for poets from the age of Livius Andronicus³⁰ to the present time.

HOR. The people sometimes judge well; at other times they are as much deceived. If they so admire and extol the ancient
 65 poets, as to fancy that nothing exceeds or equals them; they are grossly mistaken. But if they own that in some places they affect too great an air of antiquity, that their expression is for the most part harsh and uncorrect, often low and vulgar; this shews that they have taste, they join with me, and judge fairly³¹. Not
 70 that I would absolutely condemn or extirpate the poems of Livius,

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nibus non est. Horace's design is to correct the too high opinion which the Romans had of their ancient poets, and set bounds to their admiration. It is for this reason, that after observing how far Ennius falls short of his pretensions, he proceeds to speak of Nævius. Nævius, says he, in *manibus non est*. To which the Roman replies,

—*Et mentibus hæret, &c.*

Nobody now reads Nævius. True; but every body has got him by heart, &c. The exact agreement, which this manner of connecting the words has with the sentiments of the person here introduced as a partizan of the ancients, strongly confirms the present explication. In any other way, the difficulties are still greater.

²⁶ Accius or Pacuvius. *Aufert Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti.* Not to mention the several ridiculous interpretations of this verse, I shall be satisfied with observing that our poet's adversary means simply, that according to the judgment of the critics, Pacuvius was learned, Accius sublime: and this is agreeable to what Quintilian says in the first Chapter of his 10th Book. *Tragediæ scriptores Accius atque Pacuvius clarissimi, gravitate sententiarum, verborum pondere, & auctoritate personarum: ceterum nitor, & summa in excolendis operibus manus, magis videri potest temporibus quam ipsis defuisse. Virum autem Accio plus tribuitur; Pacuvium videri*

doctiorem, qui esse docti affectant, volunt.

"Among our writers of tragedy Accius and Pacuvius have been esteemed the best, whether we consider the gravity and importance of the sentences, the weight of the expressions, or the dignity of the characters: the want of politeness, and a finishing hand, was more the fault of the times than of the men. It is thought, however, that there was more of strength and fire in the compositions of Accius; and those that affect to pass for learned, find more of learning in Pacuvius." What probably gained Pacuvius this reputation for learning, was his mixing with his works several strokes of natural philosophy.

²⁷ It is agreed that Afranius. *Dicitur Afrani toga convenisse Menandro.* A just and happy expression, to signify the near equality between these two famous poets. *Toga* here refers to the subjects of Afranius's pieces, which were Roman. Hence these comedies came to be called *Togatae*, the *toga* being the proper habit of the Romans. We need not wonder at the praises here given to Afranius; Cicero and Quintilian both join in them.

²⁸ Plautus copies closely, &c. *Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi.* Such as put these verses, &c. into Horace's mouth, have very well seen that they must be taken ironically.

Penè recens: adeò sanctum est vetus omne pœma.

Ambigitur quoties, uter utro sit prior; aufert 55

Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti.

Dicitur Afranî toga convenisse Menandro;

Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi;

Vincere Cæcilius gravitate, Terentius arte.

Hos ediscit, & hos arcto stipata theatro 60

Spestat Roma potens; habet hos numeratque pœtas

Ad nostrum tempus Livî scriptoris ab ævo.

H. Interdum vulgus rectum videt; est ubi peccat.

Si veteres ita miratur laudatque pœtas,

Ut nihil anteferat, nihil illis comparet; errat: 65

Si quædam nimis antiquè, si pleraque durè

Dicere credit* eos, ignavè multa fatetur;

Et sapit, & mecum facit, & Jove judicat æquo.

Non equidem insector, delendaque carmina Livî †

Esse reor, memini quæ plagosum mihi parvo 70

*veteres pœtas, ut anteferat nihil, comparet nihil illis; errat. Si credit eos dicere quædam nimis antiquè, si pleraque durè, si fatetur eos dicere multa ignavè; & sapit, & facit mecum, & judicat Jove æquo. Non equidem insector, reorque carmina Livii, quæ memini plagosum Orbili-
um distare mihi parvo, esse delenda;*

* Cedit, Bentl.

† Lævi, Id.

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ironically. Hence they tell us, that he accuses *Plautus* of jumbling and precipitating his fable. But this is far from being his real character: the way in which I have rendered it seems natural and just. It is not *Horace*, but his adversary that speaks here, who, instead of blaming, gives him great praise, viz. that he never loses sight of his subject, but, without suffering the spectator to weary, marches with bold steps to the unravelling. For that is the proper meaning of *properare*; a word that admirably expresses the particular genius of *Plautus*, whose pieces are full of action. *Horace*, speaking of *Homer*, says, *Semper ad eventum festinat: He hastens always to the event of things.* It might, with the same reason, be said, that he there censures *Homer*, as that here he censures *Plautus*, in saying *properat*, for it is just the same. *Epicharmus* was of Sicily, and a disciple of *Pythagoras*; he lived about the time of *Xerxes*, and *Servius Tullius*. He wrote a great number of comedies, and several treatises of physics in verse. We may judge of his merit by the esteem *Plato* expressed for him, who studied his works with great care. He was banished for speaking disrespectfully of the wife of *Hiero*.

²⁹ *Cæcilius, Terence. Vincere Cæcilius gravitate, Terentius arte.* One cannot enough

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wonder how some commentators come to fancy, that this is spoken in a way of irony of *Terence* and *Cæcilius*, when the judgment passed upon them is every way so just. *Cæcilius* excelled other poets, by the disposition of his subjects, his gravity, the weight of his sentiments, and the turn of his expressions, which were pathetic, and full of fire. *Terence* excelled by art, that is, in painting life and manners. *Varro* had probably this criticism in view, when he says, *In argumentis Cæcilius palmam poscit; in etheis Terentius.* "In the disposition of the fable *Cæcilius* merits the prize; *Terence* "in what regards manners." And in another place; *Ethos nulli alii servare convenit quàm Titinio & Terentio: pathe verò trabeâ & Attilius & Cæcilius facile moverunt.* "The justness of characters has been best preserved by *Titinius* and *Terence*: but to "move the passions was remarkably the "talent of *Attilius* and *Cæcilius*."

³⁰ *Livius Andronicus.* The first among the Romans, who was dignified with the name of poet. His first piece was brought upon the stage in the first year of the hundred and thirty-fifth Olympiad, one year after the first Punic war, and in the year of the city 514.

³¹ Judge fairly. *Et Jove judicat æquo.* A kind of proverb founded upon the supposition,

X

vius, which were so rudely dictated to me in my youth by Orbilius³²; what I wonder at is, that they should be esteemed correct, beautiful, and little removed from perfection: whereas, if here and there you peradventure meet with an apt and well-chosen
75 word, or a few tolerable lines; you are injudiciously led to purchase and admire the whole poem. It raises my indignation to see a work undervalued, not because gross and ungenteel, but because of modern date; and that we demand for the ancients not barely indulgence, but honors and rewards.

If I seem to question, whether the plays of Atta³³ do honor
80 to the saffron-waters and flowers³⁴ that are strewed upon the theatre; the whole tribe of senators almost would exclaim that I was lost to all sense of shame, in daring to censure pieces, dignified by the just action of grave Æsopus, and learned Roscius³⁵: either because they hold nothing good, that has not before had the fortune to please them; or because they think it shameful to submit to the judgment of those who are younger than themselves, and to own that they should forget, in their old
85 age, what they had learnt in their infancy with so much care.

As for him who praises the poem of the Sallii³⁶, and by that would have it believed that he only understands perfectly, what he is equally ignorant of with me³⁷; we are not on that account to fancy him a favorer and admirer of ancient geniuses, but an enemy to the moderns; an evier and detracter from
90 them and their merit.

Had novelty been equally odious to the Greeks as to us; what could

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position, that men derive all their knowledge from God: in consequence whereof, when they judge well, we may say that God is favorable, and the contrary, when they judge ill.

³² Orbilius. Horace had been some time at the school of Orbilius Pupillus, a native of Beneventum, who, in the 50th year of his age, the same wherein Cicero was consul, came to teach at Rome. He is here called *plagius*, because he was remarkably harsh, and whipt his scholars with great severity.

³³ The plays of Atta. Titus Quintus Atta was, like Afranius, *togatarum poëta*; a poet that wrote Roman plays, and died about ten or twelve years before the birth of Virgil. He was called *Atta*, because of a lameness in his feet: for so *Festus*; *Attæ appellatur, qui propter vitium crurum aut pedum plantis insistit, & attingunt magis terram, quam ambulant. Quod cognomen Quintio poëta ad hæsit.* Horace here alludes to this defect of the poet, and by that means presents his reader with an agreeable ridicule.

It is as if he had said, *If I seem to question whether lame Quintius walks secure upon the stage sprinkled with saffron-water, and of consequence very slippery, &c.* Scaliger is the first who takes notice of the fineness of this passage.

³⁴ Saffron-waters and flowers, &c. The ancients covered their theatres with all sorts of flowers; and in the middle of the arena was a concealed pipe, which threw saffron-water in so great abundance, that it run through all parts of the theatre.

³⁵ Just action of grave Æsopus, and learned Roscius. The senators are here treated in a very satirical way, as if they thought a play good because acted by an able comedian. Roscius and Æsopus were the two best actors that had ever appeared in Rome; the one for tragedy, the other for comedy. Horace calls Æsopus, *grave*, because he succeeded admirably in raising the passions; as he had before given the same character of Cæcilius, *Cæcilius gravitate*. Perhaps he spoke his part with gravity and solemnity, a grave pronunciation agreeing best

Orbiliū dictare; sed emendata videri,
Pulchraque, & exactis minimū distantia, miror:
Inter quæ verbum emicuit si fortè decorum, & *
Si versus paulò concinnior unus & alter;
Injustè totum ducit venditque † poëma.

Indignor quidquam reprehendi, non quia crasse
Compositum illepidè putetur, sed quia nuper;
Nec veniam antiquis, sed honorem & præmia posci.

Rectè necne crocum floresque perambulet Attæ
Fabula, si dubitem; clament periisse pudorem 80

Cuncti penè patres, ea cū reprehendere coner,
Quæ gravis Æsopus, quæ doctus Roscius egit:
Vel quia nil rectum, nisi quod placuit sibi, ducunt;

Vel quia turpe putant parere minoribus, &, quæ
Imberbes ‡ didicere, senes perdenda fateri.

Jam Saliare Numæ carmen qui laudat, & illud,
Quod mecum ignorat, solus vult scire videri;

Ingeniis non ille favet plauditque sepultis,
Nostra sed impugnat; nos nostraque lividus odit.

Quod si tam Græcis || novitas invisâ fuisset,

putant turpe parere minoribus, & senes fateri ea perdenda esse, quæ didicere imberbes. Qui
jam laudat carmen Saliare Numæ, & vult solus videri scire illud, quod ignorat æquè mecum;
ille non favet plauditque ingeniis sepultis, sed impugnat nostra ingenia; lividus odit nos nostraque
scripta. Quod si novitas fuisset tam invisâ Græcis,

* & omitt. Bentl.

† venitque, Id.

‡ Imberbi, Id.

|| Graiis, Id.

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best with tragedy. Quintilian leads the way to this explication, when, in the 3d Chapter of his Xith Book, he says, *Plūs autem affectūs habent lentiora: ideoque Roscius citatior, Æsopus gravior fuit; quod ille comedias, hic tragedias egit.* "We are most

affected with what is pronounced slowly: "Hence it was that the pronunciation of "Roscius was quick, that of Æsopus grave; "for the first acted in comedy, the other "in tragedy." Roscius on the other hand is called *learned*, because he had a perfect knowledge of whatever could please, and

gave a marvellous grace to all his gestures and motions. He also wrote a book full of erudition upon the eloquence of the theatre. But nothing gives us a higher opinion of the merit of Roscius than his probity. Cicero, in his Oration for Quintius, gives him the finest character in a few words: *Quum artifex ejusmodi sit, ut solus dignus videatur esse qui in scenâ spectetur; tum vir ejusmodi est, ut solus dignus videatur qui eō non accedat.*

"He has that skill in action, as to seem "alone worthy to appear upon the stage;

"and at the same time a man of that

"probity, as of all others he ought to be "farthest removed from that profession." Nay he goes farther, he says his skill was such as ought to have exempted him from the law imposed upon all mankind, that of death. *Propter excellentem artem ac venustatem videbatur omnino mori non debuisse.* It was with him that Cicero often made trial, which was capable to express the same sentiment in the greatest variety of ways; the orator by diversifying his expression, or the comedian by varying his action.

36 *Poem of the Salii.* Numa instituted to the honor of Mars twelve priests, whom he called Salii, and composed a form of prayer for them, to be sung in their solemn processions. This is what Horace calls here *carmen Saliare.*

37 *What he is equally ignorant of with me.* Cicero owns, that in several places he could not understand the poem of the Salii; and Varro, before him, writes, that Ælius Stilo, one of the most knowing men of his time, who had writ a large commentary upon that poem, had left a great many

could have been ancient at this day? what works would there be, to engage the study and attention of the several members of the state.

When Greece delivered from foreign and domestic wars began to seek out amusements for her days of tranquillity, and amidst a run of good fortune sink into vice; she was sometimes seized with an extravagant passion for wrestlers, sometimes
 95 for horses; now fond of works in ivory, brass, and marble; anon gave her whole attention and admiration to a fine picture; at one time fond of music, and again enchanted with theatrical shows³⁸; like an infant sporting in its nurse's lap, in a moment
 100 disgusted with what very lately charmed it beyond measure. What is it, that men can love or hate unchangeably? All this was the effect of peace, and a long run of prosperity.

At Rome it was long a pleasure and settled practice, to open the door by day-break to clients, to explain to them the difficult points in law, to inquire out the best securities for their
 105 money³⁹, to hear with respect the counsels of the old men, and instruct the youth how to better their fortunes, and avoid painful avarice. The giddy croud has changed its mind, and its whole passion is now for poetry: young and old, not excepting the most rigid senators, sit at table, their heads being crowned
 110 with garlands, and dictate verses. Even I, who have often given out that I would write no more, am found more deceitful than the cunning Parthians⁴⁰; for, every morning awake before sun-rise, I demand my pen, paper, and standish. A man quite a stranger to sea-affairs will never undertake to conduct a ship: no man dares to prescribe medicines⁴¹, that has not made that art his
 115 particular study: physicians promise what comes within their skill; and artificers mind only their own craft: but as for us learned and unlearned, we all busy ourselves in writing of poems. Yet this irregularity, and whimsical kind of madness, how many virtues is it attended with? Seldom or never will you find a poet covetous; his head is full of nothing but verses, he thinks of this
 120 only; loss of estate, flight of servants, his house on fire, nothing

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passages obscure and untouched. Hence Quintilian says of it: *Saliaria carmina vix sacerdotibus suis satis intelligenda.* "The verses of the *Salii* scarcely understood by the priests themselves."

³⁸ Music, theatrical shows. *Nunc tibicinibus, nunc est gavisus tragædis.* This passage has been differently explained. Some think that Horace speaks here of the earliest times of Greece, when as yet there was no difference settled between tragedy and comedy, and wherein all dramatic imita-

tions went under the name of tragedy. According to this notion, *tibicinibus* and *tragædis* are taken as I have rendered them. Others again contended that *tibicines*, players on the flute, are here put for comedians, because the flute was the music of comedy, as appears from the titles of Terence's plays, which are all taken from the Greek.

³⁹ To inquire out the best securities for their Money, *Cautos nominibus certis expendere nummos.* *Cautos nummos*; money well secured, and given out by the advice of the ablest

Quàm nobis; quid nunc esset vetus? aut quid haberet,
Quod legeret tereretque viritim publicus usus?

Ut primum positis nugari Græcia bellis
Cœpit, & in vitium fortunâ labier æquâ;

Nunc athletarum studiis, nunc arsit equorum;

Marmoris, aut eboris fabros, aut æris amavit;

Suspendit pictâ vultum mentemque tabellâ;

Nunc tibicinibus, nunc est gâvisa tragœdis;

Sub nutrice puella velut si luderet infans,

Quod cupidè petiit, maturè plena reliquit.

Quid placet, aut odio est, quod non mutabile credas?

Hoc paces habuere bonæ, ventique secundi.

Romæ dulce diu fuit & solenne, reclusâ

Manè domo vigilare, clienti promere jura,

Cautos * nominibus certis † expendere nummos,

Majores audire, minori dicere per quæ

Crescere res posset, minui damnosa libido.

Mutavit mentem populus levis, & calet uno

Scribendi studio: pueri ‡ patresque severi

Fronde comas vincti cœnant, & carmina dictant.

Ipse ego, qui nullos me affirmo scribere versus,

Invenior Parthis mendacior; & prius orto

Sole, vigil calamum, & chartas, & scrinia posco.

Navem agere ignarus navis timet: abrotonum ægro

Non audet, nisi qui didicit, dare: quod medicorum est,

Promittunt medici: tractant fabrilia fabri:

Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.

Hic error tamen, & levis hæc insania quantas

Virtutes habeat, sic collige: vatis avarus

Non temerè est animus; versus amat, hoc studet
unum;

scribere nullos versus, invenior mendacior Parthis; & vigil prius orto sole, posco calamum, & chartas, & scrinia. Ignarus navis timet agere navem: nemo, nisi qui didicit, audet dare abrotonum ægro: medici promittunt, quod medicorum est: fabri tractant fabrilia: sed docti indoctique scribimus poemata passim. Hic tamen error, & hæc levis insania, sic collige, quantas habeat virtutes: animus vatis non est temerè avarus; amat versus, studet hoc unum;

* Scriptos, Bentl.

† rectis, Id.

‡ puerique, Id.

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ablest lawyers. Certis nominibus; good debtors, whose payment is sure. Cicero calls them *bona nomina*.

40 More deceitful than the cunning Parthians. The Romans had learned, to their cost, not to trust the Parthians, whose flight was often more dangerous than a pitched battle; because, under this disguise, they often imposed upon the enemy, made them break their ranks, and then, when

they least apprehended it, turned suddenly upon them. This fully clears up Horace's meaning, when he says, that he was found more deceitful than the Parthians. For although the manner of the Parthians was a real stratagem of war, yet might it very properly be called a deceit. We overlook in a poet, what would be unpardonable in an historian.

41 To prescribe medicines. Abrotonum, the

thing of this kind affects him; he neither meditates to deceive his friend, or defraud the pupil intrusted to his care; he lives upon brown bread, and husks of pease⁴²; and although averse and unfit for war, yet useful to the commonwealth⁴³. If you
 125 will allow, that small things may be sometimes serviceable to great: the poet fashions the yet imperfect accents⁴⁴ of children; he raises in them an aversion to sordid filthy discourse; by and by he forms their tender minds to virtue by his friendly precepts, and banishes from their breasts rudeness, envy, and anger:
 130 he celebrates brave and noble actions; instructs ages to come by the most illustrious examples; and soothes the cares of the poor and distressed. Where would our young virgins and boys be furnished with sacred hymns, if the Muses had not provided a poet? The chorus implores the assistance of heaven, and the
 135 Gods favorably hear; it begs in tender accents for rain⁴⁵; averts diseases, and threatening dangers; and blesses us with peace and plenty⁴⁶. In a word, it is by poetry that both the heavenly and infernal Gods⁴⁷ are soonest appeased.

Our ancient peasants⁴⁸, men of a robust habit, and happy
 140 with a little, after the ingathering of their harvest, spent that time of festivity in refreshing both body and mind, that cannot support fatigue but in the hopes of seeing it at an end; assembled with their family and friends, that had met together to assist them in their labors, they offered a sow to the Earth, and adored Silvanus with libations of milk⁴⁹; they presented flowers and wine to the Genius, who reminds us⁵⁰ always of the shortness of life.

From

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the word in the original, signifies properly *southernwood*, a plant with a yellow flower, strong smell, and bitter to the taste. It was of great use in medicine.

42 *Brown bread, and husks of pease.* *Vitit siliquis, & pane secundo.* *Siliqua*, according to *Pliny*, is a kind of fruit like a chestnut, but with this difference, it was eaten always with the rind. But *siliqua* signifies also the husks of pulse, and often pulse themselves. It is in this sense we are to take it here as in *Persius*, when speaking of a youth spent in study and frugality, he says, *Siliquis & grandi pasta polenta*. *Panis secundus*, was the same among the Romans, as *brown bread* with us.

43 *Useful to the commonwealth.* Poetry is an art invented for the instruction of men, and consequently useful in society. *Horace*, elsewhere, speaking of the prince of poets, says,

Qui, quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Plenus ac melius Chrysisso & Crantore dicit.

44 *The yet imperfect accents.* *Horace* enumerates here the advantages that flow from poetry. It fashions the imperfect accents of the child; for children are first taught to read the works of the poets, they get their sentences by heart, and thereby learn to pronounce with exactness and propriety. *Torquet ab obscenis*; he presents him only with pure ideas, and creates a dislike of the contrary, and so of the rest.

45 *It begins in tender accents for rain.* In times of great drought, to avert the wrath of heaven, and obtain rain, solemn sacrifices were offered, called *Aquilicia*: the people were obliged to join in a procession barefooted; the chorus of boys and girls sung hymns, and to render the Gods more propitious, they rolled through the streets and public ways a fatal stone, which was near the temple of *Mars* without the *Porta Capena*, and called *Lapis manalis* from its virtue of drawing down rain. So *Varro*. *Manalis lapis appellatur in pontificalibus sacris, qui tunc movetur, cum pluviae exoptantur.*

46 *Plenty*

Detrimenta, fugas servorum, incendia ridet;
Non fraudem socio, puerove incogitat ullam
Pupillo; vivit filiquis, & pane secundo;
Militiæ quanquam piger & malus, utilis urbi.
Si das hoc, parvis quoque rebus magna juvari: 125
Os tenerum pueri balbumque poëta figurat;
Torquet ab obscœnis jam nunc sermonibus aurem;
Mox etiam pectus præceptis format amicis,
Asperitatis, & invidiæ corrector, & iræ:
Rectè facta refert; orientia tempora notis 130
Instruit exemplis; inopem solatur & ægrum.
Castis cum pueris ignara puella mariti
Disceret unde præces, vatem ni Musa dedisset?
Poscit opem chorus, & præsentia numina sentit;
Cœlestes implorat aquas doctâ prece blandus; 135
Avertit morbos, metuenda pericula pellit;
Impetrat & pacem, & locupletem frugibus annum.
Carmine Dî superi placantur, carmine Manes.

Agricolæ prisca, fortes, parvoque beati,
Condita post frumenta, levantes tempore festo 140
Corpus, & ipsum animum spe finis dura ferentem,
Cum sociis operum, & pueris, & conjuge fidâ,
Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant,
Floribus & vino Genium, memorem brevis ævi.

ridet detrimenta, fugas
servorum, incendia;
non incogitat ullam
fraudem socio, puerove
pupillo; vivit filiquis,
& secundo pane; quan-
quam piger & malus
militiæ, utilis tamen
urbi. Si das hoc,
magna quæque juvari
posse rebus parvis;
poëta figurat os tene-
rum balbumque pueri;
jam nunc torquet au-
rem ab obscœnis ser-
monibus; mox etiam
format pectus præcep-
tis amicis, corrector
asperitatis, & invidiæ,
& iræ: refert facta
rectè; instruit tempora
orientia exemplis notis;
solatur inopem & æ-
grum. Unde puella
ignara mariti cum
castis pueris disceret
præces, ni Musa de-
disset vatem? Chorus
poscit opem, & sentit
numina præsentia;
blandus doctâ prece im-
plorat aquas cœlestes;

avertit morbos, pellit metuenda pericula; impetrat & pacem, & annum locupletem frugibus. Dî
superi placantur carmine, Manes placantur carmine. Prisca agricolæ, fortes, beatique parvo,
levantes corpus, & animum ipsum ferentem dura spe finis, tempore festo post frumenta condita, cum
sociis operum, & pueris, & fidâ conjuge, piabant Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte, Genium, memo-
rem brevis ævi, floribus & vino.

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46 Plenty. Locupletem frugibus annum.
For in times of famine and want, prayers
were put up to obtain the favor of heaven.
Plenty was also a part of the petition in the
Secular Poem:

*Fertilis frugum pecorisque tellus
Spiceâ donci Cererem coronâ:
Nutriant fœtus & aquæ salubres,
Et Jovis auræ.*

47 Heavenly and infernal Gods, &c. Car-
mine Dî superi placantur, carmine Manes.
Manes here are opposed to Dî superi. Manes
were properly the spirits of men, or the
souls of the wicked. Hence Pluto is some-
times called rex Manium, i. e. king of the
dead. Horace says, that poetry was of use
in appeasing the Manes, because sacrifices
were offered, and hymns sung in their ho-
nor; for they were accounted Gods, and
believed to be capable of doing mischief, if
no worship was paid them.

48 Our ancient peasants. Horace here goes
on to prove that poetry is the daughter of

religion, and sprung from those assemblies,
which the first men, being all shepherds and
laborers, after the ingathering of the fruits
of the earth, made in honor of the Gods,
to thank them for their bounty, and make
them an offer of the first-fruits. It is re-
markable too, that as nature is almost every
where the same, poetry had the same ori-
ginal in Greece as afterwards in Italy.

49 Adored Silvanus with libations of
milk. The God Silvanus occurs more than
once in Horace. The offerings made to him
were according to the season, and according
to the need they stood in of his assistance.
When they prayed for a blessing upon their
grain, they made him an offering of ears of
corn; if upon their vintage, of grapes;
if upon their flocks, of milk.

50 Genius who reminds us. It was an
agreeable and happy notion of these first
men, to make a God of their own proper
genius, whom they were bound to honor
and appease with feasts and sacrifices.

145 From these country-sports sprung first the licentious Fescennine rhimes⁵¹, in which these rustics lashed one another with great keenness: this liberty, which was always renewed with the returning year, for some time diverted them agreeably; until at length these bitter jests, degenerating into open abuse, attacked with impunity the worthiest families. They who felt the bloody
150 bite complained loudly; and even those who escaped could not avoid some concern for the common cause: in fine, laws were enacted and penalties decreed against such, as wounded the reputation of another by defamatory verses. Fear of punishment made them change their tone⁵², and they aimed in their com-
155 positions to please and instruct⁵³.

Greece, subdued by the valor of the Romans, triumphed over the stern conqueror, and introduced a taste of the politer arts among the rustic Latins: thus the harsh numbers⁵⁴ of the Saturnian verses were soon banished, and chastity and correctness drove away the deadly venom: yet the change was not so entire, but that the marks of this rusticity⁵⁵ remained for a long
160 time after, and may still in some measure be observed even at this day. For it was not till late that the Romans applied to study the writings of the Greeks; and, enjoying a little calm after the first Punic war, were curious to see, what profit might be

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These sacrifices were not lost, they enjoyed the recompence at the very time of offering them. They were commonly of flowers, cakes, and wine: no blood was shed, because it appeared unnatural to sacrifice beasts to a God who presides over life, and was worshipped as the grand enemy of death. *Memorem brevis ævi*, may be here added as a reason for this worship. He knew that life was short, and of consequence, a season so precious ought not to be lost. The thought of death gave these men no disturbance, they could view him in the midst of their pleasures, and make use of him as an incitement to joy.

⁵¹ *Fescennine rhimes*. *Fescennium* was a city of *Tuscany*. *Servius* places it in *Campania*, but by a mistake. The inhabitants accompanied their feasts and public diversions with rude and buffooning poems. They allowed themselves in great liberties of expression, even beyond what was decent. This is what the poet calls here *Fescennina licentia*. Commentators have raised great disputes here, as imagining the accounts given by *Horace*, *Livy*, and *Valerius Maximus*, contradictory and inconsistent. It would be tedious to transcribe what has been said by the different sticklers for one or other, and therefore I shall content myself with

referring the reader to *Dacier* and *Sanadon*, where they will find this point fully handled.

⁵² *Fear of punishment made them change their tone*. This change produced satire, a more finished and correct kind of poetry, full of pleasant raillery, but free of every thing that defamed or wounded deeply. It is remarkable, that as poetry had the same beginnings at *Athens* as afterwards at *Rome*, so the very same accidents happened with respect to its growth and improvement in both places: for the old comedy was forbid at *Athens*, as he tells us afterwards himself in the *Art of Poetry*:

----- Sed in vitium libertas excidit, & vim

Dignam legē regi: lex est accepta, chorus-que

Turpiter obtulit, sublato jure nocendi.

“ But this liberty, by degrees, degenerated into an unbridled licentiousness, that demanded the restraint of the laws: penalties therefore were fixed, and the chorus shamefully ceased, when deprived of the liberty to hurt with impunity.”

⁵³ *To please and instruct*. *Ad benedicendum delectandumque redacti*. Some think that *benedicere* is opposed here to *maledicere*; and that, instead of invectives and raillery, as in former times, the poets were obliged

Fescennina per hunc inventa* licentia morem, 145
 Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit;
 Libertasque recurrentes accepta per annos
 Lusi amabiliter: donec jam sævus apertam
 In rabiem verti cœpit† jocus, & per honestas
 Ire domos impunè minax. Doluere cruento 150
 Dente laceffiti; fuit intactis quoque cura
 Conditione super communi: quin etiam lex
 Pœnaque lata, malo quæ nollet carmine quemquam
 Describi. Vertère modum, formidine fustis
 Ad benè dicendum delectandumque redacti. 155

Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, & artes
 Intulit agresti Latio: sic horridus ille
 Defluxit numerus Saturnius, & grave virus
 Munditiæ pepulere: sed in longum tamen ævum
 Manserunt, hodieque manent, vestigia ruris. 160
 Serus enim Græcis admovit acumina chartis;
 Et, post Punica bella quietus, quærere cœpit,

orem, & intulit artes agresti Latio: sic horridus ille numerus Saturnius defluxit, & munditiæ pepulere grave virus: sed tamen vestigia ruris manserunt in longum ævum, manetque hodie. Romanus enim serus admovit acumina Græcis chartis; & quietus post bella Punica, cœpit quærere,

* Inventa, Benth.

† cœpit verti, Id.

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to fill their works with praises. But it would be a hard matter to make this appear with any degree of evidence; for it is certain that satire, which succeeded to the *Fescennine* rhymes, had nothing of flattery in it, which did not insinuate itself till long after in the new comedy. *Benedicere* seems rather here to be a religious word, implying that the poets were now confined to return thanks to the Gods, or divert the people with innocent railleries; or we may suppose that *benedicere* is to be explained as if it were *dicere benè*, and regards the style and manner in handling these moral subjects. According to this supposition, *Horace* had in view the two principal ends of that kind of poetry, *pleasure* and *instruction*; for these two are the sole intention of dramatic poetry.

54 *The harsh numbers, &c.* Sic horridus ille defluxit numerus Saturnius. These *Fescennine* verses were called also *Saturnian*, referring to their antiquity, as if they had been first invented when *Saturn* reigned in Italy.

55 *Marks of this rusticity.* This, at first sight, presents us with a simple and very obvious meaning, that even among the poets of the *Augustan* age, their thoughts and expressions retained something of the ancient rusticity. But *Dacier* is far from being

satisfied with this: he cannot imagine how *Horace* could say that this poison of rusticity was not yet quite banished, when there had already appeared a *Terence*, a *Lucretius*, a *Virgil*, an *Ovid*, a *Catullus*, *Tibullus*, and *Varius*. He thinks that this passage stands as much in need of being fully cleared as any in *Horace*, and endeavours it in the following manner. Satire, as has been before observed, succeeded to the grosser *Fescennine* rhymes; yet it still retained a great deal of their raillery and pleasantry, rejecting only what was scandalous and indecent. About two hundred years after the rise of this kind of satire, *Livius Andronicus* endeavoured to bring in regular comedies after the manner of the *Greeks*: and this new diversion appearing more noble and perfect, the whole city ran in crowds to it, and satire came to be neglected. This contempt of satire continued, while the poets themselves acted their pieces; but when they came to give them to companies of comedians, the *Roman* youth, who loved works of humor, brought satires again upon the stage, which at first were played between the acts, but afterwards at the end of the representation, in the manner of our pantomime-entertainments. After some time they changed the name of satire into that of *Exodia*. Thus much

be had from reading Sophocles, Thespis, and Æschylus ⁵⁶. They essayed moreover, to translate some of their pieces with dignity; and had no reason to be displeased with the attempt; for the
 165 Romans are naturally of a lofty and daring genius: they breathe much the spirit of tragedy, and are often happy in their flights; but they think blots scandalous ⁵⁷, and are ashamed to dash out.

Many are apt to think ⁵⁸ that comedy, because its characters are generally taken from low life, is a matter of but little labor; but it is a work of by so much the greater toil, as it has less reason to hope a pardon for its faults. Reflect only upon
 170 Plautus ⁵⁹, how ill he has succeeded in the characters of a passionate lover, a covetous father, or a cunning pimp. How do we reproach Dossennus ⁶⁰, that his pieces are filled with nothing but parasites? What negligence ⁶¹ appears in his fable and characters? For his chief design in writing was to replenish
 175 his bags; which once attained, he minded little whether his plays were approved or rejected. The poet, whom glory has hurried upon the stage in her fluctuating chariot, is discouraged by an indolent spectator, but revives upon perceiving him attentive: so light and trifling a business is sufficient to raise or pull down a
 180 mind greedy of praise. Farewel for ever to plays, if applause, given or denied, be able to make me either fat or lean. An-
 other

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much we learn from the seventh Book of Livy. *Postquam lege hac fabularum ab risu ac soluto joco res avocabatur, & ludus paulatim in artem verterat, juvenutis, histrionibus fabellarum actu relicto, ipsa inter se more antiquo ridicula intexta versibus jactitare cepit; quæ inde Exodia postea appellata, consertaque fabellis potissimum Atellanis sunt.* "The too free and licentious jokes of former times being banished by the introduction of more regular pieces and art, by degrees, polishing these new entertainments, the Roman youth left the acting of them to the professed comedians, and resumed themselves the old custom of satires; which from this time were known by the name of *Exodia, Farces*." These *exodia* were in use not only in our poet's days, but long after. When Horace therefore says, that some marks of rusticity remained even at that time; he means these *exodia*, or *farces*, which still bore marks of the grossness of their origin, and gives us to understand that the custom displeased him. This remark is somewhat long; but, as it was of moment to clear up a sensible difficulty, it would have been an injury to the reader not to transcribe it at large.

⁵⁶ Sophocles, Thespis, and Æschylus. Thespis flourished in the time of Solon, six hundred years before the birth of Christ.

At his appearance, tragedy was only in its infancy: he improved it considerably, and made several useful alterations. Æschylus came about six and twenty years after Thespis; and Sophocles towards the latter part of the life of Æschylus. These two last carried tragedy to its highest perfection.

⁵⁷ Think blots scandalous. There is nothing that Horace recommends with greater earnestness, than a readiness to deface and dash out. He speaks of it expressly in the last Satire of his first Book, as a qualification absolutely necessary to make a good writer. Quintilian is of the same opinion with our poet: he says, that correction is the most useful part of study; and that we improve no less when we efface, than when we write: *Emendatio pars studiorum utilissima; neque enim sine causa creditum est, stylum non minus agere cum delet.*

⁵⁸ Many are apt to think. *Creditur, ex medio quia res arcessit.* After speaking of tragedy, he enters upon comedy. As the subjects are common, and taken from ordinary life, the generality are apt to think that it is easy to succeed in it. Horace is of a different opinion, and thinks it by so much the more difficult, as there is less reason to hope for pardon in case of a failure. In tragedy, the grandeur of the subject not
 oply

Quid Sophocles, & Thespis, & Æschylus utile ferrent.

Tentavit quoque, rem si dignè vertere posset;
Et placuit sibi, naturâ sublimis & acer:

Nam spirat tragicum satis, & feliciter audet;
Sed turpem putat in scriptis* metuitque lituram.

Creditur, ex medio quia res arcessit, habere
Sudoris minimum; sed habet comœdia tanto
Plus oneris, quanto veniæ minus. Aspice, Plautus

Quo pacto partes tutetur amantis ephebi,

Ut patris attenti, lenonis ut insidiosi:

Quantus sit Dossennus edacibus in parasitis;

Quàm non astricco percurrat pulpita socco:

Gessit enim nummum in loculos demittere; post hoc

Securus, cadat, an recto stet fabula talo.

Quem tulit ad scenam ventoso gloria curru,
Exanimat lentus spectator, sedulus inflat:

Sic leve, sic parvum est, animum quod laudis avarum

Subruit aut † reficit. Valeat res ludicra, si me

Palma negata macrum, donata reducit opimum.

securus post hoc, an fabula cadat, an stet recto talo. Lentus spectator exanimat, sedulus inflat illum, quem gloria tulit ventoso curru ad scenam: sic est leve, sic parvum, quod subruit aut reficit animum avarum laudis. Res ludicra valeat, si palma negata reducit me macrum, donata opimum.

* insecutus, Bentl.

† ac, Id.

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only supports and elevates the poet, but also attaches the spectator, and leaves him no time for malicious remarks. It is otherwise in comedy, which engages only by the justness of sentiments and characters.

59 *Reflect only upon Plautus.* It is a dispute among commentators, whether *Horace* here praises or censures *Plautus*. The best way is to examine the characters and plays of *Plautus*, and see which side these incline us to. It is certain that *Plautus*, who succeeded so well in the intriguing part, and always pleased and surprised by his vivacity, was often unhappy in his characters. One or two instances will set this matter in a just light. In the play called *Pseudolus*, which *Cato*, in *Cicero*, mentions as a finished piece, that perfectly pleased the author, we find the three characters which *Horace* names here, very ill maintained by the poet. *Caliodorus* is a young lover, but his character is so cold and lifeless, that it scarcely deserves the name. His father *Simo* does as little to support the character of *patris attenti*: for he encourages his slave to deceive him, promises even a recompence, and engages to pay him a round sum, if he can over-reach

the merchant of the slaves, and put into the hands of his son the girl he is enamoured with. More examples of this kind might be given; look into his *Rudens*, and you will find the same remarks may be made.

60 *Dossennus.* After *Plautus* he mentions *Dossennus*, another celebrated comic poet, whose plays were so barren of characters, that he was obliged to fill them with parasites; a character the easiest to the poet, and most to the taste of the people. When we meet with a poet so remarkably attached to any particular character, it is a sure sign that he wants a genius to vary and diversify them. It was for this reason that *Aristophanes* told the *Athenians*, he did not seek to impose upon them by presenting the same thing twice or thrice, only a little disguised; on the contrary, he produced always new subjects, yea, even such as had not a resemblance of each other, and yet were all equally beautiful: whereas other poets entertained them only with *Hyperbolus* and his mother. This reproach is the same with that of our poet to *Dossennus*.

61 *What negligence, &c. Quàm non astricco percurrat pulpita socco.* As a man walks with

quid Sophocles, & Thespis, & Æschylus ferrent utile. Tentavit quoque, si posset vertere rem dignè; & placuit sibi, sublimis & acer naturâ: nam satis spirat tragicum, & audet feliciter; sed putat lituram turpem in scriptis, metuitque. Comœdia, quia arcessit res ex medio, creditur habere minimum sudoris; sed habet tanto plus oneris, quanto minus veniæ. Aspice, quo pacto Plautus tutetur partes amantis ephebi, ut partes attenti patris, ut insidiosi lenonis: aspice, quantus sit Dossennus in edacibus parasitis; quàm percurrat pulpita socco non astricco: gessit enim demittere nummum in loculos;

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other thing that alarms the most enterprising poets, and obliges them often to quit the stage, is, that the people, who make the more numerous part of the audience, but are inferior in virtue and honor, ignorant, brutal, and always ready to come to blows
 185 with the knights, if they oppose their caprices, will sometimes in the very middle of a play demand the sight of bear-baiting or wrestling: for these are the favorite diversions of the mob. Nay, even the knights themselves have now given into the same taste; they have left the pleasures of the ear for those of the eye, being vain and unsettled. The curtain falls ⁶², and the play stands still for four hours together; mean time, we are entertained
 190 with a confused flight of horse and foot: kings by a fatal reverse of fortune are led captive with their hands tied behind them: anon, chariots, chaises, carriages, ships, all in a hurry and confusion: the procession closes with a representation of Corinth led captive in ivory. Were Democritus now alive, how
 195 would he laugh, to see an animal partly a camel and partly a leopard; or a white elephant engage the whole attention of the populace? He would be more diverted with the behaviour of the croud than the shows themselves, as affording a spectacle every way more entertaining: and as for the poets, he would think them very indifferently employed in thus telling a story to a deaf ass.
 200 For what strength of voice is able to surmount the tumult and noise of our theatres? You would think you heard the noise of the forests of Garganus, or the sounding of the Tuscan shore; so great is the clamor in beholding the public shows, the decorations, and foreign riches that adorn our actors; who no sooner appear upon the stage, than the people fall to clapping
 205 them in token of admiration. Has he said any thing as yet? might a stranger ask. Nothing at all. What is it then you admire so much? A purple robe of Tarentum not inferior to the brightest violets. But that you may not ⁶³ think I praise with malicious reserve a manner of writing, at which I never aimed, though others have acquitted themselves therein with success; that poet appears

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with much more ease, when his shoes sit neat and well upon his feet, than when they are loose; Horace, to mark *Doffennus's* negligence in his compositions, tells us, that he run hastily over the stage with his shoes untied. The *soccus* was peculiar to the actors of comedy, the *cothurnus* to the tragedians. *Ausonius* imitates this expression, when he says of Terence,

—*Et astricto percurrit pulpita socco.*

⁶² The curtain falls, &c. *Quatuor aut plures aulæa*. *Aulæa* was the curtain that concealed the theatre from the spectators till the actors appeared. To prevent mis-

takes here, it will be necessary to remark, that the method followed on the Roman stages was the very reverse of that in use with us. For, instead of drawing up the curtain to discover the stage and actors, according to the present practice, the Romans let it fall down upon the theatre; and when the play was over, or between the acts, they drew it up, whereas we let it fall. Thus *premere aulæa* was when they let fall the curtain to begin; and *tollere aulæa* to draw it up after all was over. Horace therefore means, that often in the midst of a comedy, the play itself was interrupted for four hours together,

Sæpè etiam audacem fugat hoc terretque poëtam,
 Quòd numero plures, virtute & honore minores,
 Indocti, stolidique, & depugnare parati,
 Si discordet eques, media inter carmina poscunt 185
 Aut ursum aut pugiles : his nam plebecula gaudet.
 Verùm equitis * quoque jam migravit ab aure vo-
 luptas

Omnis ad incertos † oculos, & gaudia vana.
 Quatuor aut plures aulæa premuntur in horas ;
 Dum fugiunt equitum turmæ, peditumque catervæ :
 Mox trahitur manibus regum fortuna retortis : 191
 Effeda festinant, pilenta, petorrita, naves :
 Captivum portatur ebur, captiva Corinthus.
 Si foret in terris, rideret Democritus ; seu
 Diversum confusa genus panthera camelo,
 Sive elephas albus vulgi converteret ‡ ora :
 Spectaret populum ludis attentius ipsis,
 Ut sibi præbentem mimo spectacula plura :
 Scriptores autem narrare putaret asello
 Fabellam furdo. Nam quæ pervincere voces 200
 Evaluere sonum, referunt quem nostra theatra ?
 Garganum mugire putes nemus, aut mare Tuscum ;
 Tanto cum strepitu ludi spectantur, & artes,
 Divitiæque peregrinæ ; quibus oblitus actor
 Cùm stetit in scenâ, concurrat dextera lævæ. 205
 Dixit adhuc aliquid ? Nil fanè. Quid placet ergo ?
 Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.

Ac ne fortè putes me, quæ facere ipse recusem,
 Cùm rectè tractent alii, laudare malignè ;

Jurdo. Nam quæ voces evaluere pervincere sonum, quem nostra theatra referunt ? Putes nemus Garganum, aut mare Tuscum mugire ; ludi, & artes, divitiæque peregrinæ spectantur cum tanto strepitu ; quibus divitiis cùm actor oblitus stetit in scenâ, dextera concurrat lævæ. An adhuc dixit aliquid ? Sanè nil. Ergo quid placet ? Lana imitata violas Tarentino veneno. Ac ne fortè putes me laudare malignè illa, quæ ego ipse recusem facere, cùm alii tractent rectè ;

* Equiti, Bentl.

† ingratos, Id.

‡ converterit, Id.

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together, and the scenè opened to discover that Horace meant to express something more : a triumph, or some pompous procession, to draw the eyes and attention of the audience. The poet mentions this as an evidence of the ill taste complained of, viz. that the Romans were more struck with show and appearance, than the real beauty of sentiments and characters.

63 But that you may not, &c. Horace adds this, to hinder Augustus from entertaining any suspicion that he was moved by envy in what he said. *Laudare malignè*, the expression, in the original, may signify to praise sparingly, or with reserve ; but it is probable

that Horace meant to express something more : a seeming praise, which at the same time carried something along with it that tended to depreciate and defame ; what we properly mean by a malicious praise. For it is precisely thus that he praises those who wrote for the stage, in telling us, that they succeeded in sublime and lofty sentiments ; but dreaded blots, and were ashamed to dash out : when he exposes some of their most considerable defects, and presents to the reader all the disgusts and obstacles they have to surmount, all the affronts they must patiently bear in that low miserable way of trade.

210 appears to me a master in his way⁶⁴, and capable of every thing, who can fill my breast with a thousand pains; who, like a magician, can enrage, compose, and alarm with false terrors; place me at Thebes, Athens, or when and where he pleases.

Yet not these alone, great prince, deserve your favor; think
215 too of the author⁶⁵, who chooses rather to rely on his reader's sense, than expose himself to the contempt of an insolent spectator: this is a necessary step, if you mean to fill your library with books really valuable, and make up a collection worthy of Apollo to whom you have dedicated it; if you would raise an emulation among poets, or make them redouble their efforts to mount the summits of ever-flourishing Parnassus.

We poets, it is true (for why should I not be equally severe
220 upon myself as others), often do ourselves great hurt, in presenting you with our works at a time when you are busy, or fatigued; when we take offence, if a friend finds fault with so much as one line; when undesired we are constantly repeating some favorite passages; when we complain that our care and labor is not sufficiently attended to, or that no praise is given
225 to the fineness and delicacy of our compositions; in fine, when we flatter ourselves, that the moment you hear we have a talent for poetry, you will invite us to be near your person, secure us against poverty, and command us to write.

And yet it is highly proper that you know, what herald is
230 worthy to record a virtue equally approved in peace or war, that it may not suffer by falling into the hands of a bad poet. Alexander the Great was extremely delighted with Chœrilus⁶⁶, a mean versifier, who for a few harsh ill-running lines received a considerable number of pieces, all royal coin. But as ink
235 when spilt leaves a stain behind it; in like manner, a wretched poet disfigures the most shining actions by his paltry rhimes. And yet this same king, who paid so dear for a ridiculous poem, prohibited, by an edict, any other person but Apelles to draw his picture, or any beside Lyfippus to form in brass features resembling
240 those of the brave Alexander. But this great prince, who had so fine and delicate a taste for the politer arts⁶⁷, when he turned his

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64 That poet appears to me a master in his way. *Ille per extensum funem mihi posse videtur.* Naturally, nothing appears more difficult than to walk upon a rope; yet Horace thinks it more difficult to write a good play, and with reason. We meet with a great many who can perform the first with great dexterity; but a good tragic or comic poet scarce appears in a succession of ages.

95 Think too of the author. *Augustus* was a great lover of comedy; he carried his ad-

miration farther than became a prince, and even himself attempted something this way, but was so happy as not to succeed. *Horace* advises him here not to confine his favor entirely to dramatic writers, but to extend it also to authors whose works were designed to entertain in the closet. He at the same time insinuates, with great address, that the best dramatic poems, however they may contribute to render the reign of a prince illustrious, yet add nothing to his particular glory;

Ille per extentum funem mihi posse videtur
Ire poëta, meum qui pectus inaniter angit,
Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet,
Ut magus; & modò me Thebis, modò ponit Athenis.

Verum age, & his, qui se lectori credere malunt,
Quàm spectatoris fastidia ferre superbi,
Curam redde* brevem; si munus Apolline dignum
Vis complere libris, & vatibus addere calcar,
Ut studio majore petant Helicon virentem.

Multa quidem nobis facimus mala sæpè poëtæ
(Ut vineta egomet cædam mea), cum tibi librum
Solicito damus, aut fessò; cum lædimur, unum
Si quis amicorum est ausus reprêndere versum;
Cum loca jam recitata revolvimus irrevocati;
Cum lamentamur non apparere labores
Nostros, & tenui deducta poemata filo;
Cum speramus eò rem venturam, ut simul atque
Carmina rescieris nos fingere, commodus ultrò
Arcessas, & egere vetes, & scribere cogas.
Sed tamen est operæ pretium cognoscere, quales
Ædituos habeat belli spectata domique
Virtus, indigno non committenda poëtæ.
Gratus Alexandro regi Magno fuit ille
Chœrilus, incultis qui versibus & malè natis
Rettulit acceptos, regale numisma, Philippos.
Sed veluti tractata notam labemque remittunt
Atramenta; ferè scriptores carmine fœdo
Splendida facta linunt. Idem rex ille, poema
Qui tam ridiculum tam carè prodigus emit,
Edicto vetuit, ne quis se præter Apellem
Pingeret, aut alius Lysippo duceret † æra
Fortis Alexandri vultum simulantia. Quòd si
Judicium subtile videndis artibus illud

210 ille poëta videtur mihi
posse ire per extentum
funem, qui angit meum
pectus inaniter, irritat,
mucet, implet falsis ter-
roribus, ut magus; &
modò ponit me Thebis,
modò Athenis. Verum
age, & si vis complere
munus dignum Apolline
libris, & addere calcar
vatibus, ut petant He-
licona virentem majore
studio; age, inquam,
& redde brevem cu-
ram bis, qui malunt
credere se lectori, quàm
ferre fastidia specta-
toris superbi. Nos qui-
dem poëtæ sæpè faci-
mus multa mala nobis
(ut egomet cædam mea
vineta), cum damus
librum tibi solicito, aut
fessò; cum lædimur, si
quis amicorum ausus
est reprehendere unum
versum; cum irrevoco-
cati revolvimus loca
jam recitata; cum la-
mentamur nostros la-
bores, & poemata de-
ducta tenui filo non ap-
parere; cum speramus
rem eò venturam, ut
simul atque rescieris nos
fingere carmina, com-
modus ultrò arcessas,
& vetes egere, & cogas
scribere. Sed tamen est
operæ pretium cogno-
scere, quales ædituos
virtus spectata belli
domique, non commit-
tenda indigno poëtæ,

habeat. Ille Chœrilus, qui rettulit Philippos acceptos, numisma regale, versibus incultis & malè natis, fuit gratus Alexandro Magno regi. Sed veluti atramenta tractata remittunt notam labemque; sic scriptores ferè linunt splendida facta fœdo carmine. Ille idem rex, qui prodigus tam carè emit tam ridiculum poema, vetuit edicto, ne quis alius præter Apellem pingeret se, aut alius Lysippo duceret æra simulantia vultum fortis Alexandri. Quòd si vocares illud judicium subtile videndis artibus

* impende, Bentl.

† cuderet, Id.

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glory; whereas the works of other poets the time of Alexander the Great. Aristotle might do both at the same time. and Quintus Curtius agree to the judgment

66 Chœrilus. There were two of this here past upon him by the poet.

name; the one a good, and the other a bad 67 So fine and delicate a taste for the politer poet. Some speak of no less than four. arts. There is something very remarkable H^o, whom Horace speaks of here, lived in in the judgment which Horace here passes upon

his thoughts to books, and these gifts of the Muses; you would have sworn that he had breathed the thick and foggy air of Bœotia⁶⁸. But you, my prince, will never have cause to blush
 245 at the choice you have made of Varius and Virgil, or of your bounty to them, and the esteem wherewith you have honored them. Nor are the features of the face more distinctly expressed in statues of brass, than the lineaments and virtues of the mind in the works of a poet. Nor would I rather busy my-
 250 self in the low and creeping numbers of satire, than sing of your exploits, and describe the places and rivers made famous by your victories, the forts⁶⁹ which, though built on the highest mountains and seemingly impregnable, you have forced to yield, the many barbarous kingdoms you have subdued, the wars which by your auspices have been terminated in all parts of the
 255 world, the gates that have been shut upon Janus⁷⁰ the guardian Deity of peace, and Rome, under your government, the terror of the Parthians⁷¹; were my genius and abilities equal to my inclination. But ordinary numbers are far beneath a majesty and grandeur like yours, and my modesty forbids me an attempt⁷² so much beyond my reach. An officious re-
 260 spect often disgusts the person we love; more especially when it endeavours to recommend itself in the way of poetry. For men learn sooner, and retain better, what is empty and ridiculous, than what they esteem and admire. I am not apt to be fond of a respect that rather hurts; I would by no means like to see my
 265 face disfigured in wax, nor myself commended in a paltry poem: I might soon have cause to blush at the ill-judged praise, and laid along in the same box with my poet, be carried into that
 quarter

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upon *Alexander* the Great. That prince was a great admirer of *Homer*, *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*, and read them with taste. But this esteem and relish flowed entirely from the useful instructions he found in their works, and he might wish to be very ignorant of the real beauties of poetry.

⁶⁸ *Thick and foggy air of Bœotia*. The genius depends much upon the climate where a man is born. The people of *Bœotia* were the most gross and clownish of all *Greece*, because the air there is thick and foggy. *Cicero*, in his Book, *De Fato*: *Atbenis tenue cœlum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur Attici; crassum Thebis, itaque pingues Thebani & valentes*. "The climate of *Athens* is pure and the air serene, whence the inhabitants have quicker parts and a more piercing apprehension than the rest of the *Greeks*; the heaven, on the contrary, at *Thebes* is thick and foggy, its inhabi-

tants dull and of slow capacities." But experience shews that this remark does not hold good in all cases, and that sometimes the worst climates produce the finest geniuses: witness *Pindar*, who breathed the unpromising air of *Thebes*, and yet rose to be the prince of *Lyric* poets.

⁶⁹ *The forts, &c.* This refers to the victories of *Drusus*, and the forts which he stormed upon the *Alps*. It may moreover be explained of the forts which he built along the banks of the *Rhine*, to keep the conquered nations in awe. He, moreover, as we learn from *Florus*, planted garrisons upon the *Maese*, the *Elb*, and the *Weser*. *Præsidia ubique disponit per Mosam flumen, per Allim, per Visurgim, & per Rheni quidem ripam, quinquaginta amplius castella direxit*.

⁷⁰ *Gates that have been shut upon Janus*. *Horace* wrote this Epistle in the year of the city 743, at which time *Augustus* had twice shut the temple of *Janus*: first in the year

Ad libros, & ad hæc Musarum dona vocares;
 Bæotum in crasso jurares aëre natum.
 At neque dedecorant tua de se judicia, atque
 Munera, quæ multâ dantis cum laude tulerunt,
 Dilecti tibi Virgilius Variusque poëtæ.
 Nec magis expressi vultus per ahenea signa,
 Quàm per vatis opus mores animique virorum
 Clarorum apparent. Nec sermones ego mallem
 Repentes per humum, quàm res componere gestas,
 Terrarumque situs, & flumina dicere, & arces
 Montibus impositas, & barbara regna, tuisque
 Auspiciis totum confecta duella per orbem,
 Claustraque custodem pacis cohibentia Janum,
 Et formidatam Parthis, te principe, Romam;
 Si quantum cuperem, possem quoque. Sed neque
 parvum

Carmen majestas recipit tua, nec meus audet
 Rem tentare pudor, quam vires ferre recusent.
 Sedulitas autem stultè, quem diligit, urget;
 Præcipuè cum se numeris commendat & arte.
 Discit enim citiùs, meminitque libentiùs illud,
 Quod quis deridet, quàm quod probat & veneratur.
 Nil moror officium quod me gravat; ac neque ficto
 In pejus vultu proponi cereus usquam,
 Nec pravè factis decorari versibus opto:
 Ne rubeam pingui donatus munere, & unâ
 Cum scriptore meo capsâ porrectus apertâ,

Sedulitas autem stultè urget quem diligit; præcipuè cum commendat se numeris & arte. Quisque enim discit citiùs, meminitque libentiùs illud, quod deridet, quàm quod probat & veneratur. Nil moror officium quod gravat me; ac neque opto usquam proponi cereus vultu ficto in pejus, nec decorari versibus pravè factis: ne rubeam donatus pingui munere, & porrectus unâ cum scriptore meo capsâ apertâ,

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year 724, after the defeat and death of Antony; and again in 728. But the difficulty is to know whether this verse refers to those two times, or whether it does not point at something of a later date. We meet with a passage in *Dion*, which alone is sufficient to decide this, and at the same time ascertain the true date of the Epistle. He tells us, towards the end of his 54th Book, that this very year 743, under the consulship of *Julius Antonius* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, it was decreed, That the temple of *Janus*, which had been opened on account of the preceding wars, should be now shut, as all those wars were terminated. But the execution of this decree was prevented by the *Daci*, who, taking advantage of the hard winter, by which the Danube had been frozen over, suddenly passed that river, and fell to ravaging

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ad libros, & ad hæc dona Musarum; jurares notum fuisse in crasso aëre Bæotum. At neque Virgilius Variusque, poëtæ dilecti tibi, dedecorant tua judicia de se, atque munera, quæ tulerunt cum multâ laude dantis. Nec vultus magis expressi sunt per ahenea signa, quàm mores animique clarorum virorum apparent per opus vatis. Nec ego mallem componere sermones repentes per humum, quàm dicere res gestas, situsque terrarum, & flumina, & arces impositas montibus, & regna barbara, duellaque confecta per totum orbem tuis auspiciis, claustraque cohibentia Janum custodem pacis, & Romam formidatam Parthis, te principe; si quoque possem, quantum cuperem. Sed neque majestas tua recipit parvum carmen, nec meus pudor audet tentare rem, quam vires recusent ferre.

Quisque enim discit citiùs, meminitque libentiùs illud, quod deridet, quàm quod probat & veneratur. Nil moror officium quod gravat me; ac neque opto usquam proponi cereus vultu ficto in pejus, nec decorari versibus pravè factis: ne rubeam donatus pingui munere, & porrectus unâ cum scriptore meo capsâ apertâ,

71 The terror of the Parthians. The Parthians, fearing that Augustus had a design to attack them, sent back the Roman ensigns which they had taken from Crassus and Antony, together with all the prisoners. This happened in the year of the city 733, ten years before the writing of this Epistle.

72 And my modesty forbids me an attempt, &c.

quarter of the town, where they sell incense, spice, perfumes, 270 and whatever else is commonly wrapt round with impertinent rhymes.

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&c. *Horace* sings the exploits of *Augustus* in several of his Odes; but from the mention he makes of *Varius* and *Virgil*, we may understand that he speaks here of an epic poem, which indolence and love of ease prevented him from undertaking, rather than modesty.

The KEY.

THIS Epistle is deservedly held as one of the best pieces that ever *Horace* wrote. *Augustus* not only granted him the liberty of addressing it to him, but, if we may believe antiquity, even entreated it of him. For *Suetonius* tells us, that the emperor, having read some of our poet's Satires and Epistles, was greatly charmed with them, and observed, with some degree of regret, that many of his works were addressed to *Mæcenas*, and other friends, but that nothing was inscribed to him. Upon which, as the historian tells us, he complained to the poet in the following manner: *Iratum me tibi scito, quòd non in plerisque ejusmodi scriptis tecum potissimum loquaris. An vereris ne apud posteros infame tibi sit, quòd videaris familiaris nobis esse?* "You must know that I am greatly displeased with you, because your works are not chiefly addressed to me. Do you fear that it may be a blemish to your reputation with posterity, if you are thought to have lived in friendship with me?" It was upon occasion of this, that *Horace* wrote this celebrated Epistle, wherein he makes full reparation for his former oversight. He has followed in it the manner of *Lucilius*, who, in his satires and other works, did not confine himself entirely to morality, but intermixed many things relating to poetry, rhetoric, and grammar. *Socrates* had, before, pointed out this method, who, in some of his moral dialogues, introduces precepts of rhetoric. The poet seems chiefly to have in view the correction of taste among the *Romans*, which appears to have been very much vitiated at this time, and run into a foolish admiration of antiquity. Not that he censures a due esteem for the ancients; on the contrary, he commends it, and allows them to have great merit. He only blames the humor of valuing them merely for their age, without any regard to their beauties and defects. A late celebrated writer observes of this Epistle, that it shews the learned world to have fallen into two mistakes: one, that *Augustus* was a patron of poets in general; whereas he prohibited all but the best poets to name him, and went so far as to recommend that care even

Deferar in vicum vendentem thus, & odores,
Et piper, & quicquid chartis amicitur ineptis.

270 | deferar in vicum ven-
dentem thus, & odores,
& piper, & quicquid
amicitur chartis ineptis.

The KEY.

even to the civil magistrate: *Admonebat prætores, ne paterentur nomen suum obsolescere.* We learn from the Epistle itself, that of all the *Roman* poets, he allowed *Virgil*, *Varius*, and our author to be the heralds of his fame. Another mistake, which the above-mentioned writer takes notice of, is, that this piece has been generally intended as an apology for the poets, to render *Augustus* more their patron. This will easily appear, if we give any attention to the manner and subject of the Epistle. The poets of that age had carried their arts to great perfection, by studying and improving upon the *Greek* originals. It was natural for them therefore to expect a praise, which their diligence justly entitled them to. But the town, in general, were prepossessed in favor of antiquity, the nobility and court encouraged only the writers for the theatre, and the emperor himself disregarded poets, as of little or no use to the government. *Horace* pleads their cause with great address, against all these several prejudices. He shews (by a view of the progress of learning, and the change of taste among the *Romans*) that the introduction of the polite arts of *Greece* had given the writers of his time great advantages over their predecessors; that their morals were much improved, and the licence of those ancient poets restrained: that satire and comedy were become more just and useful; that whatever extravagances were left on the stage, were owing to the ill taste of the nobility; that poets, under due regulations, were, in many respects, useful to the state; and concludes, that it was upon them the emperor himself must depend for his fame with posterity. So far *Mr. Pope*; whose remarks are just and useful, and contribute very much to the learning of our poet's design.

Some fix the date of this Epistle to the year in which *Augustus* shut, for the second time, the temple of *Janus*, viz. in his ninth consulship, and the 728th year of the city. But the least attention might have satisfied them of their mistake. *Horace* not only makes mention of the secular poem, which was sung in the 736th year of the city, but of the exploits of *Drusus* in *Germany* in 742. It is therefore more likely to have been written in 743, and the 56th of our poet's age, as the reader will see further confirmed by the remark on verse 255.

EPISTLE II.

TO JULIUS FLORUS.

He excuses his not writing to him; and gives his reasons for not sending some verses he had promised him, being now wholly employed in studying the measures of a happy life, and how to extirpate vice.

FLORUS, the faithful friend of Nero equally distinguished by his valor and goodness, if a merchant perchance was to sell you a young slave born at Tibur or Gabii, and should address you in this manner: "He is fair, and without blemish from head to foot, and is to be had for eight thousand sesterces; 5 "a slave quick to understand every nod of his master; he "has some little knowledge of the Greek¹, and is fit to learn "any art²: you may mould him into any shape you please "like soft clay. He can sing too³, and though perhaps not "with skill, yet well enough to divert over a glass. I know 10 "that very little regard is paid to one, who commends his own "merchandise with a view to make the best of it. No necessity urges me to this; I am poor, it is true, but owe nothing. "There is not a dealer in slaves would make you such an "offer; nor shall I be very forward to press it upon any other. "He was never but once in fault⁴; and, as is natural, hid him- 15 "self out of fear of the whip in the stair-case⁵. Come, tell "down the money, if you are not deterred from the purchase "by this slight fault, which I will not warrant him to be free "from."

After this the merchant may, in my judgment, safely carry off your money. You have knowingly bought a vicious slave; and the sale was in due form of law⁶: yet you begin a plea against this man, and persecute him with an unjust suit.

20 Such exactly is my case: I said when I parted from you, that I was

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¹ He has some little knowledge of the Greek. The merchants of slaves, to make them sell the better, spared no cost to instruct them in languages, especially the Greek, that language being very much in use at Rome. They were also sometimes taught music, and the exercises; as we have already observed upon the sixth Satire of the second Book. *Æsop*, *Phædrus*, and *Terence*, are some examples of the education commonly given to slaves.

² Fit to learn any art. *Idoneus arti cui-*

libet. You may make of him a grammarian, rhetorician, or a philosopher.

³ He can sing too. *Canet indoctum*. *Indoctrum*: *Non antea auditum*, says the old Scholiast. But *indoctrum* here, I am rather apt to think, means *without rule or method*.

⁴ He was never but once in fault. *Semel hic cessavit*. *Cessavit* here presents us with no more than a very general idea of a slight fault: but the idea is cleared up a few lines after; and we find that he was apt to run away, which was thought so considerable a fault

EPISTOLA II.

Ad JULIUM FLORUM.

*Excusat se, quòd nihil scripsisset; ostendit cur à pœmate condendo destiterit, intentus rationibus vitæ beatæ rectè subdu-
cendis, extirpandisque vitiis.*

FLORE, bono claroque fidelis amice Neroni,
Si quis fortè velit puerum tibi vendere natum
Tibure vel Gabiis, & tecum sic agat: "Hic &
"Candidus, & talos à vertice pulcher ad imos,
"Fiet eritque tuus nummorum millibus octo;
"Verna ministeriis ad nutus aptus heriles,
"Litterulis Græcis imbutus, idoneus arti
"Cuilibet: argillâ quidvis imitaberis udâ.
"Quin etiam canet indoctum, sed dulce bibenti.
"Multa fidem promissa levant, ubi pleniùs æquo
"Laudat venales, qui vult extrudere, merces.
"Res urget me nulla; meo sum pauper in ære.
"Nemo hoc mangonum faceret tibi; non temerè
"à me
"Quivis ferret idem. Semel hic cessavit; &, ut fit,
"In scalis latuit metuens pendentis habenæ.
"Des nummos, excepta nihil te si fuga lædat *."
Ille ferat pretium, pœnæ securus, opinor.
Prudens emisti vitiosum; dicta tibi est lex:
Insequeris tamen hunc, & lite moraris iniquâ.
Dixi me pigrum proficiscenti tibi; dixi

O R D O.

FLORE, amice fi-
delis bono claroque
Neroni, si quis fortè
velit vendere tibi pu-
erum natum Tibure vel
Gabiis, & agat tecum
sic: Hic & candidus
est, & pulcher à ver-
tice ad imos talos, fiet
eritque tuus octo milli-
bus nummorum; verna
est aptus ministeriis ad
nutus heriles, imbutus
litterulis Græcis, ido-
neus cuilibet arti: imi-
taberis quidvis argillâ
udâ. Quin etiam ca-
net, indoctum quidem,
sed dulce bibenti. Mul-
ta promissa levant fi-
dem, ubi qui vult ex-
trudere merces, laudat
venales pleniùs æquo.
Nulla res urget me;
pauper sum in meo ære.
Nemo mangonum fa-
ceret hoc tibi; non qui-
vis ferret idem temerè
à me. Hic cessavit

semel; &, ut fit, latuit metuens habenæ pendentis in scalis. Des nummos, si fuga excepta nihil lædat te. Ille ferat pretium, opinor, securus pœnæ. Prudens emisti vitiosum; lex dicta est tibi: tamen insequeris hunc, & moraris iniquâ lite. Dixi tibi proficiscenti me esse pigrum; dixi

* lædit, Bentl.

A N N O T A T I O N S.

fault in a slave, that he who sold him was obliged to mention it expressly, otherwise the sale was void. *Sanaden.*

⁵ *Out of fear of the whip in the stair-case. In scalis latuit metuens pendentis habenæ.* The more to intimidate slaves, and keep them always in mind of what they had to expect in case of a transgression, it was usual to hang up the whip that punished them at the foot of the stair-case.

⁶ *And the sale was in due form of law. Dicta tibi est lex.* This way of rendering the

words respects what we have said before, with regard to the sale of slaves, viz. that if the slave to be sold had a custom of running away, the seller was obliged to mention this circumstance, or he might be afterwards prosecuted for the value. This was precisely done here:

Des nummos, excepta nihil te si fuga lædat. Tell down the money, if you are not deterred from the purchase by bearing that he is apt to run away.

Y 3

7 That

- I was naturally very lazy⁷; I told you there was no man more averse and unfit for such tasks; and all this to leave no room for chiding me, if I neglected to write to you. But to what purpose have I taken all these precautions, if you thus undermine a plea so well founded? You complain too, that I have neglected to
- 25 send you the poems I had made you expect. A soldier under Lucullus⁸, who had got together a little money with a world of toil and fatigue, overcome one night with watching fell into a profound sleep, and lost it every farthing: after this, like a raging wolf, equally incensed against himself and the enemy, and still farther urged by the pressing calls of hunger,
- 30 he drove a garrison belonging to Mithridates from a post strongly fortified⁹, and stocked with riches to a considerable value. Famous for this piece of bravery, he is distinguished by honorable presents, and receives moreover a reward of twenty thousand sesterces. Much about this time the general, desirous to make himself master of some other fort, applied to the same man,
- 35 and began to exhort him in words, that might have given courage even to a coward: "Go, says he, my brave fellow-soldier, where valour and glory calls; go where success will crown your attempts, and be assured of a recompence suitable to your great merit. Why do you linger?" But he now made wiser by his prosperity, though but a peasant, smartly replied: Let him go, let him go, and make the assault, who has
- 40 lost his all.

It was my fortune to be bred up at Rome, and to learn there, how many woes the anger of Achilles¹⁰ brought upon the Greeks. Polite Athens¹¹ gave some finishing strokes to this education; by enabling me to distinguish between a right and a curve line¹², and to pursue truth through all her windings

in

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⁷ That I was naturally lazy. *Dixi me pigrum.* Horace, in this Epistle, excuses himself for not engaging in poetry, and sending *Florus* some verses that he had promised him. The first reason he gives is, that he was naturally lazy, and had told him so beforehand. It is certain that this was Horace's true character: he was a mortal enemy to fatigue, and could never bear to engage in any work of length; which, according to some, is the reason that he never attempted an epic poem.

⁸ A soldier under Lucullus. This is the second excuse that Horace brings for his not writing: a poet, in easy circumstances, should make poetry no more than an amusement. This short history is told with great spirit and vivacity, and the application is natural. *Plutarch*, in the beginning of his

life of *Pelopidas*, tells a like story of a soldier in the army of *Antigonus*. To shorten the period of a life, which a constant ill state of health rendered insupportable, he boldly exposed himself to the greatest dangers. But being afterwards cured by the care of his general, who esteemed him for his valour, he began to be more concerned about a life that was now become more agreeable.

⁹ Post strongly fortified, &c. This must be supposed to have happened in the *Mithridatic* war, where *Lucullus* commanded; I have therefore, in the translation, spoken of it as a place belonging to *Mithridates*, that idea being first apt to present itself to a reader. It will be proper, however, to mention the ingenious conjecture of *Dacier*, who tells us, that, according to his apprehension,

Talibus officiis propè mancum; ne mea sævus
Jurgares ad te quòd epistola nulla veniret.
Quid tum profeci, mecum facientia jura
Si tamen attentas? Quereris super hoc etiam, quòd
Expectata tibi non mittam carmina mendax.

Luculli miles collecta viatica multis
Ærumnis, lassus dum noctu stertit, ad assem
Perdiderat: post hoc vehemens lupo, & sibi & hosti
Iratus pariter, jejunis dentibus acer,
Præsidium regale loco dejecit, ut aiunt,
Summè munito, & multarum divite rerum.
Clarus ob id factum, donis ornatur honestis,
Accipit & bis dena super sestertia nummum.
Fortè sub hoc tempus castellum evertere prætor
Nescio quod cupiens, hortari cœpit eundem
Verbis, quæ timido quoque possent addere mentem:
I bone, quòd virtus tua te vocat; I pede fausto,
Grandia laturus meritorum præmia. Quid stas?
Post hæc ille catus, quantumvis rusticus, Ibit,
Ibit eò, quòd vis, qui zonam perdidit, inquit.

Romæ nutriri mihi contigit, atque doceri,
Iratus Grajis quantum nocuisset Achilles.
Adjecere bonæ paulò plus artis Athenæ;
Scilicet ut possem curvo dignoscere rectum,

quæ possent addere mentem quoque timido: I bone, quòd virtus tua vocat te; I fausto pede, laturus grandia præmia meritorum. Quid stas? Ille post hæc, quantumvis rusticus, tamen catus, inquit: Ille, qui perdidit zonam, ibit, ibit eò, quòd vis. Contigit mihi nutriri Romæ, atque doceri, quantum Achilles iratus nocuisset Grajis. Bonæ Athenæ adjecere paulò plus artis; scilicet ut possem dignoscere rectum curvo,

me propè mancum esse talibus officiis; ne sævus jurgares, quòd nulla mea epistola veniret ad te. Quid profeci tum, si tamen attentas jura facientia mecum? Quereris etiam super hoc, quòd mendax non mittam tibi carmina expectata. Miles Luculli, dum lassus stertit noctu, perdiderat ad assem viatica collecta multis ærumnis: post hoc quasi vehemens lupo, pariter iratus & sibi & hosti, acer jejunis dentibus, dejecit regale præsidium loco, ut aiunt, summè munito, & divite multarum rerum. Clarus ob id factum, ornatur honestis donis, & super accipit bis dena sestertia nummum. Sub hoc tempus prætor, fortè cupiens evertere nescio quod castellum, cœpit hortari eundem verbis,

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hension, the place here spoken of is *Nisibis*, a city of *Mesopotamia*, in which *Tigranes* put his treasures, with a strong garrison, under the command of his brother. This place was surrounded with a double wall of brick, between which was a very broad and deep ditch.

¹⁰ *How many woes the anger of Achilles.* That is, he read with his masters at *Rome* the *Ilias* of *Homer*, for with this the *Roman* youth commonly began their studies.

¹¹ *Polite Athens.* At *Rome*, *Horace* studied only the languages, but at *Athens* he applied himself to geometry and philosophy, which were better taught there than in any other part of the world. We are uncertain at what age *Horace* went to *Athens* to study, but probably not before his twentieth, or twenty-first year; for his father, who had taken upon him to be his tutor, would not trust him out of his sight, till he was of an

age capable to govern himself, and withstand the corruption that prevailed so universally at that time. We have here a clear instance of the care his father took in his education, and the expence he was at to complete it. After giving him all that *Rome* could afford, he sent him to *Athens*, whither all the great men of that time sent their children, it being accounted absolutely necessary to complete a liberal education.

¹² *Between a right and a curve line. Curvo dignoscere rectum.* Commentators differ in their manner of explaining these words. Some refer them, as well as the following verse, to *philosophy*. They tell us, that *rectum*, put substantively, is always to be taken in a moral sense; and that of consequence we must give a like turn to *curvum*, which is opposed to it, and here put instead of *pravum*. But *Dacier* contends strongly, that the words are to be understood of *geometry*,

- 45 in the groves of the Academy¹³. But the violence of the times¹⁴ hurried me from this grateful retreat; and the civil heat that raged so high compelled me unskilled in war to join a party, that was not long able to hold out against the efforts of Augustus. But when disengaged from it by the defeat at Philippi, my patrimony lost, my fortune ruined, and all my towering hopes dissolved in air; enterprising poverty set me upon¹⁵ writing verses: but now, wanting for nothing that I can desire, what doses of hellebore¹⁶ were sufficient to cure my madness, if I did not think it better to live with ease and sleep quietly, than set up for a poet?
- 55 The years running in succession¹⁷ plunder us of every thing: they have taken away my jests, my love-pursuits, festivity, and mirth; they struggle hard too to pillage me of poetry: what then would you have me do? In fine, another cause of disgust is, that men are not generally struck¹⁸ or affected with the same things. You are fond of lyric compositions; another
- 60 delights in iambics; a third can bear nothing but satire, and the keenest raillery¹⁹. As if three guests were sat down at a table, each of a different taste, and requiring different dishes. What shall

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metry, that includes the doctrine of right and curve lines. He observes, that in a moral sense, *rectum* is never opposed to *curvum*, but to *pravum*. Besides, the knowledge of geometry was absolutely necessary to those who studied in *Plato's* school; both as it inured the mind to truth, and rendered it capable of the sublimest philosophy. Hence all, that were unacquainted with geometry, were excluded from his philosophical republic. We have here then the gradations of *Horace's* studies; the *Belles Lettres*, *Geometry*, and the *Academic Philosophy*. So far *Dacier*, whose sentiments I am very much inclined to follow; as I can hardly believe that so essential a part of learning as geometry would have been neglected in the education of our poet.

¹³ *The groves of the Academy. Atque inter silvas Academias, &c. The woods of Academus.* This was a kind of park, planted with all sorts of fine trees, and surrounded with temples, porticos, and statues. It belonged originally to one *Academus*, a rich *Athenian* citizen, whose esteem for the philosophers made him consecrate this place to their assemblies and walks. *Plato* afterwards held his school here, from which the philosophers of that sect were called *Academics*: for *Academus*, whom posterity ranked among the heroes, lived in the time of *Theseus*. It was he that discovered to *Castor* and *Pollux* the place where their sister

was hid. Long after the *Lacedemonians* having burnt and pillaged all *Attica*, they spared this park of the Academy, for the sake of *Academus*, and in acknowledgment for the service he had done them.

¹⁴ *But the violence of the times; viz. the civil wars that followed upon the assassination of Caesar: for Horace at that very time was studying at Athens. Brutus, passing that way in his march to Macedonia, took our poet along with him, and raised him to the dignity of a military tribune.*

¹⁵ *Enterprising poverty set me upon, &c.* By this it would seem that *Horace* had never meddled with poetry before the battle of *Philippi*, that is, before the twenty-fourth year of his age. But this is not to be interpreted too strictly: he only means, that he never applied to poetry as to a profession he intended to make his fortune by; but that, after the defeat of *Brutus*, he pitched upon it as the only possible way in which he could retrieve his circumstances.

¹⁶ *What doses of hellebore, &c. Quæ poterunt unquam satis expurgare cicuta.* This passage has given commentators a great deal of trouble. *Lambinus* in particular, not able to imagine how hemlock, which was a poison, should be ever taken as a remedy, thinks to mend the matter by substituting another reading:

Quæ poterunt unquam satis expurgare Sicya.

Sicya

Atque inter silvas Academi quærere verum.
 Dura sed amovere loco me tempora grato;
 Civilisque rudem belli tulit æstus in arma,
 Cæsaris Augusti non responsura lacertis.
 Unde simul primùm me dimisere Philippi,
 Decisis humilem pennis, inopemque paterni
 Et laris & fundi; paupertas impulit audax
 Ut versus facerem: sed, quod non desit habentem,
 Quæ poterunt unquam satis expurgare cicutæ,
 Nî meliùs dormire putem, quàm scribere versus?
 Singula de nobis anni prædantur euntes:
 Eripuere jocos, venerem, convivia, ludum;
 Tendunt extorquere poemata: quid faciam vis?
 Denique non omnes eadem mirantur amantque.
 Carmine tu gaudes; hic delectatur iambis;
 Ille Bioneis sermonibus, & fale nigro.
 Tres mihi convivæ propè dissentire videntur,
 Proscentes vario multùm diversa palato.

45 atque quærere verum
 inter silvas Academi.
 Sed dura tempora a-
 movere me loco grato;
 æstusque civilis tulit
 me rudem belli in ar-
 ma, non responsura la-
 certis Augusti Cæsaris.
 50 Unde simul ac Philippi
 primùm dimisere me,
 humilem decisis pennis,
 inopemque & laris &
 fundi paterni; audax
 paupertas impulit ut
 facerem versus: sed
 quæ cicutæ poterunt
 unquam satis expur-
 gare me, habentem
 quod non desit, nî pu-
 tem meliùs dormire,
 60 quàm scribere versus?
 Annieuntes prædantur
 singula de nobis: cri-
 puere jocos, venerem,
 convivia, ludum; ten-
 dunt extorquere poemata: quid vis ut faciam?

Denique omnes non mirantur amantque eadem.
 Tu gaudes carmine; hic delectatur iambis; ille sermonibus Bioneis, & fale nigro. Tres convivæ
 propè videntur mihi dissentire, poscentes multùm diversa vario palato.

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Sicyæ is a Greek word, signifying properly cupping-glasses; and answers to the Latin *cucurbitæ*. This seems indeed to have been a pretty secure remedy against the humor of making verses, especially when the application of these cupping-glasses was followed by scarification. But there is no absolute necessity for this change: hemlock, as we learn from *Pliny*, was frequently used in prescriptions. Book XXV. Chap. 13. *Cicuta quoque venenum est publica Atheniensium pœna invisa, ad multa tamen usus non omittendi.*

17 The years running in succession. We have here a third reason why *Horace* declined the task of poetry: he was now in his forty-fourth year. *Turpe senex vates*, says *Ovid*. But after all, it is rather a pretext than a reason. It is certain that youth is the best time for fine and spirited verses; but we meet with more than one example of poets, who have preserved to the last all the heat and fire of their imaginations, and whose last productions have come nothing short of the first. Even *Horace*, in some sort, betrays himself by these words, *tendunt extorquere*; which plainly shew that he had still a strong inclination for poetry. *Ipsæ ego* (says he in another place), *qui nullos me affirmo scribere versus, invenior Partibus mendacior*. All the ice of *Scythia* was not sufficient to extinguish this flame in *Ovid*. An hundred

times ready to sink under the weight of his misfortunes, he protested he would never more write verses, and as often, re-animated by these very misfortunes, he uttered his complaints in those mournful Elegies of his which still remain, and which neither for spirit nor eloquence yield to any of his most esteemed pieces.

18 Men are not generally struck, &c. The difference of taste among men furnishes our poet with a fourth excuse, as little satisfying as the former. In whatever kind of poetry he labored, he was sure to carry off the approbation of the best judges, and this was sufficient. If a poet refuses to enter upon a composition till all mankind are brought to be of the same taste, he must resolve to renounce it altogether.

19 Satire, and the keenest raillery. *Ille Bioneis sermonibus*. *Lambinus* pretends, that this *Bion* was the father of *Aristophanes*. It is uncertain where he found this piece of history, for the father of *Aristophanes* was named *Philip*. The *Bion* of whom *Horace* speaks here (for there were several of that name) is the same that was surnamed *Boristhenites*, and who was both a philosopher and a poet; but a poet of such bitter satire, that he spared neither men nor Gods. He wrote against *Homer*. *Cicero*, *Diogenes Laërtius*, and *Plutarch*, all speak of him.

shall I give? or what shall I not give? You refuse what another calls for; and what you again want, is odious and unfavoury to the other two.

- 65 Besides, is it likely ²⁰ that I can write verses at Rome, compassed about with so many cares and fatigues? One solicits me to give bail; another that, neglecting every thing else, I be present at the recital of his writings: this man lives upon the Quirinal hill ²¹, another at the farthest end of the Aventine; each must be visited. Here then is a most commodious
70 distance for you. But the streets, you say, are free ²², and leave room for meditation by the way. Here a builder hurries along, followed by his mules and porters: there a bulky engine rears some ponderous stone, or enormous beam: a little forward, and you are stopt by a funeral-train ²³, disputing the passage with a tribe of waggons and carmen: here a mad dog comes
75 foaming along, there a dirty sow rushes against you. Go then, and in the midst of so much noise and confusion try to compose smooth-running verses. The whole chorus of writers love groves and solitude; they shun cities, as being zealous votaries of Bacchus fond of sleep and a cool shade. Can you fancy, that amidst so much tumult and noise, day and night, I can apply my mind to study, or trace the arduous paths of the
84 poets ²⁴? A man of genius ²⁵, who has pitched upon the calm retreat of Athens, spent seven years in study, and grown old in books and thoughtfulness, comes out for the most part into the street silent as a statue, and sets all the people a-laughing: how much more ridiculous for me amidst a tide of business and
85 affairs, and the tempestuous hurry of this city, to employ myself in fitting numbers to the sounding lyre?

There was once at Rome a rhetorician brother to a lawyer ²⁶, whose

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²⁰ Besides, it is likely, &c. This reason is something more than pretence. The constant hurry of living in a great city, and the avocation of a multitude of affairs, are distractions that by no means suit a poet.

²¹ Quirinal hill. This and the Aventine hill were on opposite sides of the town.

²² But the streets, you say, are free. This is an objection thrown in by the poet himself, or supposed to be made by Florus. It is true, it is a long way between the Quirinal and Aventine hills; but the streets are good, and free from all embarrassments. *Puræ plateæ*; streets free and uncrowded. As in Varro, *loca pura*: and campus purus in Virgil; and Livy, *puro ac patenti campo dimicare*.

²³ By a funeral-train, &c. *Tristia robustis*, &c. Horace elsewhere takes notice of the confusion and tumult occasioned at Rome,

by the rencounter of funerals and waggons, Book I. Satire 6.

— *At hic, si plaustra ducenta
Concurrentque foro tria funera, magna
sonabit
Cornua quod vincatque tubas.*

²⁴ Trace the arduous paths of the poets. *Et contracta sequi vestigia vatum*. Commentators are very much divided in their manner of explaining this passage. The old scholiast thinks it should be *contracta*; which reading is also adopted by Torrentius: and both agree in interpreting it to follow the ancients step by step. Sanadon, on the other hand, contends for *cunctata*; which he explains, *incerta, dubia, in quibus detegendis cunctari necesse fuerit*. Dacier follows the common reading; *contracta vestigia*, he says, are,

Quid dem? quid non dem? Renuis tu quod* jubet
alter;

Quod petis, id sanè est invisum acidumque duobus.

Præter cætera, me Romæne poëmata censes
Scribere posse, inter tot curas totque labores?
Hic sponsum vocat, hic auditum scripta, relictis
Omnibus officiis: cubat hic in colle Quirini,
Hic extremo in Aventino; visendus uterque.
Intervalla vides humanè commoda. Verùm
Puræ sunt plateæ, nihil ut meditantibus obstet.
Festinat calidus mulis gerulisque redemptor:
Torquet nunc lapidem, nunc ingens machina tignum:

Tristia robustis luctantur funera plaustis:
Hæc rabiosa fugit canis, hæc lutulenta ruit sus.
I nunc, & versus tecum meditare canoros.
Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus, & fugit
urbes,

Ritè cliens Bacchi somno gaudentis & umbrâ.
Tu me inter strepitus nocturnos atque diurnos
Vis canere, & contacta† sequi vestigia vatum?
Ingenium, sibi quod vacuas desumpsit Athenas,
Et studiis annos septem dedit, insenuitque
Libris & curis, statuâ taciturniùs exit
Plerumque, & risu populum quatit: hîc ego rerum
Fluctibus in mediis, & tempestatibus urbis,
Verba lyræ motura sonum connectere digner?

Frater erat Romæ consulti rhetor, ut alter

atque diurnos strepitus? Ingenium, quod desumpsit sibi vacuas Athenas, & dedit septem annos studii, insenuitque libris & curis, exit plerumque taciturniùs statuâ, & quatit populum risu: hîc ego digner connectere verba motura sonum lyræ, in fluctibus mediis rerum, & tempestatibus urbis?
Erat Romæ rhetor frater consulti, ut alter

* quod tu, Bentl.

† non tacta, Id.

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are, properly speaking, the obscure traces; half effaced, and hard to be seen.

25 *A man of genius.* It is necessary to stop a little here, in order to enter into the design of the poet, and see the connection of this with what goes before. It had been objected to Horace, that he might very well make verses in walking along the streets. He is not satisfied with shewing that this notion is false; he will shew it to be also ridiculous. For, says he, at Athens itself, a city in a manner desolate, a man of genius, who applies himself to study, has run through a course of philosophy, and spent seven years among books, is yet fure to be made the laughter of the people, if he comes out pen-sive and plunged in thought; how then can

you fancy that I should follow the same track at Rome? Would they not have still more reason to deride me? Horace says, *ingenium, a man of genius*, to give his argument the more strength. For, if an ingenious man could not escape ridicule, even in Athens, which was accustomed to the way and manner of the philosophers; how could Horace hope to avoid it at Rome, a city in every respect so different?

26 *Arboretician, brother to a lawyer.* Heinsius is surprised here, that so many learned men, who have written upon Horace, seem not to have been sensible that the following fifty-six verses have no connection with what precedes; but are an entirely detached piece, inserted some how by mistake in a

whose humor it was to extol one another by mutual praise: the lawyer made the rhetorician a second Gracchus²⁷, and he in return called him another Mutius²⁸. Does not the
 90 same madness prevail at this day among poets? I write odes, another elegies; what wonders in their way, what masterpieces of art, finished by the proper hands of the Muses! Observe only, with what an air of pride and disdain we throw our eyes round the temple of Apollo, as if our works alone²⁹ of all the Roman poets deserved a place in it. Follow us a little
 95 farther (if perhaps you are at leisure), and hear at a distance, what each has to produce, and why we are so ready to honor one another with the laurel-crown. We exactly resemble the Samnite gladiators³⁰, who furiously engage by candle-light, and without rule or measure deal about alternate blows. I in his judgment am another Alcæus; and to whom, think you,
 100 do I liken him? To whom, but to Callimachus³¹? If he seems to desire more, I call him Mimnermus³², and heap flattering names upon him to his taste. When I write, and humbly solicit the suffrages of the people, I arm myself with a stock of great names, and bestow them liberally, to soften the formidable race of poets. But once cured of this mad writing-humor, and restored to reason and good sense, I will boldly
 105 shut my ears against their impertinent recitals. The authors of bad poems are laughed at by all: yet they are charmed with their

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wrong place. If *Heinsius* had attended better to the design and manner of our poet, he would not have been so rash in censuring others, or so much exposed himself to it. These verses contain another reason in justification of *Horace's* backwardness to engage in poetry. The profession of poets, says he, is of all others the most unhappy. Unless they succeed, whatever praises they may bestow upon each other, all is vain; they cannot avoid contempt. And if they are desirous to excel, what labor, what infinite toil does it necessarily require? Both cases, it is true, are hard; yet I would prefer the first, and be laughed at by the public, convinced in my own mind that I had done wonders, rather than undergo so much misery to merit its approbation. But, after all, the best way is to remain in quiet, without engaging either on the one side or the other. Thus the reader has a view of his reasoning, which is both just and well followed.

²⁷ *A second Gracchus.* There were two celebrated orators of this name, *Tiberius* and *Caius*, both brothers, and sons of *Cornelia* the daughter of *Scipio*. They were very

different in their manner; for *Tiberius* was sweet and grave, *Caius* vehement and strong. The style of *Tiberius* was remarkable for purity and simplicity; *Caius* again was lofty and figurative. For this reason *Caius* has been esteemed a greater orator than his brother; and many think, that, had he lived a little longer, he would have been inferior in eloquence to no orator that ever appeared either before or since. *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, gives this character of him: *Grandis est verbis, sapiens sententiis, genere toto gravis: manus extrema non accessit operibus ejus; præclare inchoata multa, perfecta non planè.* "His expression is great and sublime, his sentences weighty, his whole manner judicious: but he put not the last hand to his works; they are full of noble hints, but seldom carried to perfection."

²⁸ *Mutius, Publius Mutius*, one of the first writers upon the civil law. *Cicero* moreover adds, that he was the most learned in Rome in the municipal laws. *Legum & consuetudinis ejus, qua privati in civitate uterentur, peritus.*

Alterius sermone meros audiret honores :
 Gracchus ut hic illi foret, hic* ut Mutius illi †.
 Quî minùs argutos vexat ‡ furor iste poëtas ? 90
 Carmina compono, hic elegos; mirabile visu,
 Cælatumque || novem Musis opus. Aspice primùm,
 Quanto cum fastu, quanto molimine circum-
 spectemus vacuum Romanis vatibus ædem. 94
 Mox etiam (si fortè vacas) sequere, & procul audi,
 Quid ferat, & quare sibi nectat uterque coronam.
 Cædimur, & totidem plagis consumimus hostem,
 Lento Samnites ad lumina prima duello.
 Discedo Alcæus puncto illius; ille meo quis ?
 Quis, nisi Callimachus ? si plus adposcere visus, 100
 Fit Mimnermus, & optivo cognomine crescit.
 Multa fero, ut placem genus irritabile vatum,
 Cùm scribo, & supplex populi suffragia capto.
 Idem, finitis studiis, & mente receptâ,
 Obturem patulas impunè legentibus aures. 105
 Ridentur mala qui componunt carmina: verùm

audiret sermone alterius
 meros honores: hic fo-
 ret illi ut Gracchus,
 hic illi ut Mutius. Quî
 iste furor minùs vexat
 argutos poëtas? Ego
 compono carmina, hic
 elegos; opus mirabile
 visu, cælatumque no-
 vem Musis. Aspice
 primùm, cum quanto
 fastu, quanto molimine
 circumspectemus ædem
 vacuum Romanis va-
 tibus. Mox etiam se-
 quere, si fortè vacas,
 & audi procul, quid
 ferat, & quare uter-
 que nectat coronam
 sibi. Samnites cædi-
 mur, & consumimus
 hostem totidem plagis,
 duello lento ad prima
 lumina. Ego discedo
 puncto illius Alcæus;
 ille meo quis? Quis,

nisi Callimachus? si visus sit adposcere plus, fit Mimnermus, & crescit optivo cognomine. Fero multa, ut placem irritabile genus vatum, cùm scribo, & supplex capto suffragia populi. Ego idem, studiis finitis, & mente receptâ, obturem patulas aures legentibus impunè. Qui componunt mala carmina ridentur: verùm

* huic, Bentl. † ille, Id. ‡ versat, Id. || sacratumque, Id.

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²⁹ As if our works alone, &c. Circum-
 spectemus vacuum Romanis vatibus ædem.
 It is doubtful in what sense vacuum ought
 to be taken here. Some explain it *vacan-*
tem, liberam, apertam Romanis vatibus. Dacier
 gives the whole passage a very different
 turn: he tells us, it is meant to express
 the vanity and presumption of those poets,
 who, throwing their eyes round the temple
 of Apollo with an air of disdain and con-
 tempt, seemed openly to say, that, had
 not their writings been received into it, it
 had always remained without any Latin
 poet.

³³ Samnite gladiators. These were gla-
 diators hired to divert the guests at private
 entertainments. *Quod spectaculum,* says Livy,
inter epulas erat. These did not fight with
 real armour, but foils. Lucilius, speaking
 of Q. Velocius:

Quamvis bonus ipse
 Samnis in ludo, ac rudibus curvis satis
 asper.

"Though a good Samnite gladiator, and a
 "formidable antagonist at the foil." This
 way of fighting with foils was the reason
 why their engagements held for the most
 part very long. Hence Horace says, *lento*

duello; and also, that they dealt about se-
 vere blows without fear of being wounded.
 The comparison is therefore just, between
 the false praises which poets bestowed upon
 each other, and the unavailing blows of
 these mock gladiators.

³¹ Callimachus. A famous poet that flour-
 ished under the reign of Ptolemy Philadel-
 phus. He wrote a great many different
 things, but chiefly hymns and elegies.
 We must beware of fancying that Horace
 improves upon the praise given to himself
 in being called Alcæus; or of drawing any
 such consequence, as that Alcæus was infe-
 rior to Callimachus: the contrary is certain.
 He calls Callimachus his friend, because of
 his writing elegies: and that Callimachus
 was one of the best elegiac poets. Quin-
 tilian, one of the most judicious of critics,
 calls him the chief in the elegiac way:
Tunc & elegiam vacabit in manum sumere,
cujus princeps habetur Callimachus.

³² Mimnermus. See what we said of him
 on the sixth Epistle of the first Book.
 Horace evidently prefers him to Callimachus,
 and with reason: his style was more smooth,
 copious, and florid,

- their own performances; they admire them, and, happy to the last degree, liberally bestow upon them those praises which you refuse. But the author, who proposes to give a finished work³³, must peruse his papers with the eye of an impartial critic³⁴:
- 110 he will nicely mark what words seem to want strength and beauty³⁵, what appear low and groveling, and resolutely retrench them; although perhaps they give ground with reluctance, and shelter themselves within the asylum of his cabinet³⁶:
- 115 he will recal terms that have been long forgot, and bring to light those strong expressive words, that were in use in the time of Cato and Cethegus³⁷, but now lie neglected under the rust and deformity of years: nor will he overlook such new terms, as use the father of expression may have given
- 120 authority to: strong, yet gliding, smoothly flowing with a gentle current, he will pour out his wealth, and adorn Latium with all the graces of a copious language: he will retrench every luxuriance; polish what is rough by a seasonable refinement; cut off whatever is without grace and beauty; and while seemingly he does every thing with ease and good humor, he will yet wreath himself into a thousand different shapes, as he
- 125 who imitates the dance of the Satyrs or Cyclops. For my own part³⁸, I had rather pass for a ridiculous and impertinent writer, if I can but so far impose upon myself, as to be pleased with my faults, or overlook them, than to be wise and expert, but always upon the rack.

There was once a citizen of considerable rank at Argos³⁹, who was always fancying himself present at the representation of some fine tragedy, and would sit and applaud whole nights

130 in an empty theatre: but as to all the other duties of life, upright and unblameable; a good neighbour, an hospitable friend, a kind husband, and an easy master, who could overlook

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33 *A finished work.* *Legitimum poema.* A poem made in exact conformity to the rules of art. This is a continuation of his reasoning. - After shewing that a poet, foolishly pleased with his own works, drew upon himself the contempt of all the world; he adds, that it required infinite labor to give real value to a poem. From all which he concludes, that poetry is a task no wise man will engage in.

34 *The eye of an impartial critic.* *Animum censoris sumet honesti.* The poet alludes here to the office of the *censors*, who, in the review they made of the *Roman* knights and senators, blotted out of the list all such whose behaviour dishonored their rank. A poet, in reading over his works, should act the same part: he ought to for-

get his character of author or poet, and assume the air of a censor, or rigid critic. A work thus strictly reviewed can alone hope to stand the test, and gain fame with posterity.

35 *What words seem to want strength and beauty.* This precept regards the terms to be used in poetry, and is highly worth our notice. The expression ought to be clear, strong, and graceful. We ought to avoid words of ambiguous signification, or that are low and groveling. This supposes a perfect knowledge of the language we write in, and a nice taste to distinguish well.

36 *Within the asylum of his cabinet.* *Intra penetralia Vestæ.* *Penetralia Vestæ* is here a metaphor to express the poet's cabinet. The sanctuary in the temple of *Vesta* was a sacred

Gaudent scribentes; & se venerantur, & ultrò,
 Si taceas, laudant quicquid scripsere, beati.
 At qui legitimum cupiet fecisse poema,
 Cum tabulis animum censoris sumet honesti: 110
 Audebit quæcunque parùm splendoris habebunt,
 Et sine pondere erunt, & honore indigna ferentur,
 Verba movere loco; quamvis invita recedant,
 Et versentur adhuc intra penetralia Vestæ:
 Obscurata diu populo bonus eruet, atque 115
 Proferet in lucem speciosa vocabula rerum,
 Quæ priscis memorata Catonibus atque Cethegis,
 Nunc situs informis premit & deserta vetustas:
 Adfiscet nova, quæ genitor produxerit usus:
 Vehemens, & liquidus, puroque simillimus amni,
 Fundet opes, Latiumque beabit divite linguâ: 121
 Luxuriantia compescet; nimis aspera sano
 Levabit cultu; virtute carentia tollet:
 Ludentis speciem dabit, & torquebitur, ut qui
 Nunc Satyrum, nunc agrestem Cyclopa movetur.
 Prætulerim scriptor delirus inersque videri, 126
 Dum mea delectent mala me, vel denique fallant,
 Quàm sapere, & ringi. Fuit haud ignobilis Argis,
 Qui se credebat miros audire tragædos,
 In vacuo lætus sessor plausorque theatro: 130
 Cætera qui vitæ servaret munia recto
 More; bonus sanè vicinus, amabilis hospes,
 Comis in uxorem, posset qui ignoscere servis,

scribentes gaudent; & venerantur se, & si taceas, beati laudant ultrò quicquid scripsere. At qui cupiet fecisse legitimum poema, sumet cum tabulis animum honesti censoris: audebit movere loco quæcunque verba habebunt parùm splendoris, & erunt sine pondere, & ferentur indigna honore; quamvis recedant invita, & adhuc versentur intra penetralia Vestæ: bonus eruet vocabula diu obscurata populo, atque proferet in lucem vocabula speciosa rerum, quæ memorata priscis Catonibus atque Cethegis, situs informis & deserta vetustas nunc premit: adfiscet nova, quæ usus genitor produxerit: vehemens, & liquidus, simillimusque puro amni, fundet opes, beabitque Latium divite linguâ: compescet luxuriantia; levabit nimis aspera sano cultu; tollet carentia virtute: dabit speciem ludentis,

torquebitur, ut qui nunc movetur, saltat, Satyrum, nunc agrestem Cyclopa. Prætulerim videri scriptor delirus inersque, dum mea mala delectent me, vel denique fallant, quàm sapere, & ringi. Fuit homo haud ignobilis Argis, qui credebat se audire miros tragædos, lætus sessor plausorque in vacuo theatro: qui autem servaret cætera munia vitæ recto more; bonus sanè vicinus, hospes amabilis, comis in uxorem, qui posset ignoscere servis,

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a sacred *asylum*, where none but the high-priest was allowed to enter. It is just so, says *Horace*, with a poet's cabinet: his works are here as in a privileged place, inaccessible to the criticisms of the public. It is here, that the poet himself should act the part of a rigid censor, retrench whatever is superfluous, and give the finishing hand to his pieces.

37 *Cato and Cethegus*. These two great men are named here, to represent in general all ancient writers. They lived both in the time of the second *Punic* war. The one is *Cato* the censor, the other *Marcus Cornelius Cethegus*, who was consul in the year of the city 550.

38 For my own part, &c. Critics have not been able to agree among themselves,

whether these words come from *Horace*, or if we are to refer them to *Florus*. The first seems more likely, and I have therefore rendered them in that way. *Horace* draws two conclusions from his reasoning, the one in a way of pleasantry, the other serious. The first, that he would rather be a bad poet, if he but himself imagined the contrary, than a good one at the expence of so much toil. The second, that it was better to study the rules of living well, than numbers and verification.

39 A citizen of considerable rank at *Argos*. To shew that his first conclusion is only meant in a way of mirth and raillery, he explains it by a short story equally ridiculous and diverting. But, though the folly was excusable in the *Argian*, as owing to causes not

look a fault in a servant, and not fly into a rage at finding a bottle unsealed; who knew to avoid a rock or ditch in the way. Yet
 135 this very man, in whose cure his relations spared neither care nor
 expence, when that a dose of hellebore had dispelled the giddy
 fumes: Verily, my friends, says he, far from curing, you have
 undone me, in thus depriving me of so great a pleasure, and for-
 140 cibly tearing away the grateful illusion.

It is without doubt⁴⁰ the best and wisest part to renounce
 trifles, and leave to youth those idle amusements which better
 fit their age; not to lose time in fitting words to the Roman
 lyre, but to study weight and measure in life. It is for this
 145 reason⁴¹ that I often think, and silently revolve in my own
 mind; if no quantity of water⁴² were sufficient to allay
 your thirst, you would apply to the physician; and yet, when
 you find that the more you possess, the more you desire, dare
 you own your case to nobody? If your wound received no
 relief from an herb or root pointed out to you as proper for
 150 it, you would no more aim at a cure by that unavailing herb
 or root: you have heard, that where the Gods bestow⁴³
 wealth, folly and extravagance disappear; mean time, though
 considerably richer, and in nothing wiser, will you yet hearken
 to the same deceitful teachers? But had riches the power⁴⁴ to
 155 render you more prudent, or to lessen your desires or fears; in
 that case I own you would have reason to blush, if there lived in
 the world a man more covetous than yourself. If what we buy
 with our own money⁴⁵, is our property; if, as lawyers pre-
 tend, use gives a right⁴⁶ to some things; every piece of ground
 160 that feeds you, is your own; and Orbius's⁴⁷ steward, when he
 tills

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not in his own power, it would have been quite otherwise in *Horace*, who might have easily corrected his judgment, by divesting himself of prejudice.

⁴⁰ *It is without doubt, &c.* This is the second conclusion drawn from this reasoning, wherein the poet puts on a serious air, and speaks his real sentiments. It is moreover the last excuse he makes for declining the task of poetry.

⁴¹ *It is for this reason.* The remaining part of this Epistle is a conversation which the poet holds with himself; but all designed to make his reasons come with a better grace to his friend, and that he might the more easily correct his ambition, avarice, and those other vices to which he was subject.

⁴² *If no quantity of water.* This was a way of reasoning used by the philosopher *Aristippus*, as *Plutarch* has preserved it to

us, in his *Treatise against Avarice*: *He, who eats and drinks a great deal without allaying his appetite, has recourse to physicians, wants to know his malady, and what is to be done for a cure. But the man who has already five rich beds, and thirsts after ten; who has large possessions, and store of money; yet is never satisfied, but still desires more, and spends day and night in beating up; this man, I say, never dreams of applying for relief, or inquiring after the cause of his illness.*

⁴³ *You have heard, that where the Gods bestow, &c.* The Stoics taught, that the wise man alone was rich. But there were other philosophers, men of the world, who overturned this doctrine, and maintained the direct contrary. *Horace* therefore reasons upon this supposition, and endeavours to shew it false and absurd: *You have been always told that riches banished folly, and that to be rich and to be wise were the same;*

Et signo læso non insanire lagenæ;
 Posset qui rupem & puteum vitare patentem. 135
 Hic, ubi cognatorum opibus curisque reſectus,
 Expulit elleboro morbum bilemque meraco,
 Et redit ad ſeſe: Pol me occidiſtis, amici,
 Non ſervâſtis, ait, cui ſic extorta voluptas,
 Et demptus per vim mentis gratiſſimus error. 140

Nimirum ſapere eſt abjectis utile nugis,
 Et tempeſtivum pueris concedere ludum;
 Ac non verba ſequi fidibus modulanda Latinis,
 Sed veræ numeroſque modosque ediſcere vitæ.
 Quocirca mecum loquor hæc, tacituſque recordor;
 Si tibi nulla ſitim finiret copia lymphæ, 146
 Narrares medicis; quod, quanto plura parâſti,
 Tanto plura cupis, nulline faterier audes?
 Si vulnus tibi monſtratâ radice vel herbâ
 Non fieret levius, fugeres radice vel herbâ 150
 Proſiciente nihil curarier: audieras, cui
 Rem Dî donarent*, illi decedere pravam
 Stultitiam; & cùm ſis nihilo ſapientior, ex quo
 Plenior es, tamen utêris monitoribus iſdem?
 At ſi divitiæ prudentem reddere poſſent, 155
 Si cupidum timidumque minùs te; nempe ruberes,
 Viveret in terris te ſi quis avarior uno.

Si proprium eſt, quod quis librâ mercatus &
 ære eſt;

Quædam (ſi credis conſultis) mancipat uſus;
 Qui te paſcit ager, tuus eſt; & villicus Orbî, 160

Dii donarent rem; & cùm ſis nihilo ſapientior, ex quo es plenior, utêris tamen iſdem monitoribus? At ſi divitiæ poſſent reddere te prudentem, ſi minùs cupidum timidumque; nempe ruberes, ſi quis viveret in terris avarior te uno. Si, quod quis mercatus eſt librâ & ære, eſt proprium; ſi uſus mancipat quædam (ſi credis conſultis); ager qui paſcit te, eſt tuus; & villicus Orbî,

* donârint, Bentl.

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ſame; but you are ſatisfied yourſelf, that the increaſe of your riches has added nothing to your wiſdom; mean time you ſtill hearken to the ſame deceitful teachers.

44 *But bad riches the power.* If riches could render wiſe and prudent, if they could leſſen our deſires, or diſſipate our fears; in that caſe, covetouſneſs would do us honor, and we ought to loſe no opportunity of heaping up wealth. This is the meaning of the paſſage, which at firſt ſeems to carry ſome obſcurity in it.

45 *Buy with our own money.* He here combats the folly of heaping up money with a view to purchaſe lands; and argues, that they, who have not a foot of ground, are yet proprietors of whatever lands bear the

fruit which they buy: For, ſays Cicero, writing to Curius: *Id enim cuiuſque eſt proprium, quo quiſque fruitor atque utitur.* Librâ mercatus & ære, means here, to purchaſe with all the requiſite formalities. For in ſales and purchaſes, the money was weighed with a balance before witneſſes.

46 *Uſe gives a right, &c.* To prevent endleſs conteſts and ſuits, the laws have wiſely ordained, that poſſeſſion, for a certain number of years, gives the poſſeſſor an indiſputable right to the thing poſſeſſed. This is what Horace means by *mancipat*; alienates, transfers from the original proprietor, to him who has enjoyed it for the ſtated time.

47 *Orbius.* We know little or nothing about

tills the earth⁴⁸, that in harvest it may supply you with corn, owns you for his master. You give money; and receive grapes, fowls, eggs, a cask of wine: and in this manner purchase by degrees a piece of land, that was sold for three hundred
 165 thousand sesterces, or perhaps more. For where is the difference of living upon money laid out now, or several years ago? He, who bought long since some lands near Aricia or Veii⁴⁹, pays for the plate of herbs he sups upon, though, perhaps, he fancies quite otherwise; and boils his pot over night with wood
 170 that he hath bought. But, say you, he calls all that extent of land his own, to the spot where a certain poplar planted to serve as a boundary prevents all disputes with his neighbours: as if that could be called the property of any one, which in the short compass of an hour may change masters, and come into the pos-
 175 session of another, by gift, violence, sale, or death⁵⁰. As therefore we cannot have the perpetual enjoyment of things, and that one heir gives place to another, as waves succeed upon waves; to what purpose are large domains, or well filled granaries? why add the pastures of Lucania to those of Calabria; if death, not to be softened by gold, cuts down great and small? There
 180 are who have neither jewels, marble, ivory, Tuscan statues⁵¹, pictures, plate, nor garments of fine Getulian purple; there are others again, who never so much as desire to have them. Whence comes it, that of two brothers, the one prefers ease, pleasure, and dress, to all the revenues of Herod⁵²; the other
 185 rich and indefatigable, is busy from the rising to the setting sun in clearing and improving his country-farm? This is a secret known only to the Genius, who presides at our birth⁵³, who is the God of human nature, lives and dies with us, can change his appearances, and assume what shape he pleases. I will there-

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About this *Orbitus*: there is only reason to think, from what *Horace* says here, that he was one who had large domains, and yearly sold great quantities of grain.

⁴⁸ *When he tills the earth.* *Cum segetes occat.* *Occare* signifies properly to break or reduce into small pieces with a rake, or such like instrument. *Segetes* is here for *glebas*.

⁴⁹ *Some lands near Aricia or Veii.* *Aricia* was a small town near *Alba Longa*, and goes now by the name of *Rizza*. See more on *Satire* 5. Book I. *Veii* was a considerable city of *Tuscan*. *Horace* mentions these two domains, as being probably the largest in that country. To understand perfectly the poet's reasoning, we must conceive it thus: He, who has no land of his own, buys, by degrees, that of which he eats the fruit,

although perhaps such a notion never entered into his mind. In like manner, he, who is master of the domains of *Aricia* or *Veii*, buys, though perhaps he never once dreams of it, every thing that they yield; herbs, fowls, wine, wood, &c. The only difference is this, that the one pays his money all at once, the other gradually according as he receives.

⁵⁰ *Gift, violence, sale, or death.* *Nunc prece, nunc pretio, nunc vi, nunc sorte supremâ.* *Horace* mentions here all the different ways by which a man may acquire the property of a thing: for it either must be *prece*, by gift; or *pretio*, by purchase; *vi*, by force, in driving out the first possessors by an unjust suit, or open violence; or *sorte supremâ*, by succession after the death of the former master.

⁵¹ *Tuscan.*

Cùm segetes occat, tibi mox frumenta daturus *,
Te dominum sentit. Das nummos ; accipis uvam,
Pullos, ova, cadum temeti : nempe modo isto
Paulatim mercaris agrum, fortasse trecentis,
Aut etiam suprâ, nummorum millibus emptum. 165

Quid refert, vivas numerato nuper, an olim ?
Emptor Aricini quondam Veientis & arvi,
Emptum cœnat olus, quamvis aliter putat ; emptis
Sub noctem gelidam lignis calefactat ahenum.
Sed vocat usque suum, quâ populus adfita certis 170
Limitibus vicina refugit † jurgia : tanquam
Sit proprium quidquam, puncto quod mobilis horæ,
Nunc prece, nunc pretio, nunc vi, nunc forte ‡ su-
premâ,

Permutet dominos, & cedat in altera jura.
Sic quia perpetuus nulli datur usus, & hæres 175
Hæredem alterius ||, velut unda supervenit undam ;
Quid vici profunt, aut horrea ? quidve Calabris
Saltibus adjecti Lucani ; si metit Orcus
Grandia cum parvis, non exorabilis auro ?

Gemmas, marmor, ebur, Tyrrhena figilla, ta-
bellas, 180

Argentum, vestes Gætulo murice tinctas,
Sunt qui non habeant ; est qui non curet ** habere.
Cur alter fratrum cessare, & ludere, & ungi,
Præferat Herodis palmetis pinguibus ; alter
Dives & importunus, ad umbram lucis ab ortu 185
Silvestrem flammis & ferro mitiget agrum ;
Scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum,
Naturæ Deus humanæ, mortalis in unum-
quodque caput, vultu mutabilis, albus, & ater.

grandia cum parvis ? Sunt (homines) qui non habeant gemmas, marmor, ebur, figilla Tyrrhena, tabellas, argentum, vestes tinctas Gætulo murice ; est qui non curet habere. Cur alter fratrum præferat cessare, & ludere, & ungi, pinguibus palmetis Herodis ; alter dives & importunus, mitiget agrum silvestrem flammis & ferro ab ortu solis ad umbram ; scit Genius, qui comes tem- perat astrum natale, Deus naturæ humanæ, mortalis moriens in unumquodque caput, mutabilis cultu, albus, & ater.

* Daturas, Benth. † refigit, Id. ‡ morte, Id. || alternis, Id. § curat, Id.

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⁵¹ Tuscan statues. Tyrrhena figilla. Little statues of Tuscany. The old scholiast observes upon this, that the Tuscans were the first of the Italians who applied to the working of marble, and carving it into statues. But these are not the statues that Horace speaks of here: he means, without doubt, a certain kind of statues of earth or gilt brass, invented by the Tuscans, and used in adorning the frontispieces of temples ; as we learn from Vitruvius, Book III. Chap. 2.

⁵² To all the revenues of Herod. Præferat Herodis palmetis pinguibus. The most fertile part of Judea was Jericho, where was the

palace of Herod, near to a grove of fine palm-trees. Strabo gives a very beautiful description of this place, in his 16th Book: Jericho, say he, stands on a plain, surrounded with mountains in form of an amphitheatre. Near to it there is a wood of a hundred stadia, abounding in all sorts of fruit-trees, particularly the palm, &c. Herod was king of Judea, which dignity he had obtained from Augustus and the senate by means of Antony, who had a great value for him. He was naturally fond of magnificence, and immensely rich.

⁵³ The Genius, who presides at our birth, Z 2 Genius,

- 190 therefore enjoy fortune, and take from my little heap whatever may be needful; without giving myself any concern as to what my heir may think, when he shall find nothing but what I owe to the bounty of my friends: yet at the same time I would always distinguish between a plain cheerful man, who loves to enjoy life, and a rake, between a good œconomist and a miser.
- 195 For there is a great difference between prodigally squandering away, and expending frankly, without an anxiety to heap up: but, making the best of the short season that is allowed us, pass it agreeably, as of old, when school-boys, we did the feast of Minerva⁵⁴. Let but sordid poverty keep at a distance; and
- 200 whether I am carried in a fine barge or little pinnace, I shall be still the same. We have not, perhaps, our sails filled with propitious northern gales; yet we are not obliged to struggle with adverse south-winds: in strength, genius⁵⁵, beauty, virtue, birth and fortune, if behind the first, yet not altogether the last.
- 205 You are free of covetousness; it is well. But have all your other vices fled with this? Are you no longer the slave of wretched ambition? Have you mastered your passionate temper, and slavish fear of death? Can you laugh at dreams⁵⁶, magic terrors, miracles, forceries, nightly ghosts and apparitions⁵⁷, with all the childish prodigies of Thessaly? Do you contentedly
- 210 see⁵⁸ your years increase with the return of your birth-days? rankly forgive your friends? and grow milder and better⁵⁹ as old age approaches? What avails it to pull out one thorn, while so many are left behind? If you know not what is fit and decent in life, give place to those that do⁶⁰. You have eat, drank,

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Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum. The Genius which presides at the birth of men, and which being different, in different times and places, causes all that difference of temper and inclinations which we observe among them. This is properly nothing else but the human soul. *Qui temperat astrum*; who governs the star that presides at the birth of every one, that is, according to ancient astrology, that part of the sign which shines at the birth. *Astrum nascentis, horæ sidus*; the horoscope. The ancients fancied, that every man's horoscope was governed by his Genius, because their fortune in a great measure depended upon it: *Sui cuique mores fortunam fingunt.*

⁵⁴ *As of old, when school-boys, we did the feast of Minerva. Puer ut festis Quinquatribus olim. Quinquatrus, or Quinquatria, the feast of Minerva, which continued five days; beginning on the 19th of March, and ending the 3d. It was during this solemnity*

that the boys and girls used to pray to the Goddess for wisdom and learning, of which she had the patronage. At the same time they carried their masters their fee, or present, termed *Minerval*.

⁵⁵ *Strength, genius, &c. Viribus, ingenio, specie, virtute, loco, re.* We have here included in a single verse, almost all that a man can wish for. And the poet says that, in respect of all these, if he was not the first, yet neither was he the last. I believe there is no man will dispute his virtue or genius; and as for his constitution and fortune, if they pleased himself, it was enough. As he was thick and short; we may wonder how he comes to speak of his mien and air, or of his birth, being no more than the son of a freedman. But from all we can learn, his shape, though perhaps none of the best, had yet something graceful in it; and the advantage of being born of one that was free, was by no means inconsiderable. It is

Utar, & ex modico, quantum res poscet, acervo
Tollam; nec metuum quid de me judicet hæres,
Quòd non plura datis invenerit: & tamen idem 192
Scire volam, quantum simplex hilarisque nepoti
Discrepet, & quantum discordet parvus avaro.
Distat enim, spargas tua prodigus, an neque sump-
tum 196

Invitus facias, neque plura parare labores:
Ac potiùs, puer ut festis Quinquatribus olim,
Exiguo gratoque fruaris tempore raptim.

Pauperies immunda domus procul* absit: ego, 200
utrùm

Nave ferar magnâ an parvâ, ferar unus & idem.
Non agimur tumidis velis Aquilone secundo;
Non tamen adversis ætatem ducimus Austris:
Viribus, ingenio, specie, virtute, loco, re,
Extremi primorum, extremis usque priores.

Non es avarus; abi. Quid? cætera jam simul isto
Cum vitio fugere? Caret tibi pectus inani 206
Ambitione? Caret mortis formidine, & irâ?
Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
Nocturnos lemures, portentaque Thessala rides?
Natales gratè numeras? ignoscis amicis? 210
Lenior & melior sis accedente senectâ?
Quid te exempta juvat † spinis de pluribus una?
Vivere si rectè nescis, decede peritis.

cætera jam fugere simul cum isto vitio? Pectus caret tibi inani ambitione? Caret formidine mor-
tis, & irâ? An rides somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas, lemures nocturnos, portentaque
Thessala? An numeras dies natales gratè? ignoscis amicis? sis lenior & melior senectâ acce-
dente? Quid una exempta de pluribus spinis juvat te? Si nescis vivere rectè, decede peritis.

* procul procul, Bentl.

† levat, Id.

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is only necessary to suppose, that there were others more unshapely and more meanly born than he, which we can do without straining.

56 *Dreams.* Horace here ranks dreams with magic illusions and stories of nightly apparitions. This is the more remarkable, as Augustus was of a different notion; for he gave so great heed to dreams, as not to overlook even what others had dreamed of him. Dreams are not to be wholly disregarded; I believe there are few whose experience will not furnish them with some of considerable moment. Horace laughs here at an anxious superstitious attention to them.

57 *Nightly ghosts and apparitions.* Nocturnos lemures. Lemures for remures, so called from Remus, who, after his death, was

supposed to come and torment his brother; who, to appease his ghost, instituted the feast called *Lemuria*, in which sacrifices were offered to these restless souls of the dead.

58 *Do you contentedly see?* Natales gratè numeras? The meaning is this: When your birth-day arrives, are you not mortified at the increase of your years, or thrown into melancholy reflections by so near a view of your end?

59 *Milder and better.* Age sweetens the temper; Lenit albescens animos capillus. The experience and reflection of past years contribute to make us better. Hence the reason why the poet joins these two together, lenior & melior.

60 *Give place to those that do.* Decede peritis.

drank, and amused yourself enough; it is now time to retire:
 215 left if running to excess you become the jest and ridicule of
 the youth, on whom mirth and festivity sit with a better
 grace.

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peritis. There is a time to retire, as well as to appear. An infirm and peevish old age is always the object either of compassion or raillery. It is therefore the height of wisdom to seek only the society of those who are of a suitable age and temper, and avoid such commerce as will but expose us to ridicule. The poet wants to have *Florus* both more

The KEY.

FULIUS FLORUS, parting from *Rome* to accompany *Tiberius* in his expedition into *Pannonia*, in the year of the city 742, had entreated of *Horace* that he would write to him, and send him, at the same time, some poems in the lyric way. *Horace*, it would seem, had excused himself, and told him not to rely upon him. But this was not enough to *Florus*, who, finding himself disappointed by our poet, wrote him a letter, complaining of his silence, and the little concern he had about him. *Horace* writes this answer in his own defence, and to convince his friend of the injustice of his complaints. It contains not only a vindication of himself for not writing, but also the reasons of his not sending the poems he had desired. *Horace* was naturally indolent and fond of ease; he could not bear to engage in any work of labor: and this was, probably, the chief reason of his being so backward to engage in poetry. He even owns as much himself, as says, that nothing but necessity put him first upon it. But he is not satisfied with this single excuse; he adds several others, by which to make it appear that the task of writing was, of all others, the most ungrateful, and contrary to his temper. All this is said in a way of pleasantry and humor, and mixed with several strokes of raillery against his cotemporary poets, in which he exposes their pride, and that mean selfish complaisance they shewed one another. We find, at the same time,

Lufisti fatiſ, ediſti fatiſ, atque bibiſti;
 Tempus abire tibi eſt: ne potum largiùs æquo 215
 Rideat, & pulſet laſciva decentiùs ætas.
 & pulſet te potum largiùs æquo.

Satiſ luſiſti, ſatiſ ediſti,
 atque bibiſti; tempus
 eſt tibi abire: ne ætas
 decentiùs laſciva rideat

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more wiſe and more happy. *Vivere rectè*, power, and not to mar them to ourſelves
 in the preceding verſe, means, to live con- and others by chagrin, and the inquietudes
 tented with the pleaſures that are in our of ambition, deſire, and ſuperſtitious fear.

The KEY.

time, intermixed a great many excellent precepts relating to poetry, where is ſhewn the difficulty of ſucceeding in it, and the great labor and attention neceſſary to give real value to a work of this kind. From this he takes occaſion to inſinuate, that it is both a wiſer and a better courſe, to ſet about regulating life, and forming it to harmony and exactneſs, than to amuſe ourſelves in the ſtudy of words, and ranging them according to number and meaſure. The poet manages this part with great addreſs; for, under the appearance of ſpeaking only to himſelf, and revolving in his mind a ſet of rules by which to form his own behaviour, he has found out the way to give his friend good advice againſt anger, the fear of death, ambition, avarice, ſuperſtition, and all the other vices to which he was remarkably ſubject. One cannot but be pleaſed in reading over the latter part of this Epistle, to obſerve the air of candor and good-nature with which *Horace* writes. He had a ſoul infinitely above low flattery and complaiſance: every thing he ſays ſpeaks an uncommon ſincerity and unbiassed concern for his friend. He wanted to make him happy, and therefore has the courage to tell him how he may be ſo, though the way pointed out might not perhaps be agreeable.

Horace wrote this Epistle in his 56th year, and it ſeems to have been one of his laſt works.

H O R A C E

H O R A C E

OF THE

A R T O F P O E T R Y.

To the Pisos.

SHOULD a painter¹ take it in his head to join a mare's neck to a human head, and, borrowing limbs from beasts of different kinds, cover all with the feathers of various birds in such manner, that being above a beautiful woman, it should end in a hideous fish; if admitted to see this fantastic piece, would
5 you be able to keep from laughter?

Believe me, Pisos², that nothing more resembles this picture than a book, where the ideas are vague and confusedly jumbled together, like the dreams of a disordered brain; and where the head and feet have no relation to the other parts. But painters, you will say, and poets have always had the privilege to attempt
10 whatever they pleased. I know it, and frankly give and take the same liberty: yet not so as to join what is savage to what is mild, birds with serpents, or lambs with tigers.

Often after a lofty beginning³ that promises great things, we
15 are amused with the description of a grove, an altar of Diana, the wild meanders of a stream gliding through pleasant fields, the Rhine, or rainbow; like purple patches in a garment, that
20 make

ANNO T A T I O N S.

¹ *Should a painter.* Horace enters upon his subject at once without preamble, and begins with the most necessary and general precept, as being the foundation of all the rest, viz. unity and simplicity, in the subject, in the arrangement or disposition, in the ornaments and style.

² *Pisos.* There were three or four families of this surname at Rome. The present work is addressed to Lucius Piso and his two sons. The father was consul in the 739th year of the city, triumphed over the Thracians who had revolted in 743, was governor of Rome after Statilius Taurus for twenty years, and died chief pontiff in the 786th,

and the 80th of his age. Velleius Paterculus gives this advantageous character of him: *De quo viro hoc omnibus sentiendum ac prædicandum est, esse mores ejus vigore ac lenitate mitissimos; & vix quinquam referiri posse, qui aut otium validius diligeret, aut facilius sufficeret negotio, & magis quæ agenda sunt curet sine ulla ostentatione agendi.* "As to Piso all agree, that his manners were mixed of resolution and mildness; and it would be hard to find a man, who more loved ease and quiet, or discovered a greater sufficiency for business, and managed with less ostentation what came properly under his notice."

3 *Osten*

H O R A T I I

DE

ARTE POETICA.

L I B E R.

Ad PISONES.

HUMANO capiti cervicem pictor equinam
Jungere si velit, & varias inducere plumas,
Undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum
Desinat in piscem mulier formosa supernè;
Spectatum admissi risum teneatis, amici?
Credite, Pisones, isti tabulæ fore librum
Per similem, cujus, velut ægri somnia, vanæ
Fingentur species; ut nec pes, nec caput uni
Reddatur formæ. Pictoribus atque poetis
Quidlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas.
Scimus, & hanc veniam petimusque damusque vi-
cissim:

Sed non ut placidis coëant immitia; non ut
Serpentes avibus gementur, tigribus agni.

Inceptis gravibus plerumque & magna professis,
Purpureus, latè qui splendeat, unus & alter
Assuitur pannus; cùm lucus, & ara Dianæ,
Et properantis aquæ per amœnos ambitus agros,

*immitia coëant placidis; non ut serpentes gementur avibus, agni tigribus. Pannus unus & alter
purpureus, qui splendeat latè, assuitur plerumque inceptis gravibus & professis magna; cùm lucus,
& ara Dianæ, & ambitus aquæ properantis per amœnos agros,*

ORDO.

SI pictor velit jun-
gere cervicem equi-
nam humano capiti, &
inducere varias plumas,
membris undique colla-
tis, ut cùm sit mulier
formosa supernè, desinat
turpiter in atrum pi-
scem; O amici, an
admissi spectatum tene-
atis risum? Credite,
Pisones, librum per-
similem fore isti tabulæ,
cujus species fingentur
vanæ, velut somnia
ægri; ut nec pes, nec
caput reddatur uni for-
mæ. Dices, Semper
æqua potestas audendi
quidlibet fuit pictori-
bus atque poetis. Sci-
mus, & damusque pe-
timusque vicissim hanc
veniam: sed non ut

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3 *Often after a lofty beginning.* After the general precept, Horace enters upon particulars, and gives here an example of that injudicious variety which he condemns. But, to make us still more sensible with what caution we ought to avoid offending against unity, which he establishes as a thing necessary and indispensable, he remarks only upon those faults which appear less shocking, and are so much the more dangerous, as they

wear the dress of beauty; viz. descriptions, which little geniuses are always apt to run into. From beginnings that are grave and serious, that promise nothing but what is great and noble, they run into the description of a grove or altar: these, says our poet, may be good; they are truly purple patches, but withal childish and extravagant, because ill-placed. A poet ought never to abandon himself to these digressions, of
whatever

make a great show. But then they are not in their proper place. You know perhaps how to paint a cypress⁴: but will this answer his expectations, who hires you to draw him in
 20 the midst of a shipwreck, floating without hope, upon one of the planks of his broken ship? You began a large urn⁵: why do you thus end it a diminutive pitcher? In fine, whatever subject you choose, be careful to preserve simplicity and unity of design⁶.

The greater part of poets, father and son, are commonly deluded by a seeming excellence⁷. I affect brevity, and become
 25 obscure: another by polishing too much destroys the spirit and fire of his work: a third, who aims at the sublime, runs into bombast: the poet again, who too cautiously avoids bombast, servilely creeps upon the ground: in like manner, he who would vary⁸ in some extraordinary way a subject that ought to be quite simple, paints dolphins on trees, and boars in the middle of the
 30 waves. Thus the fear of erring, without judgment and art, is apt to lead us into still greater errors.

The meanest workman in the Æmilian square⁹ can grave the nails, or imitate the easy flowing hair; yet upon the whole his statues are wretched, because he knows not how to finish his work in just proportion: were I to bestow labor upon any
 35 work, I would no more imitate such a one, than appear in public remarkable for my fine black hair and eyes, but disfigured by a wry nose.

Let each one choose¹⁰ a subject, suited to his strength and genius; and well consider with himself, what his shoulders can,
 40 or cannot bear: where a good and just choice is made, eloquence and method will never fail.

The

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whatever kind they may be, when his design calls him elsewhere.

4 *How to paint a cypress.* Descriptions in poetry, and the imitation of a cypress-tree in painting, were commonly the first essays made in these several arts.

5 *You began a large urn.* *Amphora tæpit institui: currenre rotâ cur urceus exit?* Here we have another image drawn from the potters, who commonly began by small water-vessels called *urcei*, and advanced, by degrees, to the large urn, *amphora*, which was accounted the master-piece in their way. A potter, who, after beginning a great urn, should end it in a little pitcher, is like a poet, who, after a magnificent *exordium*, loses himself in these descriptions, the proper work of a learner. *Amphora an-*

swers to inceptis gravibus; and urceus to purpureus pannus.

6 *To preserve simplicity and unity of design.* This is the precept that results from what he has been saying all along. Simplicity and unity are directly opposite to the error he complains of; foreign descriptions destroy them quite. *Homer, Sophocles, and Virgil*, admit nothing into their works but what is strictly connected with the subject: every thing is conducted with the greatest judgment and art; their descriptions come in the most natural easy manner imaginable.

7 *Are deluded by a seeming excellence.* We are not to consider this as a new precept, but as a general reason for the error he had been censuring. It is in the beauties of art as in those of nature; we are frequently deceived

Aut flumen Rhenum, aut pluvius describitur arcus.
Sed nunc non erat his locus: & fortasse cupressum
Scis simulare: quid hoc, si fractis enatat exspes 20
Navibus, ære dato qui pingitur? Amphora cœpit
Institui: currente rotâ cur urceus exit?
Denique sit quod * vis simplex duntaxat & unum.

Maxima pars vatum (pater, & juvenes patre digni)
Decipimur specie recti. Brevis esse laboro, 25
Obscurus fio: sectantem levia † nervi
Deficiunt animique: professus grandia, turgēt:
Serpit humi tutus nimium, timidusque procellæ:
Qui variare cupit rem prodigialiter unam,
Delphinum silvis appingit, fluctibus aprum. 30
In vitium ducit culpæ fuga, si caret arte.

Æmilium circa ludum faber imus ‡ & ungues
Exprimet, & molles imitabitur ære capillos;
Infelix operis summâ, quia ponere totum 34
Nesciet: hunc ego me, si quid componere curem,
Non magis esse velim, quàm pravo vivere naso ||,
Spectandum nigris oculis nigroque capillo.

Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, æquam
Viribus; & versate diu, quid ferre recusent,
Quid valeant humeri: cui lecta potenter erit res, 40
Nec facundia deferet hunc, nec lucidus ordo.

Faber imus circa ludum Æmilium & exprimet ungues, & imitabitur molles capillos ære; infelix summâ operis, quia nesciet ponere totum: ego, si curem quid componere, non magis velim me esse hunc, quàm vivere spectandum nigris oculis nigroque capillo, sed pravo naso. Vos, qui scribitis, sumite materiam æquam vestris viribus; & versate diu, quid humeri valeant, quid recusent ferre: cui res erit lecta potenter, nec facundia, nec lucidus ordo deferet hunc.

* quid, Benth. † lenia, Id. ‡ unus, Id. || naso vivere parvo, Id.

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deceived by false appearances. A poet imagines he can embellish his work by a fine description, and spoils it. This is the true connexion of the words. What follows, *brevis esse laboro, obscurus fio*, are examples brought to confirm the general proposition, *decipimur specie recti*.

8 He who would vary. This confirms what was said in the former note: for he returns to shew, that, by aiming too much at variety, their compositions become monstrous: *Omnia monstra faciunt*; to use the words of Catullus. The word *prodigialiter* is to be joined with *variare*: *variare prodigialiter*, to vary in a surprising manner.

9 The meanest workman in the Æmilian square. *Æmilium circa ludum faber imus*. There is scarce any passage in Horace that has more puzzled commentators than that

now before us. Dacier imagines, that this is meant of a certain statuary, who dwelt at the lower end of the circus, near the school of Æmilius, where one Æmilius Lentulus had taught gadiators to fence. Sanadon, on the other hand, instead of *imus*, reads *unus*. *Unus & ungues exprimet*; that is, *unus omnium optime exprimet*. Neither of these explications seems to me to hit the true sense of the poet: I have therefore chosen rather to follow in this particular the judgment of Rescommon, who translates *faber imus*, the meanest workman in the Æmilian circus, or square.

10 Let each one choose, &c. This is one of the most essential precepts in poetry. Aristotle, in his *Poetics*, observes, that the want of a due attention to this is one of the chief causes why poets fail in what is their main design, viz. a just imitation.

11 The

aut flumen Rhenum, aut arcus pluvius describitur. Sed nunc non erat locus his: & scis fortasse simulare cupressum: quid hoc, si ille, qui pingitur ære dato, enatat exspes fractis navibus? Amphora cœpit institui: cur rotâ currente urceus exit? Denique sit quod vis (scribis) simplex & duntaxat unum. Maxima pars vatum (pater, & juvenes digni patre) decipimur specie recti. Laboro esse brevis, & fio obscurus: nervi animique deficiunt poetam sectantem levia carmina: poeta, professus grandia, turgēt: nimium tutus, timidusque procellæ serpīt humi: qui cupit variare prodigialiter rem unam, appingit delphinum silvis, aprum fluctibus. Fuga culpæ, si caret arte, ducit in vitium.

The virtue and beauty of method ¹¹ (or I am much deceived) lies in this, to know when to say ¹² what the present necessity seems to demand, and to reserve a great part of what appeareth even pertinent to another time.

- 45 The author of a poem that has long raised the expectations of the public, ought to be very careful and judicious in the choice of incidents ¹³. Great delicacy is moreover required in the placing of words. You gain your point ¹⁴, if by a fine and artful connexion you can make a new word out of two already known: but if perhaps there is a necessity to invent words entirely new ¹⁵ to express things not known before; in this case you are at liberty to frame new terms unknown to
50 our ancestors ¹⁶, and such a licence managed with discretion will never give offence: nay, these newly coined words will be well received, if they are derived from the Greek by a simple and plain analogy. For is it to be supposed that the Romans would refuse to Varius and Virgil, a liberty they had granted to Plautus and Cæcilius? And why should I be envied
55 the right of acquiring a few new terms; when both Cato and Ennius enriched their native language in this manner? It has been,

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¹¹ *The virtue and beauty of method.* Horace explains here, in few words, wherein consists the beauty and justness of that order which a poet ought to follow in the disposition of his subject; and adds these words, *aut ego fallor*, because he was going to establish a new precept upon the practice of the greatest authors of antiquity, and one that had never been taken notice of by any author before him.

¹² *To know when to say, &c.* *Ut jam nunc dicat, jam nunc debentia dici pleraque differat.* *Debentia dici* belongs both to *dicat* and *differat*. *Ut jam nunc dicat debentia dici jam nunc, & differat pleraque jam nunc debentia dici.* Literally, "That he say presently things that ought to be said presently, and reserve to another time the greater part even of those things that ought to be said presently." Horace, in this precept, lets us into one of the greatest secrets of poetry. An historian is obliged to follow the order of time in giving an account of transactions: but the rule to be observed by poets in the disposition of their subject is very different: for in dramatic poetry, as well as epic, the great masters open the scene as near as possible to the catastrophe, and always take action within a little from the accomplishment of it. Their address furnishes them afterwards with means to acquaint us with all that had happened before, and which it was not pro-

per to inform us of immediately in train. Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides, have strictly adhered to this rule, and it is of marvellous effect in their works: for in removing out of sight, by a variety of incidents, the catastrophe which we expect every moment, they inflame our curiosity, and raise in us a succession of passions, which could never spring from a methodical narration of facts.

¹³ *Choice of incidents.* After the rule for method and disposition, he speaks of the choice of incidents; for all are not equally beautiful, nor merit to enter into a poem. Moreover, the choice itself is extremely difficult; what is good in an epic poem, will not have the same effect in tragedy. Besides, he not only means that we ought to make choice of some, and reject others; but give also to every one of those we receive the place that best suits them, where they may have the best effect, and be most agreeable to the design of the poem: for the same incident, placed in different parts of the poem, may have a very different aspect. Bentley has a very peculiar notion upon this verse; he thinks that it is placed wrong, and ought to come after that which in common editions follows it, thus:

*In verbis etiam tenuis cautusque serendis,
Hoc amet, hoc spernat promissi carminis
auctor.*

"A poet ought to be very nice and delicate
" in

Ordinis hæc virtus erit & venus, aut ego fallor,
Ut jam nunc dicat, jam nunc debentia dici
Pleraque differat, & præsens in tempus omittat.
Hoc amet, hoc spernat promissi carminis auctor.

In verbis etiam tenuis cautusque serendis,
Dixeris egregiè, notum si callida verbum
Reddiderit junctura novum : si fortè necesse est
Indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum ;
Fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis
Continget, dabiturque licentia sumpta prudenter :
Et nova fictaque * nuper habebunt verba fidem, si
Græco fonte cadent parçè detorta. Quid autem
Cæcilio Plautoque dabit Romanus, ademptum
Virgilio Varioque ? Ego cur acquirere pauca,
Si possum, invideor ; cum lingua Catonis & Enni

cinctutis Cethegis, licentiaque sumpta prudenter dabitur : & verba nova nuperque ficta habebunt fidem, si cadent de Græco fonte detorta parçè. Dabit autem Romanus Cæcilio Plautoque, quid ademptum Virgilio Varioque ? Cur ego invideor acquirere pauca, si possum ; cum lingua Catonis & Enni

* factaque, Bentl.

Aut ego fallor, aut hæc erit virtus & venus ordinis, ut dicat jam nunc debentia dici jam nunc, & ut differat & omittat in præsens tempus pleraque debentia dici jam nunc. Auctor carminis promissi amet hoc, spernat hoc. Tenuis etiam cautusque in verbis serendis, egregiè dixeris, si callida junctura reddiderit notum verbum novum : si fortè necesse est monstrare abdita rerum recentibus indiciiis ; continget fingere verba non exaudita

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" in the choice of words, admit some, and reject others."

¹⁴ You gain your point, &c. Horace proceeds here to what regards words and expressions in poetry ; and gives rules both with respect to the use of words already received, and the framing of new ones. These last are of two kinds, simple and compound : the compound are made out of two words, which, though both already received by common use, yet, when joined together, make a new word unknown before ; as *velivolum*, *saxifragum*, *versutiloquus*. And this kind of composition, when made with judgment and address, is what Horace here calls *callida junctura*. It will be proper to observe here, that some have given a very different turn to this passage. They pretend that the poet is not speaking of words, but of expressions and phrases, when, by means of epithets and adverbs, known terms of ordinary use are determined to a new and extraordinary meaning. This Horace himself was remarkable for, insomuch that Quintilian says of him ; *Et verbis felicissimè audax* : and it is in this sense that the greater part of critics explain what Petronius calls *Horatii curiosa felicitas*. This turn to the words is rather ingenious than true. Horace would never have called such a disposition of words *junctura*, which necessarily marks some alliance and connection, when two things are joined together in one. This they have been sensible of them-

selves, and therefore instead of *junctura*, some read *strictura*.

¹⁵ Words entirely new. We have here the rule for simple words, which Aristotle calls *παρρημένα* ; and Cicero, *ficta* ; that is, such as are entirely new, and were never in use before. Horace says, that a poet is at liberty to frame new words when he is, obliged to express things uncommon, or of late invention. For example ; as the present art of war differs very much from that followed by the ancients, a poet would find himself under a necessity to invent many new words, to express the artillery, cannon, powder, and their effects. But care must always be taken, that these newly framed words express either the nature of the thing described, or some of its principal effects.

¹⁶ Unknown to our ancestors. *Cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis*. The *Cethegi* are here represented as masculine and laborious men, who retained, in their habits, the manner of the first Romans ; *cinctuti*. The poet refers to what was commonly called *cinctus Gabinus*, thus described by Ferrarius : *Cinctus Gabinus non aliud fuit, quam cum togæ lacinia lævo brachio subducta in tergum ita rejiciebatur, ut contracta retraheretur ad pectus, atque ita in nodum neceretur ; qui nodus sive cinctus togam contraherebat, breviorēque & strictiorem reddidit*. The *cinctus Gabinus* was nothing else, but when the lappet of the gown, which used to be brought up to the left shoulder,

- been, and always will be allowed us to coin new words if they are distinguished by the current stamp¹⁷. As the forests yearly
 60 change their leaves, the first fall, and new ones spring up in their place: just the same is it with words; the more ancient by degrees are forgotten, new ones spring up and flourish with all the ornaments of youth. We are all doomed to oblivion both we and our works¹⁸; whether the earth cut into an harbour receives the rolling sea, and forms a safe station for fleets fenced against stormy north-winds, a work truly royal; or a marsh
 65 long barren, and only fit for oars, but now drained, feels the heavy plough, and nourishes the neighbouring towns: or that a river, taught now to glide along a better channel, has changed its course hurtful to the rising grain. All the works (I say) of mortals shall perish; so little reason is there to hope that the honor of language can long subsist, or words always retain their
 70 grace and beauty. Many terms, now out of use, shall revive; and many, now in vogue, sink into oblivion, if custom will have it so; custom the sovereign arbitrator of language.

Homer was the first who taught us in what kind of verse¹⁹ we were to sing of bloody wars, and the exploits of kings and great captains.

- 75 The unequal measures of elegy were at first appropriated to complaints²⁰ and tears, but afterwards were employed also to express the joys of conquest and success in love. As to who was the author of the lesser elegiac²¹ verse, grammarians dispute about it, nor is the contest yet finally decided.

Rage and resentment first armed Archilochus²² with iambics.
 Comedy

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shoulder, being drawn thence, was cast off in such a manner upon the back, as to come round short to the breast, and there fasten in a knot; which knot or cincture tucked up the gown, and made it shorter and firmer. This *cinctus* was proper only to the consuls or generals upon some extraordinary occasions; as the denouncing war, burning the spoils of the enemy, devoting themselves to death for the safety of their army, and the like. It was borrowed from the inhabitants of *Gabii*, a city of *Campania*, who, at the time of a public sacrifice, happening to be set upon suddenly by their enemies, were obliged through haste to gather up their gowns in this manner, and so march out to oppose them.

¹⁷ If they are distinguished by the current stamp. The poet here speaks of words as of money, which is not current unless marked by the public stamp; for this is what we are to understand by *præsens nota*:

the public stamp, that which was used to distinguish the current coin. Hence *Quintilian*; *Utendum planè sermone, ut nummo, cui publica forma est. Forma* is the same with what *Horace* here calls *nota*. To give a word therefore the current stamp, it must be clear and intelligible, resemble in termination the words already in use, and throw off every thing of a foreign air.

¹⁸ Doomed to oblivion both we and our works. His reasoning is thus: If the most solid and durable of our works, cutting of harbours, and draining of marshes, cannot always last, it would be ridiculous to fancy that words liable to a thousand changes should.

¹⁹ In what kind of verse. *Horace* speaks here of the epic poem, and with reason says, that *Homer* was the first who taught in what kind of verse it was to be written. For that prince of poets saw at once, that nothing but the heroic measure would agree

Sermonem patrium ditaverit, & nova rerum
Nomina protulerit? Licuit, semperque licebit
Signatum præsentē notā producere nomen*.

Ut silvæ foliis pronos † mutantur in annos,
Prima cadunt: ita verborum vetus interit ætas,
Et juvenum ritu florent modò nata vigentque.
Debemur morti nos nostraque; sive receptus
Terrâ Neptunus classes Aquilonibus arcet,
Regis opus; sterilisque ‡ diu palus ||, aptaque remis,
Vicinas urbes alit, & grave sentit aratrum;
Seu cursum mutavit iniquum frugibus amnis,
Doctus iter melius. Mortalia facta** peribunt;
Nedum sermonum stet honos & gratia vivax.

60
66
69
Multa renascentur, quæ jam cecidere; cadentque,
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus;
Quem penes arbitrium est, & jus, & norma loquendi.

Res gestæ regumque ducumque, & tristia bella,
Quo scribi possent numero monstravit Homerus.

Versibus impariter junctis querimonia primùm,
Post etiam inclusa est voti sententia compos.

76
Quis tamen exiguos elegos emisit auctor,
Grammatici certant, & adhuc sub judice lis est.

Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo.

fulus, penes quem est arbitrium, & jus, & norma loquendi, volet. Homerus monstravit quo numero res gestæ regumque ducumque, & bella tristia scribi possent. Primùm querimonia, post etiam sententia compos voti inclusa est versibus junctis impariter. Quis tamen auctor emisit exiguos elegos, grammatici certant, & lis est adhuc sub judice. Rabies armavit Archilochum proprio iambo.

* producere nummum, *Bentl.* † silvis folia privos. *Id.* ‡ sterilisve, *Id.*
|| prius, *Id.* ** cuncta, *Id.*

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to the majesty of this composition. *Aristotle* too was sensible of this, and therefore, in his *Art of Poetry*, says: *Experience convinces us, that heroic verses alone agree to epic poetry: and were any one to attempt it in another kind, or by mixing verses of various kinds together, he would find all his labor vain: for heroics are, by far, the most grave and pompous.*

²⁰ *At first appropriated to complaints.* Elegy was, at first, nothing else but a complaining poem upon the death of a friend. Hence *Ovid*, upon the death of *Tibullus*, says, in allusion to its origin:

Flebilis indignos Elegia solve capillos:

Ab nimis ex vero nunc tibi nomen erit.

It was hence, probably, that the notion sprung, of elegy's owing its birth to the tears that were shed upon the death of *Adonis*. Soon after, it was employed in

painting the joys and griefs of lovers.

²¹ *Lesser elegiac.* The pentameter is properly the elegiac verse; which, as it has one foot less than the hexameter that precedes it, is, on this account, called by the poet *exiguus elegus*. It is for this reason too, that he says, two lines before, *versibus impariter junctis*. This inequality of verse is one of the principal advantages that the *Greek* and *Latin* elegy has over ours, in which we are obliged to employ heroic numbers only.

²² *Archilochus.* The invention of iambics is here attributed to *Archilochus*. It is known, however, that iambic verse was in use long before him; but as no one had used it with the same force and propriety, he has the honor of being called its inventor; and all, who speak of this kind of verse, call it the iambics of *Archilochus*.

²³ *Comedy*

80 Comedy and tragedy²³ both adopted this kind of verse, as fittest for alternate discourse²⁴, what seemed framed to drive forward an action, and surmount the tumultuous noise of the crowd.

Calliope taught²⁵ to celebrate on the harp the Gods, and the offspring of the Gods; to praise the victories of a wrestler, or
85 swiftness of a courser that has gained the prize. If I know not how to preserve²⁶ this difference of characters, and give to each work its proper coloring, why am I honored with the name of poet?

A comic subject will not admit²⁷ of the pompous lofty
90 numbers of tragedy: nor will the bloody supper of Thyestes²⁸ bear to be told in simple verse like those of comedy. Let every subject have a style and ornaments suited to itself. Sometimes however it happens that comedy raises its voice, and Chremes enraged²⁹ speaks in a high strain of indignation: tragedians
95 too lower their style, and lay aside state to express their griefs. Telephus and Peleus³⁰, oppressed with poverty and banished their native home, must lay aside high sentiments and heroic language³¹, if they want to move the spectators to pity by their complaints. It is not enough that poems are beautiful; they must also be affecting, and bend the mind of the hearer every way,

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²³ Comedy and tragedy, &c. *Hunc socci cepere pedem grandæque coturni.* Coturnus, the boot worn by the tragic actors; *soccus*, that of the comedians; put here for these several kinds of poetry.

²⁴ Alternate discourse. The poet gives three qualities to iambic verse. First, that it is fit for conversation; that it appeases the tumults in the theatre, and gives life and vigor to an action. The first appears from this, that even in common discourse, the *Greeks* and *Latins* would run into several iambs together; and if so, it must necessarily serve best to appease the noise in the theatres, because it was aptest to engage the attention. As to its being proper for action, *Quintilian* gives this account of it: *Frequentiorem quasi pulsum habet, ab omnibus partibus insurgit, & à brevibus in longas nititur & crescit.*

²⁵ Calliope taught, &c. He explains here what are the proper subjects of lyric poetry, and, as the inventor of it was unknown, gives that honor to one of the Muses: unless we suppose that he meant to ascribe it to *Orpheus*, who had learnt it of the Muse *Calliope* his mother, as *Horace* elsewhere observes, *L. i. Ode 12.*

*Arte maternâ rapidos morantem
Fluminum lapsus.*

²⁶ If I know not how to preserve. This passage is not without some difficulty, arising chiefly from an uncertainty whether it ought to be connected with what precedes, or comes after. Not to lose time in canvassing the several opinions of commentators, I shall observe, that *Horace* having spoken of the different subjects, and different characters of epic poetry, elegy, iambs and lyrics, adds, that a poet, who knows not how to preserve these different characters, is unworthy of that name.

²⁷ A comic subject will not admit, &c. Tragic verse suits not comedy, nor comic verse tragedy. This is, in short, the precept that *Horace* gives here. But, to understand it well, we must reflect, that a verse may be called comic or tragic on a double account. First of the measures or feet; for although they are both iambs mixed with spondees, yet there is a considerable difference between them. Tragedy receives the spondee only in its third and fifth foot, to give a more noble and pompous run to the verse; and comedy, that it may appear the more natural, and throw off every air of affectation, receives it in all the places where it is rejected by tragedy. Again, a verse may be called comic or tragic, on account of the expressions and figures. In either

sense,

Hunc focci cepere pedem grandesque cothurni, 80
 Alternis aptum sermonibus, & populares
 Vicentem strepitus, & natum rebus agendis.

Musa dedit fidibus Divos, puerosque Deorum,
 Et pugilem victorem, & equum certamine primum,
 Et juvenum curas, & libera vina referre. 85

Descriptas servare vices operumque colores,
 Cur ego, si nequeo ignoroque, poëta salutor?
 Cur nescire, prudens pravè, quàm discere malo?

Versibus exponi tragicis res comica non vult:
 Indignatur item privatis ac propè focco 90

Dignis carminibus narrari cœna Thyestæ.
 Singula quæque locum teneant fortita decenter*.

Interdum tamen & vocem comœdia tollit,
 Iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore:

Et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri. 95

Telephus & † Peleus, cum pauper & exul uterque,

Projicit ampullas & sesquipedalia verba,

Si curat cor spectantis tetigisse querelâ.

Non satis est pulchra esse poemata, dulcia sunt,

Tamen & comœdia interdum tollit vocem, Chremesque iratus delitigat tumido ore: & tragicus heros plerumque dolet sermone pedestri. Telephus & Peleus, cum uterque pauper est & exul, projicit ampullas & verba sesquipedalia, si curat tetigisse querelâ cor spectantis. Non satis est poemata esse pulchra; sunt dulcia,

* ducentem, Bentl.

† aut, Id.

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sense, this precept of Horace is to be strictly observed.

28 *Bloody supper of Thyestes.* The supper of *Thyestes*, is here put for tragedy in general. The history of that family was of the most tragical kind, and, as *Aristotle* observes, afforded the best subjects for poets, who wrote in that way. *Ennius* was author of a tragedy, which he called *Thyestes*.

29 *Chremes enraged, &c.* We have an instance of this in the *Heautontimoroumenos* of *Terence*, Act V. Sc. 5. when *Chremes* says of his son:

-----Non si ex capite sis meo

Natus, ita ut aiunt *Minervam* esse ex Jove, eâ causâ magis

Patiar, *Clitipbo*, flagitiis tuis me infamem fieri.

"Nay, *Clitipbo*, were you sprung from my head, in like manner as *Minerva* is said to have been from *Jupiter*'s, I would not bear, that you should thus dishonor me by your debaucheries." And in the *Adelpbi*, Act V. Sc. 1. *Demea* speaks in a very high strain:

Hæu mihi quid faciam? Quid agam?

Quid clamen? Aut querar?

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O cælum! O terra! O maria Neptuni!

"What shall I do? What course shall I take? How shall I utter my cries and complaints? O heaven! O earth! O seas, the wide dominion of *Neptune*!" Comedy not only raises its style in the passion of anger, but in all the other great and violent passions, as is evident from the practice of the most approved poets. We have an example of it in the *Eunuch* of *Terence*, where *Cherea*, in a transport of joy, says things that might very well have a place in tragedy.

30 *Telephus and Peleus.* These were two Greek tragedies, the subjects of which are now unknown to us. It only appears that they were two princes banished from their own country, and that they went about in the habit of beggars, demanding aid of Greece. They were written by *Euripides*, as may be collected from some passages in a comedy of *Aristophanes*, where *Euripides* himself speaks of these two pieces as his own.

31 *Must lay aside high sentiments and heroic language.*

A a

- 100 way by inspiring them with the requisite passions. As it is natural for men to laugh with those that laugh, it is no less so to weep with those that weep. If you would have me shed tears, you must first shed them yourself; for it is then that I shall be touched with your misfortunes, O Telephus or Peleus: but if you act not up to your true characters, I shall assuredly either laugh, or fall asleep. Afflicting words agree best with a dejected
- 105 look³²; threats come well from one in anger; mirth and pleasantry from a facetious temper; and grave sober remonstrances from a severe rigid character. For nature begins betimes in forming the mind to be differently affected according to the vicissitudes of fortune; it pushes us on to anger and
- 110 resentment, or sinks us under a load of woe; and then teaches the tongue to utter the feelings of the heart. If you express yourself in language that is not suited to your fortune, you will become the jest of the people and knights. Always remember, that there is a great difference³³ between the appearance of a God and a hero; a sage old man, and one in all the heat
- 115 and vigour of youth; a lady of rank, and an assiduous nurse; a merchant, or a farmer; an Assyrian, or Colchian; an inhabitant of Thebes, or citizen of Argos.

As to what regards the³⁴ characters, in such as are known, follow the voice of fame, or if you feign new ones, be sure to make them all of a piece. If you bring Achilles³⁵ upon the

120 stage; paint him forward, fierce, inexorable, and rash; let him scorn all law, and claim every thing by right of arms. Medea must be bloody and inflexible³⁶, Ino sink in tears³⁷,

Ixion

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language. *Projicit ampullas & sesquipedia verba.* *Ampullas* for pompous swelling sentiments. See the notes upon Epistle 3. Book I. *ampullatur in arte.* *Sesquipedia verba.* Words of a foot and a half, so called, because of their length. For the Greeks, to give their style a more lofty and majestic air, joined words together, and made compounds often of a prodigious length. This succeeded in the great and sublime, but must have appeared ridiculous in the mouth of a man oppressed with grief.

³² *Afflicting words agree best with a dejected look.* This whole paragraph includes one of the justest precepts in poetry. *Cicero* has exactly the same thought: *Omnis motus animi suum quendam à naturâ habet vultum, & sonum, & gestum; totumque corpus hominis, & ejus omnis vultus, omneque voces, ut nervi in fidibus, ita sonant, ut à motu animi quoque sunt pulsa.* "Nature has given

"to every passion an air, language, and
"action peculiar to itself; and these
"several changes discover themselves in
"the countenance, voice, and gesture, and
"in all the attitudes of the body, which
"flow from the movements of the soul,
"in the same manner as the strings of an
"instrument sound differently, according
"as they are touched by the hand that
"plays upon it."

³³ *Always remember, that there is a great difference.* It is not enough that a poet attend to the fortune and condition of the person that speaks; he must also suit their language to their age and different characters. For a God expresses himself in a manner very different from a hero, and an old man from a young one. This, though one of the most important precepts, is yet, of all others, least attended to.

³⁴ *As to what regards the, &c.* After having spoken of the language, he comes to the

Et quocunque volent animum auditoris agunto. 100
 Ut ridentibus arident, ita flentibus adsunt *
 Humani vultus. Si vis me flere, dolendum est
 Primum ipsi tibi; tunc tua me infortunia lædent,
 Telephe vel Peleu: malè si mandata loquæris,
 Aut dormitabo, aut ridebo. Tristia mœstum 105
 Vultum verba decent; iratum, plena minarum;
 Ludentem, lasciva; severum, seria dictu.
 Format enim natura prius nos intus ad omnem
 Fortunarum habitum; juvat, aut impellit ad iram,
 Aut ad humum mœrore gravi deducit, & angit; 110
 Post effert animi motus interprete linguâ.
 Si dicentis erunt fortunis absfona dicta,
 Romani tollent equites peditesque † cachinnum.
 Intererit multum, Divusne loquatur, an heros;
 Maturusne senex, an adhuc florente juventâ 115
 Fervidus; an ‡ matrona potens, an sedula nutrix;
 Mercatorne vagus, cultorne virentis agelli;
 Colchus, an Assyrius; Thebis nutritus, an Argis.
 Aut famam sequere, aut sibi convenientia finge,
 Scriptor. Honoratum || si fortè reponis Achillem;
 Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer, 121
 Jura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis.
 Si Medea ferox invictaque, flebilis Ino,
 quatur, an heros; senexne maturus, an fervidus adhuc florente juventâ; an potens matrona, an
 nutrix sedula; mercatorne vagus, cultorne agelli virentis; Colchus, an Assyrius; nutritus Thebis,
 an Argis. O scriptor, aut sequere famam, aut finge convenientia sibi. Si fortè reponis Achillem
 honoratum; sit impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer, neget jura nata fuisse sibi, arroget non
 nihil (omnia) armis. Medea sit ferox invictaque, Ino flebilis,

Et agunto animum
 auditoris quocunque
 volent. Humani vul-
 tus, ut arident riden-
 tibus, ita adsunt flen-
 tibus. Si vis me flere,
 primum dolendum est
 tibi ipsi; tunc, Telephe
 vel Peleu, tua infor-
 tunia lædent me; si
 loquæris male mandata,
 aut dormitabo, aut ri-
 debo. Verba tristia
 decent vultum mœstum;
 verba plena minarum
 decent iratum; lasci-
 va, ludentem; seria
 dictu, severum. Na-
 tura enim prius format
 nos intus ad omnem
 habitum fortunarum;
 juvat, aut impellit ad
 iram, aut deducit ad
 humum gravi mœrore,
 & angit; post effert
 motus animi linguâ
 interprete. Si dicta
 erunt absfona fortunis
 dicentis, Romani equi-
 tes peditesque tollent
 cachinnum. Multum
 intererit, Divusne lo-

* adflent, Bentl.

† equitesque patresque, Id.
 || Homerum, Id.

‡ &, Id.

ANNOTATIONS.

the characters; one of the most essential parts of dramatic as well as epic poetry. For the characters are judged of by the manners, and from the manners spring the actions. The poets have two kinds of characters to labor upon, either such as are already known, or such as are of their own invention. In the first they are not at liberty to change any thing; they must represent *Achilles*, *Ajax*, and *Ulysses*, such as *Homer* describes them. And as to what they invent themselves, it is necessary that they be uniform, and of a piece.

35 If you bring *Achilles*. *Honoratum si fortè reponis Achillem*. The epithet *honoratum* could not with any grace be brought into the translation. Honored by the *Greeks*, and honored by *Jupiter*. Some read *Homerum*.

36 *Medea bloody and inflexible*. This was her true character, as it is well represented by *Euripides*, in his admirable tragedy of *Medea*. She killed her brother and children with her own hands, and sent her rival a poisoned robe.

37 *Ino sink in tears*. *Ino* was the daughter of *Cadmus* and *Harmonia*, and marrying *Atamas*, who had a son by a former marriage, reigned an oracle commanding that son to be sacrificed. But she was severely punished for the imposture; for *Atamas*, growing furious, slew *Learchus*, the eldest of his children by her; and would have sacrificed herself and other son, had she not thrown herself into the sea, with the child in her arms. *Euripides* wrote a tragedy on this subject, but it is now unhappily lost.

Ixion perfidious³⁸, Io must wander³⁹, and Orestes mourn⁴⁰.

- 125 If you write upon an unknown subject, and try to form new characters; let them be consistent and uniform throughout. But, let me tell you, it is difficult to handle new subjects with propriety⁴¹; and you will find it better to draw your fable
130 from Homer, than be the first to tread unbeaten paths. For what was originally writ by another may be so turned and improved as to be justly accounted your own; if you are not solicitous to copy every trifle⁴², or translate faithfully word for word; if in fine, like a servile imitator, you do not fetter yourself by such narrow rules⁴³, as to be entangled beyond a power
135 to retreat, without violating all the laws of decency and composition.

Nor let your exordium be in imitation of that impertinent poet of old⁴⁴: *I will sing the fate of Priam, and the ever memorable war*. What could he produce worthy of so great a promise? The mountains are in labor, and only bring forth a
140 mouse. How much better does he⁴⁵, who never foolishly raises our hopes too high?

Sing

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38 *Ixion perfidious*. Ixion was the first murderer that had been known in Greece. Having married the daughter of Deioneus, instead of giving his father-in-law the usual presents, he invited him to supper, and slew him. This crime raised so great a horror against him, that he was abandoned by all the world. Jupiter at last pitied him, and received him into heaven, but attempting there to ravish Juno, he was thrown headlong into hell, and tied to a wheel that perpetually turns round.

39 *Io must wander*. Io was the daughter of Inachus, beloved by Jupiter, and, to prevent Juno's jealousy, changed into a cow. But the Goddess suspecting the deceit, sent an ox-fly that teased her without ceasing, insomuch that she ran through many countries, traversed vast seas, and arriving at last in Egypt, was restored to her own shape, and worshipped under the name of Isis.

40 *Orestes mourn*. See the notes upon the third Satire of the second Book.

41 *It is difficult to handle new subjects with propriety*. *Difficile est propriè communia dicere*. The poet here calls new subjects common, because they are the right of all the world; for every one may invent. The observation he makes, is moreover extremely just. For nothing is more difficult than, in forming new characters, to keep to nature and propriety. For poets are apt either not to paint strong enough, or, in avoiding the fault, to overdo.

42 *To copy every trifle*. *Non circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem*. Heinsius pretends that by *orbem vilem patulumque*, we are to understand a vain circle of words, that have no relation to the subject; all kinds of foreign episodes. He imagines that *orbis* is the same that Aristotle in his Rhetoric calls τὰ κύκλω; properly the artful speeches and excuses of servants, when they want to conceal or disguise the truth. But that is too low a figure for Horace to use here. He advises poets to take their subject from the works of Homer, for example, and at the same time counsels them against some faults they might be apt to fall into; amongst which that of following him with a too great nicety, so as to copy every trifle, is none of the least. This he calls chaining themselves to a narrow low compass, open to all the world; for so servile an imitation as this, every genius is capable of.

43 *You do not fetter yourself by such narrow rules*. *Nec desilies imitator in ætæum, unde pedem proferre pudor, &c.* This is perhaps one of the most difficult passages in Horace. As Dacier gives a very ingenious explication of it, I shall transcribe here what he has said. Horace had proposed two ways, how a poet might render what was originally another's, his own. First, not to bring into a tragedy the whole matter of an epic poem; the second, not to translate word for word. He adds here a third, not to confine themselves to follow an author too closely, and

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Ulysses

Perfidus Ixion, Io vaga, tristis Orestes.

Si quid inexpertum scenæ committis, & audes 125

Personam formare novam; servetur ad imum

Qualis ab incepto processerit, & sibi constet.

Difficile est propriè communia dicere; tuque

Rectiùs Iliacum carmen deducis in actus,

Quàm si proferres ignota indictaque primus. 130

Publica materies privati juris erit, si

Non circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem;

Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus

Interpres; nec desilies imitator in arctum,

Unde pedem proferre pudor vetet, aut operis lex. 135

Nec si incipies, ut scriptor cyclicus* olim:

Fortunam Priami cantabo, & nobile bellum.

Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?

Parturient† montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.

Quanto rectiùs hic, qui nil molitur ineptè: 140

vetet proferre pedem. Nec incipies sic, ut ille scriptor cyclicus olim incepit: Cantabo fortunam Priami, & nobile bellum. Quid feret hic promissor dignum tanto hiatu? Montes parturient, mus ridiculus nascetur. Quanto rectiùs hic, qui molitur nil ineptè:

* cyclius, Bentl.

† Parturiunt, Id.

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and entangle himself so, as not to be able to retreat without violating the laws of poetry. For the laws of tragedy are very different from those of epic poetry. To illustrate this by an example. Suppose it were my design to make the anger of *Achilles* the subject of a tragedy, and to follow the two first precepts of *Horace*, not to include the whole *Iliad*, or borrow the expressions, but neglecting the third, should paint his anger with the same circumstances that *Homer* has done. What a figure must it make to represent *Achilles* with his sword half drawn against *Agamemnon*, and *Minerva* descending to prevent his fatal purpose? This interposition does well in epic poetry, where the marvellous is sometimes required, but would be ridiculous in tragedy. This may serve to give a tolerable notion of what *Horace* designs here.

44 That impertinent poet of old. *Scriptor cyclicus olim*. So called because of his work, which was of that kind known by the name of *pœma cyclicum*, the same that in *Ode 7. Book I. Horace* calls *carmen perpetuum*. These were of two kinds. First, when the poet carried his subject from one fixed period of time to another, as from the beginning of the world to the return of *Ulysses*, and connected all the events together

in the strictest manner. Of this sort are the *Metamorphoses* of *Ovid*; and hence the poet himself, in the beginning of that work, says;

-----*Primæque ab origine mundi*

Ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen.

Carry my cyclic poem (the chain, the circle, the connexion of my poem) from the beginning of the world to the present age.

The second kind of cyclic poems was, when a particular subject and action were pitched upon, of a reasonable length, but to be included in a determined number of lines. There is yet a third kind, which is that meant here, when a poet gives us the entire history of a prince. For this cyclic author, as *Turnebus* fancies, not only wrote the history of the *Trojan* war from its beginning, but took in the whole life of *Priam*. Commentators have not been able to determine, with certainty, who this poet was. Some conjecture *Mævius*, but the word *olim* destroys that supposition.

45 How much better does he? *Horace*, to the pompous and swelling exordium of the cyclic poet, opposes the modesty and reserve of *Homer*, in the beginning of the *Odyssey*: for nothing can be more simple than the proposition of that work, where he speaks of

Sing, *Muse*, the man⁴⁶, who, after the taking of *Troy*, travelled through many countries and cities, and narrowly observed their manners. He does not seek to begin with a flash and end in smoke, but out of smoke to bring glorious light, and surprise us with dazzling miracles⁴⁷; *Antiphates*⁴⁸, *Scylla*⁴⁹, 145 the *Cyclops*⁵⁰ and *Charybdis*. He does not take the return of *Diomedes*⁵¹ from the death of *Meleager*, nor the story of the Trojan war⁵² from *Leda* and her two eggs. He always hastens to the end of the action; and hurries his readers into the midst of things, as if they were already known: he passes over what 150 he finds incapable of the graces and ornaments of poetry; and feigns with so much judgment, so artfully mixes truth and falsehood⁵³ together, that the beginning, middle, and end answer exactly to each other.

Hear now attentively, what the people and I expect from you. If you would have the spectator to stay till the curtain falls⁵⁴, 155 and the chorus comes to demand the accustomed applauses; you must mind well how our tempers change with our years, and to give every season and stage of life⁵⁵ its proper character and beauty. A child, that has newly learned to speak⁵⁶, and can walk without help, loves to sport with his equals, is soon 160 provoked and pleased, and changes every moment. A youth, just from under the yoke of his tutor, loves horses, hounds, and the exercises of the *Campus Martius*; he is easily inclined to vice, and impatient of reproof, slow to discern his true interest, profuse, proud, fond, and inconstant. Our ripper years breed

A N N O T A T I O N S.

no great action performed by his hero, but only of the dangers and constant fatigues of his voyages, and the loss of his companions.

⁴⁶ *Sing, Muse, the man.* Horace includes here in two lines, what makes the three first of the *Odyssey*, which, translated literally, run thus: *Muse, sing that sagacious hero, who, after destroying Troy, wandered long, visited many cities and people, and learnt their manners.* Horace meant no more than to explain the modesty and simplicity of this exordium, without taking in all its parts; for, in any other light, the translation must appear very imperfect.

⁴⁷ *Dazzling miracles.* So Horace calls the surprising histories, which *Homer* gives of *Antiphates*, *Scylla*, &c. *Longinus*, that solid judicious critic, speaking of the *Odyssey*, in comparison with the *Iliad*, judges with equal advantage of those parts, when he says; *As the ocean is always great, although retired within its banks, and locked up by strict boundaries: so in like manner, Homer, after quelling the Iliad, is still great in the fabulous*

and astonishing narrations of the Odyssey. When I speak thus, you may easily conceive I have not forgot his descriptions of tempests, the story of Polyphemus, and such like.

⁴⁸ *Antiphates*, king of the *Lestrygon*, described in the tenth Book of the *Odyssey*.

⁴⁹ *Scylla and Charybdis.* Two dangerous rocks in the straits of *Sicily*. *Homer* paints them as two frightful monsters. See their description at large in the twelfth Book.

⁵⁰ *The Cyclops. Polyphemus.* See the notes on *Satire 5. Book I.*

⁵¹ *He does not take the return of Diomedes.* Horace does not mean this of any particular poem of *Homer*, but only to give us a general idea of his manner of writing. *Antimachus* had made a poem upon the return of *Diomedes*, and began the adventures of that hero from the death of his uncle *Meleager*; by which means he gave a ridiculous beginning to the action, which made the subject of his poem; for as *Aristotle* defines it, in the 7th Chapter of his *Art of Poetry*, *The beginning is that which supposes nothing necessary before it.*

Dic mihi, Musa, virum, captæ post tempora Trojæ,
Qui mores hominum multorum vidit & urbes.
Non fumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lucem
Cogitat, ut speciosa dehinc miracula promat;
Antiphaten, Scyllamque, & cum Cyclope Cha-
rybdim.*

*Nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri,
Nec gemino bellum Trojanum orditur ab ovo.
Semper ad eventum festinat; & in medias res,
Non secus ac notas, auditorem rapit: & quæ
Desperat tractata nitescere posse, relinquit;
Atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,
Primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet imum.*

Tu, quid ego & populus mecum desideret, audi.

*Si plausoris † eges aulæa manentis, & usque
Sessuri, donec cantor, Vos plaudite, dicat;
Ætatis cujusque notandi sunt tibi mores,
Mobilibusque decor naturis ‡ dandus & annis.
Reddere qui voces jam scit puer, & pede certo
Signat humum, gestit paribus colludere, & iram
Colligit ac ponit temerè, & mutatur in horas,*

*Imberbis juvenis, tandem custode remoto,
Gaudet equis, canibusque, & aprici gramine campi;
Cereus in vitium flecti, monitoribus asper,
Utilium tardus provisor, prodigus æris,
Sublimis, cupidusque, & amata relinquere pernix,*

dandus est mobilibus naturis & annis. Puer, qui jam scit reddere voces, & signat humum certo pede, gestit colludere paribus, & temerè colligit ac ponit iram, & mutatur in horas. Imberbis juvenis, custode tandem remoto, gaudet equis, canibusque, & gramine aprici campi; cereus flecti in vitium, asper monitoribus, tardus provisor utilium, prodigus æris, sublimis, cupidusque, & pernix relinquere amata.

* mœnia, Benth.

† fautoris. Id.

‡ maturis, Id.

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52. *The story of the Trojan war.* The Trojan war is not properly the subject of the Iliad, but only that which gave occasion to it; for Homer sings the anger of Achilles, and its effects. Horace says this in ridicule of the author of the lesser Iliad, who began with the story of Leda's two eggs, from one of which sprung Helen and Clytemnestra, and from the other Castor and Pollux.

53. *So artfully mixes truth and falsehood.* He mixes these, one with another, all throughout his poem, but then so strictly connects the different parts, as to give the whole an air of probability, and make the beginning, middle, and end, to correspond exactly.

54. *Till the curtain falls.* That is, till the play ends. *Aulæa manere*, according to the ancient custom, is to wait till the curtain

is raised; whereas, with us, at the end of a play, the curtain is so contrived as to fall. To prevent therefore a mistake in the reader, I have translated it according to the way now in use. See this fully cleared in the remarks upon the first Epistle of Book II.

55. *And to give every season and stage of life, &c.* Mobilibusque decor naturis dandus & annis. A beautiful verse, happy and expressive; literally, *We must give to flowing natures and years their proper beauty.* By flowing natures he means age, which glides along like a river, and in gliding gives different inclinations. These different inclinations are again called *decor*, the beauty or grace proper to every age; for every age has its beauties, as different seasons have theirs.

56. *A child, that has newly learned to speak.*

Musa, dic mihi virum, qui, post tempora captæ Trojæ, vidit mores & urbes multorum hominum. Non cogitat dare lumem ex fulgore, sed lucem ex fumo, ut promat dehinc miracula speciosa; Antiphaten, Scyllamque, & Charybdim cum Cyclope. Nec orditur reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri, nec bellum Trojanum ab gemino ovo. Semper festinat ad eventum; & rapit auditorem in medias res, non secus ac notas; & relinquit quæ tractata desierat posse nitescere; atque ita mentitur, sic remiscet falsa veris, ne medium discrepet primo, ne imum discrepet medio. Auditu, quid ego & populus mecum desideret. Si eges plausoris manentis aulæa, & sessuri usque, donec cantor dicat, plaudite vos; mores cujusque ætatis notandi sunt tibi, decorque

breed different inclinations; we study to acquire wealth, secure friendships, and rise to honor and power; we are cautious of doing what may afterwards give us cause to repent. Old-age is encompassed with many diseases and wants; it heaps up
 170 riches, and dares not use them; and does every thing with a cold timorous distrust; full of delays, slow to hope, lazy, and fearful of futurity, morose, surly, fond of the follies of the past age, and an ill-natured censor of the present. The flowing years bring many pleasures and advantages with them, but in the
 175 decline of life these all vanish and disappear. Be sure then to note what is probable and proper in every stage of life, that men may not have the weak anxieties of old-age, or boys the ambitious cares of men.

In plays some things are acted, others only told⁵⁷. What
 180 strikes the ear⁵⁸ moves us far less, than what passes before the eyes, and the spectator himself is made a witness of. But you are not, on this account, to bring upon the stage what ought to pass behind the scenes: for many things are to be removed from the eyes of the spectator, which he will afterwards learn better by a faithful and moving relation. Medea must not murder her
 185 children⁵⁹ before the people; nor Atreus prepare his bloody banquet upon the stage: let not Progne be changed into a swallow⁶⁰, or Cadmus into a serpent. Whatever you thus present⁶¹ that contradicts my sense, I hate and disbelieve.

If you would have a play well received, and often called for,
 190 let it consist of five acts⁶², neither more nor less. Never presume

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The poet here runs through the four ages of man, and gives a description of them, that may be equally useful to the writers of comedy, tragedy, and epic poetry. The first, that of infancy, is not so necessary as the other three; it seldom having a place in works of this kind. This is probably the reason why Aristotle neglects it in his Rhetoric, and speaks only of youth, manhood, and old age.

⁵⁷ *Some things are acted, others only told.* This regards only dramatic poetry, in which some things are represented to the spectators, others done behind the scenes. This division gives a poet the advantage of removing out of sight of his audience, whatever might shock or offend them; either by creating horror, or appearing incredible.

⁵⁸ *What strikes the ear.* It is certain, that what we see affects us more than what we hear, and that the eyes are on the contrary less credulous, and more difficult to persuade, than the ears. A poet therefore must have great judgment and address to manage well

here, and distinguish what is fit to come upon the stage, and what to be supposed transacted behind the scenes.

⁵⁹ *Medea must not murder her children.* From the manner in which the poet expresses himself, some would infer that he does not absolutely condemn murders upon the stage, but such only as are bloody, and create horror; as a mother slaying her children, or an uncle boiling his nephew, to make up a dish for his brother. It is certain, from experience, that murders may be represented on the stage with success; since some of the best tragic poets have done it with applause. *Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides* are instances of it.

⁶⁰ *Let not Progne be changed into a swallow.* After the precept relating to murders, in the two preceding lines, he speaks here of other incidents, that would appear as ridiculous upon the stage, as they are agreeable in the fable. For instance, *Progne's* being changed into a swallow; *Philomela*, into a nightingale; *Cadmus* and *Hermione*, into serpents;

Conversis studiis, ætas animusque virilis
 Quærit opes & amicitias, inservit honori;
 Commisisse cavet quod mox mutare laboret.
 Multa senem circumveniunt incommoda; vel quòd
 Quærit, & inventis miser abstinet, ac timet uti; 170
 Vel quòd res omnes timidè gelidèque ministrat;
 Dilator, spe longus*, iners, avidusque † futuri,
 Difficilis, querulus, laudator temporis acti
 Se puero, castigat censorque minorum.
 Multa ferunt anni venientes commoda secum, 175
 Multa recedentes adimunt. Ne fortè seniles
 Mandentur juveni partes, pueroque viriles,
 Semper in adjunctis ævoque morabimur aptis.

Ætas animusque virilis, studiis conversis, quærit opes & amicitias, inservit honori; cavet commississe quod mox laboret mutare. Multa incommoda circumveniunt senem; vel quòd quærit, & miser abstinet, ac timet uti inventis; vel quòd ministrat res omnes timidè gelidèque; dilator, longus spe, iners, avidusque futuri, difficilis, querulus, laudator temporis acti se puero, castigat censorque minorum. Anni venientes ferunt multa commoda secum, anni recedentes adimunt multa. Semper morabimur in adjunctis aptisque ævo, ne fortè partes seniles mandentur juveni, virilesque puero. Re aut agitur in scenis, aut refertur acta. Quæ demissa sunt per aurem irritant animos segniùs, quàm quæ subjecta sunt oculis fidelibus, & quæ ipse spectator tradit sibi.

Aut agitur res in scenis, aut acta refertur.
 Segniùs irritant animos demissa per aurem,
 Quàm quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus, & quæ
 Ipse sibi tradit spectator. Non tamen intùs
 Digna geri promes in scenam: multaue tolles
 Ex oculis, quæ mox narret facundia præfens.
 Nec ‡ pueros coram populo Medea trucidet; 185
 Aut humana palàm coquat exta nefarius Atreus;
 Aut in avem Progne vertatur, Cadmus in anguem.
 Quodcunque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi.
 Neve minor, neu fit quinto productior actû
 Fabula, quæ posci vult, & spectata reponi. 190

Tamen non promes in scenam digna geri intùs: tollesque multa ex oculis, quæ præfens facundia mox narret. Nec Medea trucidet pueros coram populo; aut nefarius Atreus coquat humana exta palàm; aut Progne vertatur in avem, Cadmus in anguem. Quodcunque ostendis sic mihi, odi incredulus. Fabula, quæ vult posci, & semel spectata reponi, neve minor sit, neu productior quinto actû.

* lentus, Bentl.

† pavidusque, Id.

‡ ne, Id.

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pents; a poet would be hissed, and deservedly, to shock the audience with a representation so improbable, and contrary to common sense.

61 *Whatever you thus present, &c.* As in dramatic poetry there are some things which ought to be done in sight of the audience; so there are others, which they ought to learn only by recital. If this order is inverted, or the poet knows not how to distinguish these different incidents with judgment, it ruins the whole piece. *Horace* gives the reason of it in this verse. Things wonderful or prodigious, exposed to sight, become incredible.

62 *Let it consist of five acts.* This precept is founded upon the constant practice of all the ancient poets, who divided their plays

into five parts, called by the *Latins* acts. *Aristotle* says nothing of this division, but it may be easily inferred from his maxims. This great master in criticism tells us, that poets ought to give their works a due length, not arbitrary, but fixed according to stated invariable rules. This he illustrates by a comparison taken from the objects of sight. Nothing, says he, that is too little, can be beautiful; because it confounds the sight, and is taken in, in an instant. Nothing that is too great can be beautiful; because the eye is not able to comprehend it, and in surveying its parts by succession, the spectator loses the idea of it, considered as a whole. As therefore the objects of sight ought to be of such an extent, that may easily be measured by the eye; so likewise it is necessary

sume to introduce⁶³ a God, but where some business worthy of a God requires it; nor confuse a scene by bringing in a fourth speaker⁶⁴.

Let the chorus supply the place of an actor⁶⁵, and sustain a generous manly part: whatever is sung between the acts, must some way conduce to the plot, and be aptly connected
195 with it. It is his business to declare in favor of the virtuous and good, to support warmly the interest of his friends, to calm the temper when discomposed, to love those that have a horror of guilt, to commend temperance, impartial justice, a strict observance of laws, and peace attended always with ease and plenty; to keep inviolably the secrets he is intrusted
200 with⁶⁶, and implore the Gods to change the course of fortune, that she may abandon the wicked⁶⁷, and fulfil the desires of the just.

The flute used by our ancestors⁶⁸ was not, as now, adorned with brass⁶⁹, and the rival of the trumpet; but small, with few notes, and of a shrill sound, yet suited to the chorus, and loud enough to be heard over a theatre but moderately
205 crowded: for the people were not yet very numerous, the audience was thin, and composed of modest, frugal, well-meaning spectators. But when by conquest they begun to en-
large

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necessary that the subject of dramatic poems be of such a length as the memory may be capable to embrace and retain. This just length agrees exactly to the division here laid down. Both *Greeks* and *Latins* have conformed to it; and, even at this day, the same rule is still followed in our more regular pieces.

⁶³ *Never presume to introduce, &c.* The ancient tragic poets have been censured, because when they were any time at a loss, as to the unravelling of the plot, they always had recourse to some Divinity, who came in a machine, and disentangled the subject. Both *Horace* and *Aristotle* condemn this custom. They both agree, that the unravelling ought to arise naturally from the subject itself, without having recourse to a machine, as *Euripides* in his *Medea*. *Aristotle* does not by this absolutely exclude machinery, but only where it neither necessarily nor probably arises from the subject, which is precisely the sentiment of *Horace* here.

⁶⁴ *By bringing in a fourth speaker.* As this rule is contrary to the modern practice, both in comedy and tragedy, commentators have been at a great deal of pains to give these words such a turn, as might best suit their different views. Not to trouble the reader

with their several opinions, I am apt to think that the precept ought to be taken in the most obvious sense. It is simple and without restriction, and drawn from his observation of the method commonly followed by the *Greek* poets, who in their tragedies seldom made above two persons speak in the same scene. It was very rare to see three introduced, and four was what almost never happened.

⁶⁵ *Let the chorus supply the place of an actor.* The chorus was a company of actors, representing those who were supposed to be present at the action, and interested in it. Upon this the whole probability of dramatic poetry was in a manner founded. In losing it, it has lost its chief ornament, and our tragedy is properly no more than the ghost of ancient tragedy. It had two functions; for during this representation, it joined in the action (the chief of the chorus speaking for all the rest), and, at the end of every act, marked the pause by its singing.

⁶⁶ *To keep inviolably the secrets he is intrusted with.* *Horace*, in this and the preceding verses, explains the chief business of the chorus; it was in all things to promote virtue, and discourage vice; fidelity and secrecy were particularly essential qualities.

Without

Nec Deus interfit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit; nec quarta loqui persona laboret.

Actoris partes chorus, officiumque virile
Defendat: neu quid medios intercinat actus,
Quod non proposito conducat, & hæreat aptè.

Ille bonis faveatque, & consilietur amicè,
Et regat iratos, & amet peccare * timentes;

Ille dapes laudet mensæ brevis, ille salubrem
Justitiam, legesque, & apertis otia portis:

Ille tegat commissa, Deosque precetur & oret,
Ut redeat miseris, abeat fortuna superbis.

Tibia non, ut nunc, orichalco vinctâ †, tubæque
Æmula; sed tenuis, simplexque foramine paucò

Aspirare, & adesse choris erat utilis, atque
Nondum spissa nimis complere sedilia flatu:

Quò sanè populus numerabilis, utpote parvus,
Et frugi, castusque, verecundusque coibat.

ut nunc, vinctâ orichalco, æmulaque tubæ; sed tenuis, simplexque aspirare paucò foramine, & utilis adesse choris, atque complere flatu sedilia nondum nimis spissa: quò sanè populus numerabilis, utpote parvus, & frugi, castusque, verecundusque coibat.

* pacare timentes, Bentl.

† junctâ, Id.

Nec Deus interfit, nisi
nodus dignus vindice
inciderit; nec quarta
persona laboret loqui.
Chorus defendat partes
actoris, officiumque vi-
rile: neu intercinat quid
medios actus, quod non
conducatur proposito, &
aptè hæreat. Ille fa-
veatque bonis, & con-
silietur amicè, & regat
iratos, & amet timentes
peccare; ille laudet
dapes brevis mensæ,
ille laudet salubrem
justitiam, legesque, &
otia portis apertis; ille
tegat commissa, & oret
preceturque Deos, ut
fortuna redeat miseris,
abeat superbis. Tibia
non erat eo tempore,

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Without this the probability was entirely lost. But we are to observe, that a great deal depended upon the address of the poet, to choose his chorus in such manner, that its proper interest and duty may engage it to secrecy. Euripides, in his *Medea*, is guilty of an unpardonable error this way. *Medea* is a stranger at *Corinth*: she plots the death of her rival, the daughter of the king of *Corinth*, and the destruction of the whole royal family. This design she communicates to the chorus, which is composed of *Corinthian* ladies, and consequently subjects of *Creon*. How comes it that the chorus is faithful to a stranger against its prince? The chorus you will say ought to be faithful: true; but it belongs to the poet to manage so, as that it may neither violate the laws of nature, or of the Gods.

67 That she may abandon the wicked, &c. This is a necessary consequence of those pious and just sentiments, with which the chorus should be always painted. In the *Electra* of *Sophocles*, the chorus says to that princess; May you soon rise as much above your enemies, as at present you are sunk below them. The ancients reproached Euripides, that his chorus did not enough interest itself for those that were persecuted. But the cho-

rus of *Sophocles* was never wanting in this respect.

68 The flute used by our ancestors. Having spoken of the chorus of tragedy, he explains here what changes happened to it, both with regard to the music and poetry: and, to make himself the better understood, brings in an example, such as he thought might give the clearest idea of these several changes. For he says, that as the chorus of the *Roman* plays, which, at first, was simple, and used a little flute without ornament, changed when the people became more powerful; riches and luxury affecting their poetry and music, as well as their manners: so, in like manner, it was with the chorus of the *Greek* tragedy; the music, at first simple as the verse, became by degrees more harmonious and sounding; and this change in their music produced a like change in the measure of their verse, where they studied to imitate the grandeur and majesty of oracles.

69 Adorned with brass. Orichalco vinctâ; ὀρίχαλκον. A kind of mountain-brass, in so great esteem with the ancients, that for a long time they preferred it to gold itself. Pliny, B. 34. Ch. 2. Orichalco quod præcuiam bonitatem admirationemque diu obtinuit.

large their territories, and extend their city-walls to a greater compass; when on festivals⁷⁰ they spent the whole day without fear of punishment in mirth and drinking; then both their music and poetry became more licentious. For what else was to be expected⁷¹ from idle ignorant rustics mixing with citizens, a rude unpolished race with a mannerly discreet one? Hence the players upon the flute studied to improve their art by the ornaments of gesture and luxury, and appeared upon the stage with long sweeping trains. It was thus too, that in Greece new sounds were added to the simple harp, and a rash unbridled eloquence⁷² affected an unusual pomp of diction; while under pretence of giving⁷³ useful advice, and predicting future events, their style differed but little from that of the oracles delivered at Delphos.

220 The poet, who disputed in tragic numbers⁷⁴ for the trifling prize of a goat, soon after brought naked Satyrs upon the stage, and without departing⁷⁵ from the majesty of tragedy endeavoured to give pieces full of raillery and humor; for it was impossible without some agreeable novelty⁷⁶ or extraordinary charm to retain long a spectator, just come from offering sacrifice, full of the fumes of wine, wild and ungovernable. But then it will be found requisite⁷⁷ that these diverting Satyrs be so introduced, and the transition from serious

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sinuit. Nec reperitur longo jam tempore, effecta tellure.

⁷⁰ When on festivals, &c. *Vinoque diurno placari Genius fisis impunè diebus.* Literally: And began on festivals to appease the Genius by drinking at mid-day without fear of punishment. For the ancient Romans were forbid drinking in the day-time, even on festivals. To appease the Genius, means here to content, please, or ease it, because of the fatigues of preceding days.

⁷¹ For what else was to be expected? There is something deserving of particular notice in this judgment of Horace. He attributes the variety and licentiousness that crept into music and poetry, to the ignorance, idleness, and gross manners of the rustics, that the Romans received into their city. Socrates and Plato judged in the same manner with our poet; for they make it appear that this lascivious music springs always from ignorance, and a corruption of heart, and brings after it innumerable disorders.

⁷² A rash unbridled eloquence. *Facundia præceps.* The epithet *præceps* makes it evident, that Horace did not mean here an eulogium, but a censure: for *facundia præceps* plainly signifies a rash intemperate elo-

quence; swelling, and extravagantly pompous; *sublimis usque ad vitium*, as Quintilian has it.

⁷³ While under pretence of giving, &c. *Utiliumque sagax rerum, & divina futuri.* Heinsius pretends, that in these two verses Horace gives an account of the manner in which tragedy by degrees arrived at perfection. Had he examined them a little more narrowly, he must have been sensible, that the poet is not speaking here of tragedy in general, but of the chorus, and in what manner it lost its first simplicity. One of the chief functions of the chorus was to solace the afflicted, to moderate wrath, to give useful advice, and teach all to rely upon the Gods for help. All this might be done with a noble simplicity, and worthy of tragedy. *Æschylus* and *Sophocles* had both tried it with success. But nothing is more difficult than to retain this simplicity for any time. The chorus, under pretence of giving useful advice, and foretelling future events, gave entirely into the prophetic style, and affected the language of the Delphic oracle.

⁷⁴ Disputed in tragic numbers. After tragedy, he speaks of the satirical poetry of

Postquam cœpit agros extendere victor, & urbem
 Latior* amplecti murus, vinoque diurno
 Placari Genius festis impunè diebus;
 Accessit numerisque modisque licentia major.
 Indoctus quid enim saperet liberque laborum
 Rusticus urbano confusus, turpis honesto?
 Sic priscæ motumque & luxuriam addidit arti
 Tibicen, traxitque vagus per pulpita vestem.
 Sic etiam fidibus voces crevere severis,
 Et tulit eloquium insolitum facundia præceps;
 Utiliumque sagax rerum, & divina futuri,
 Sortilegis non discrepuit sententia Delphis.

Carmine qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum,
 Mox etiam agrestes Satyros nudavit, & asper
 Incolumi gravitate jocos tentavit; eò quòd
 Illecebris erat & gratâ novitate morandus
 Spectator, functusque sacris, & potus, & exlex.
 Verùm ita risores, ita commendare dicaces
 Conveniet Satyros, ita vertere seria ludo,

210 Postquam victor cœpit
 extendere agros, & la-
 tior murus amplecti
 urbem, Geniusque pla-
 cari impunè festis die-
 bus vino diurno; major
 licentia accessit nume-
 risque modisque. Quid
 enim indoctus liberque
 laborum rusticus con-
 215 fusus urbano, turpis
 honesto saperet? Sic
 tibicen addidit motum-
 que & luxuriam priscæ
 arti, vagusque traxit
 vestem per pulpita. Sic
 voces etiam crevere
 221 severis fidibus, & præ-
 ceptis facundia tulit in-
 solitum eloquium; sen-
 tentiaque sagax utilium
 rerum, & divina fu-
 225 turi, non discrepuit
 sortilegis Delphis. Ille,
 qui certavit tragico
 carmine ob vilem hir-

cum, mox nudavit etiam agrestes Satyros, & asper tentavit jocos incolumi gravitate; eò quòd
 spectator, functusque sacris, & potus, & exlex, morandus erat illecebris & gratâ novitate. Verùm
 conveniet ita commendare risores, ita dicaces Satyros, ita vertere seria ludo,

* laxior, Bentl.

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of the Greeks; a kind of tragedy less austere than the first, and a mean, as it were, between real tragedy and comedy. It is uncertain, who was the inventor of it. *Horace* seems to give the honor of it to *Thespis*. But there are two good reasons that may be brought against it. First, that the ancients nowhere mention the satirical tragedies of *Thespis*; and again, that *Horace* uses here the word *certavit*: for these disputes of the tragic poets were later than the times of *Thespis*, as we learn from *Plutarch*, in his life of *Solon*. *Suidas* expressly says, that *Pratinus* was the first who made satiric pieces, and names above thirty of them. This *Pratinus* flourished some time after the death of *Thespis*.

75 And without departing, &c. This was the proper character of these satirical pieces. The poet always remembered, that he was writing a kind of tragedy, and therefore avoided low raillery, as fit only for comedy.

76 Without some agreeable novelty, &c. He ascribes the origin of these satirical pieces to the necessity poets found themselves under of diverting, in some agreeable manner, the spectators, wearied with a long

attention to the tragedies that had just before been represented. *Diomedes* and *Marius Victorinus* agree in giving the same account. *Satyros* induxerunt ludendi causâ, jocandique, ut simul spectator, inter res tragicas seriasque, *Satyrorum* quoque jocos & lusus delectaretur.

77 But then it will be found requisite, &c. A judicious reader may very naturally ask here, how comes *Horace* to give rules for the satirical pieces of the Greeks; or what advantage could his countrymen draw from these precepts? *Dacier*, in answer to this, observes, that the Romans imitated the satirical tragedies of the Greeks in those pieces, which were called *Atellanae*; for so *Diomedes*: *Tertia species est fabularum Latinarum, quæ à civitate Oschorum Atellâ, in qua primum cœptæ, Atellanae dictæ sunt: argumentis dictisque jocularibus similes satyricis fabulis Græcis.* "There is also a third kind of comedy among the Romans, called *Atellana*, from *Atella* a city of Tuscany, where it first began: it had a great resemblance of the satirical pieces of the Greeks, both in the subject and manner of handling it." These precepts of our poet must have been therefore very useful to the Romans, as they relate

rious to farce so artfully managed, that the God or hero⁷⁸, who so lately appeared adorned in gold and purple, may not descend to a low mechanic dialect; or, in avoiding meanness, 230 soar above the clouds with empty notions. This satirical tragedy⁷⁹, disdaining mean and vulgar lines, appears upon the stage with an air of modesty and reserve different from the more petulant and abusive Satyrs; as that of a grave matron⁸⁰, who in obedience to the dictates of religion dances on solemn festivals.

Were I a writer of these satirical pieces, I would not be too 235 studious in affecting only simple and proper words⁸¹; nor avoid so far the style and coloring of tragedy⁸², that there should be no difference between the manner of Davus, or pert Pythias, who cozened old Simo out of his money, and Silenus the governor and companion of Bacchus. I would take the 240 plan of my poem from some known subject⁸³, and pursue it with that simplicity and seeming ease, that any one might think himself capable of the same⁸⁴; but upon trial sweat much, and labor in vain. Such is the force of method and connexion⁸⁵; so capable are the meanest and plainest things of ornament and grace.

Satyrs, supposed to be bred in woods, ought not, in my 245 judgment, to sport in soft and tender lays, like citizens trained up in all the gaiety and politeness of Rome; nor express themselves

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relate to a species of poetry in use at that time.

78 *That the God or hero.* To understand this, we must be informed, that the Romans commonly wrote a tragedy, and one of these *Atellanes* upon the same hero. Thus the same person appeared in both pieces. It is on this account that *Horace* is so careful in advising, that the hero, who was seen in gold and purple, *nuper*, that is, in the tragedy or first piece, might not in the second enter into low discourse, besitting only comedy, or run into bombast in vain affectation of the sublime. For these compositions were to be a mean between tragedy and comedy and ought therefore to have a style peculiar to themselves.

79 *This satirical tragedy.* *Horace* is not here speaking of tragedy properly so called, but of this satirical kind, as is evident from what follows. These *Atellane* pieces were in so great esteem at Rome, that the actors of them were not ranked with comedians, nor obliged when they played ill, to unmask upon the stage. Low and groveling verses were therefore unfit to enter into pieces so grave, and of the nature of real tragedy.

80 *As that of a grave matron.* This is one of the aptest comparisons to illustrate the character proper to be given to the Satyrs, introduced in these *Atellane* pieces. They were not to be rude and impudent, like the more common Satyrs, nor too wise and reserved, but pleasant and diverting without excess. In one word, this tragedy was to imitate the modesty of a chaste matron, who made not dancing her profession, but yet would dance upon festivals, in obedience to the dictates of religion.

81 *In affecting only simple and proper words.* *Inornata & dominantia nomina solum verbaque.* *Horace* here lays down rules for the style of these pieces, a thing by no means to be neglected. *Nomina inornata*, a simple style, unadorned with tropes and figures. *Dominantia verba*, proper words; appropriated to the ideas they were made to stand for, by reigning use.

82 *Nor avoid so far the style, &c. of tragedy.* These satirical pieces were to observe a just mean between the style of tragedy and comedy. But the poet was not under a necessity to sink so far below the style of tragedy, as to observe no difference

Ne quicunque Deus, quicunque adhibebitur heros,
 Regali conspectus in auro nuper & ostro,
 Migret in obscuras humili sermone tabernas;
 Aut, dum vitat humum, nubes & inania captet. 230
 Effutire leves indigna tragœdia versus,
 Ut festis matrona moveri iussa diebus,
 Intererit Satyris paulum pudibunda protervis.
 Non ego inornata & dominantia nomina solum
 Verbaque, Pisones, Satyrorum scriptor amabo; 235
 Nec sic enitar tragico differre colori,
 Ut nihil intersit, Davusne loquatur, & audax
 Pythias, emuncto lucrata Simone talentum,
 An custos famulusque Dei Silenus alumni.
 Ex noto fictum carmen sequar, ut sibi quivis
 Speret idem; fudet multum, frustra que labore
 Ausus idem. Tantum series juncturaque pollet;
 Tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris.
 Silvius deducti caveant, me iudice, Fauni,
 Ne velut innati triviis, ac penè forenses, 245
 Aut nimium teneris juvenentur versibus unquam;

ni. Sequar carmen fictum ex noto, ut quivis speret sibi idem; ausus tamen idem fudet multum, laboreque frustra. Tantum series juncturaque pollet; tantum honoris accedit rebus sumptis de medio. Fauni, deducti silvis, me iudice, caveant, ne velut innati triviis, ac penè forenses, aut juvenentur unquam versibus nimium teneris;

ne quicunque Deus, quicunque heros adhibebitur, nuper conspectus in regali auro & ostro, migret humili sermone in obscuras tabernas; aut, dum vitat humum, captet nubes & inania. Tragœdia indigna effutire leves versus, intererit paulum pudibunda protervis Satyris, ut matrona iussa moveri diebus festis. O Pisones, ego scriptor Satyrorum non amabo solum nomina verbaque inornata & dominantia; nec sic enitar tragico differre colori, ut nihil intersit, Davusne loquatur, & audax Pythias, lucrata Simone talentum emuncto Simone, an Silenus custos famulusque Dei alum-

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ference between the language of slaves in a comedy, and that of *Silenus* in one of these satirical poems. *Silenus* is a person that may speak with dignity, and we accordingly find that he often does so in the *Cyclops* of *Euripides*.

83 From some known subject. The poets, who labored in these *Atellane* pieces, commonly invented the subject themselves. *Horace* seems here to condemn that practice, and thinks it better to pitch upon some known history, as was, for the most part, done in real tragedy.

84 Any one might think himself capable of the same. It is difficult to keep up to nature and probability in subjects of our own invention:

Difficile est propriè communia dicere.

But works taken from a known history appear so natural to all the world, that almost every one hopes he could do the same. Read, for example, the *Cyclops* of *Euripides*, taken from the ninth Book of the *Odyssey*; you will be apt to think nothing more easy than the disposition of the subject. But trial undeceives; and we may, with reason, cite on this occasion, what *Quintilian* says

of eloquence: *Neque enim aliud in eloquentiâ cunctâ experti difficilîus reperient, quàm id quod se dicturos fuisse omnes putant, postquam audierunt: quia non bona judicant esse illa, sed vera.* "There is nothing that they, who make eloquence their study, find more difficult, than what all the world are apt to think themselves capable of saying, after they have heard it: for these things do not, at first sight, appear beautiful, but true."

85 Such is the force of method and connexion. This is not to be understood of either the style or words. The poet speaks here of method and disposition, and says that a subject taken from a known history, as that of *Ulysses* or *Orestes*, when happily conducted, is apt to deceive the world, and appear of easy invention. *Tantum series juncturaque pollet*: series, the train of things, that is, of the incidents and adventures that happen to the hero of the piece. These incidents are mostly invented by the poet, but so blended with the known history, as to make up the whole with all the marks of probability, by that happy connexion, which *Horace* calls here *junctura*.

36 Knights,

250 selves in obscene and reproachful language. This displeases equally the knights, senators, and better sort of people⁸⁶; who do not always approve or honor, what gains the applause of the mere vulgar⁸⁷.

A long syllable coming after a short is called an iambus, a rapid foot⁸⁸; whence iambics have obtained the name of trimeters⁸⁹, though they consist of six regular feet. At first they were equal and of a piece, consisting wholly of the pure iambus: nor is it but of late, that to give them the greater weight⁹⁰ and a certain majestic slowness, they have prudently taken into partnership the grave spondees; yet so as not to yield the second or fourth places⁹¹, which they still amicably retain. This judicious mixture is seldom to be found in the so much boasted trimeters of Ennius or Accius⁹². Their verses loaded with spondees, heavy and dull, betray a hasty careless performance, or, which is still worse, a downright ignorance of the rules of art. It is not every judge that can pronounce well upon the harmony and cadence of verse; and the Romans have been but too indulgent in that point. Shall I therefore, in hopes of the like gentle usage, write in a loose rambling manner? Or, sensible that my faults must be known to all, shall I only strive to avoid censure, and take no greater liberties than what have been already winked at⁹³ in others? This perhaps may meet with pardon, but will never merit praise. Do you, Pisos, consider well the Greek originals, study them both day and night. But

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⁸⁶ *Knights, senators, and better sort of people. Quibus est equus, et pater, et res. Quibus est equus*; they who have a horse maintained at the public charge, that is, the knights: *Quibus est pater*; the nobles, the patricians: *Quibus est res*; the rich, the better sort of people.

⁸⁷ *The mere vulgar. Nec, si quid fricti ciceris probat et nucis emptor.* He, who buys fried pulse or nuts, that is, the populace.

⁸⁸ *A rapid foot.* After saying all that he thought necessary with regard to the two kinds of tragedy, he explains here what concerns the verse proper to be employed in them, which he had but lightly touched upon before. We have already seen, that iambics were used in tragedy, so called from the iambus of which they consisted. This foot had a short and a long syllable, and run off with great rapidity, because the short was always first.

⁸⁹ *Trimeters.* Although iambics consist of six feet, yet such is their rapidity, that they have been called trimeters, or verses

of three feet, because in scanning them, we join two feet together, their quickness naturally forcing this upon us: thus, instead of measuring this verse by six feet:

Ades | t'iam | be præ | tes et | tui | tenax.
We measure it by three:

Adest' iam | be præpes et | tui tenax.
Fujatis per dispodiam binis pedibus ter feritur, says Victorinus.

⁹⁰ *That to give them the greater weight, &c.* The poets finding that pure iambics were too rapid and nimble, and, for that reason, not so agreeable to the grandeur and majesty of tragedy, contrived to mix them with spondees, which by their slowness might correct the hurry and precipitation of the other feet.

⁹¹ *The second or fourth places.* The iambic yields only what we may call the odd places to the spondee, that is, the first, third, and fifth foot, and retains the iambus in the second, fourth, and sixth of the tragic measure. By this mixture the verses are not only rendered more noble and solemn, but the measure of the trimeter still subsists, the

Aut immunda crepent ignominiosaque dicta.
Offenduntur enim, quibus est equus, & pater, & res;
Nec, si quid fricti ciceris probat & nucis emptor,
Æquis accipiunt animis, donantve coronâ. 250

Syllaba longa brevi subjecta vocatur Iambus,
Pes citus; unde etiam trimetris accrescere jussit
Nomen iambeis, cum senos redderet ictus,
Primus ad extremum similis sibi: non ita pridem,
Tardior ut paulò graviorque veniret ad aures, 255
Spondeos stabiles in jura paterna recepit
Commodus & patiens; non ut de sede secundâ
Cederet aut quartâ socialiter. Hic & in Acci
Nobilibus trimetris apparet rarus, & Enni.

In scenam missos * magno cum pondere versus, 260
Aut operæ celeris nimium curâque carentis,
Aut ignoratæ premit artis crimine turpi.
Non quivis videt immodulata poemata judex;
Et data Romanis venia est indigna poetis.
Idcircone vager, scribamque licenter? an † omnes
Visuros peccata putem mea, tutus, & intra 266
Spem veniæ cautus? Vitavi denique culpam,
Non laudem merui. Vos exemplaria Græca

aut crepent immunda
ignominiosaque dicta.
Hi enim, quibus est
equus, & pater, & res,
offenduntur; nec, si
emptor fricti ciceris &
nucis probat quid, acci-
piunt æquis animis,
donantve coronâ. Syl-
laba longa subjecta
brevi vocatur Iambus,
pes citus; unde etiam
jussit nomen accrescere
iambeis trimetris, cum
redderet senos ictus, pri-
mus similis sibi ad ex-
tremum; non ita pridem
commodus & patiens
recepit in jura paterna
Spondeos stabiles, ut
veniret paulò tardior
graviorque ad aures;
tamen ita ut non ce-
deret socialiter de sede
secundâ aut quartâ.
Hic apparet rarus in
nobilibus trimetris &
Accii & Enni. Quod
ad versus eorum missis
in scenam cum magno

pondere, hoc aut premit eos turpi crimine operæ nimium celeris carentisque curâ, aut ignoratæ
artis. Non quivis judex videt poemata immodulata; & venia indigna data est poetis Romanis.
Vagerne idcirco, scribamque licenter? an tutus, & cautus intra spem veniæ, putem omnes visuros
mea peccata? Denique vitavi culpam, at non merui laudem. Vos versate exemplaria Græca

* missus, Benti.

† ut, Id.

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the second foot being always an iambus, which would not happen, were it a spondee. The comic poets, on the other side, the better to disguise their verses, and bring them nearer to common discourse, have inverted this order, and placed the spondee where the tragic poets have the iambus.

92 *Boasted trimeters of Ennius or Accius. Hic & in Acci nobilibus trimetris, &c.* It is ridiculous to understand this *hic* of the iambus, that would be to make Horace here commend Accius and Ennius; for the pure iambus was condemned in tragedy, as we learn from Terentianus:

*Culpatur autem versus in Tragædiis,
Et rarus intrat ex iambis omnibus.*

Ennius and Accius are censured by the poet for neglecting the mixture of the iambus and spondee, and making their verses run heavy, either by using the spondee too much, or misplacing it.

93 *No greater liberties than what have*

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been already winked at, &c. *Tutus & intra spem veniæ cautus.* This passage has greatly divided commentators. I have given it that turn which seemed most easy and natural, and to flow immediately from the train of the discourse. Horace had observed that the Romans were too indulgent to their poets, especially in what regarded versification; but is that, says he, sufficient to excuse them? Are they therefore to write in a loose rambling manner? Some perhaps may have more discretion, and being sensible that gross faults cannot be overlooked, aim at more correctness, yet allow themselves in what liberties they observe winked at in other poets; Plautus suppose, Ennius, or Accius. This, says Horace, may be pardoned, but will never be praised. Praise is only due to him who labors indefatigably, who aims at the greatest perfection the work is capable of, and suffers no wilful mistakes, or deviations from the rules of art to escape him.

B b

94 Were

But our forefathers were taken with the jokes and numbers of
 270 Plautus⁹⁴; nay, they admired them with too much patience, not
 to say folly; if so be that you and I can distinguish a genteel from
 a clownish expression, or have ears fine enough to judge of the
 harmony and beauty⁹⁵ of versification.

275 Thespis is said to have first invented a kind of tragedy till
 then unknown to the Greeks⁹⁶, and to have carried about his
 actors on carts, who played and sung their pieces having their
 faces stained with lees of wine. Æschylus afterwards added the
 tragic mask⁹⁷, found out a decent dress, built a stage, taught
 280 them to speak with dignity, and accompany all with just action.

The old comedy appeared next⁹⁸ with great applause; but licen-
 tious liberty degenerating at last into abuse⁹⁹ and open insolence,
 that required to be suppressed by law, laws were accordingly
 enacted; and the chorus shamefully ceased¹⁰⁰, when it had lost
 its power to slander and hurt. Our poets made attempts in every
 285 way; nor do they least deserve praise, when, disdaining to be
 beholden to the Greeks, they have sought a subject for their
 verse at home, either by representing the manners of the more
 illustrious citizens¹⁰¹, or a just imitation of common life. Nor
 would the Romans be less famous by their writings, than by
 their bravery and great exploits, did not our poets account it an
 290 insupportable toil to file, polish and revise their works. But do
 you, illustrious descendants of Numa, discourage a poem, that
 has

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94 *Were taken with the jokes and numbers of Plautus.* It is certain that Plautus is far from being exact in his versification: his jests too are often low and vulgar, sometimes rude and shocking; yet many of them are fine and delicate. It is on this account that Cicero proposes him as a model for raillery. Horace does not mean here to oppose Cicero's judgment, but only to confine our admiration within proper bounds, and censure their blindness, who fancy nothing comparable to Plautus, and admire all equally.

95 *To judge of the harmony and beauty, &c. Digitis callemus & aure.* They, who had a nice delicate ear to judge of versification, were not satisfied to taste the harmony of well-running verses, by barely reading them, they often struck the measures with their thumb or foot.

96 *A kind of tragedy till then unknown to the Greeks.* After treating fully of every thing that related to tragedy, the disposition of the subject, the characters, the style and versification, order requires that he speak of comedy; but as its original was very

obscure, and that it was improved and brought to perfection much later than tragedy, Horace runs back to the source of these two kinds of poetry, which were for a considerable time comprehended under the general name of tragedy. There were several comic and tragic poets before Thespis; but as he was the first who made any considerable change in it, and brought it under regulations, he has commonly been esteemed as the inventor of it.

97 *Added the tragic mask.* Horace explains the gradual improvements that were made in tragedy. Thespis had a cart for his stage, and stained the faces of his actors with lees of wine. Æschylus, who came after him, built a stage, and brought in the tragic mask. Aristotle mentions several other improvements made by Æschylus, which Horace here omits.

98 *The old comedy appeared next.* Horace means by this, that comedy did not begin to be cultivated, till after tragedy had arrived at perfection; and in this he follows the account of Aristotle

Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ.

At nostri * proavi Plautinos & numeros &
Laudavere sales; nimum patienter utrumque,
Ne dicam stultè, mirati; si modò ego & vos
Scimus inurbanum lepido seponere dicto,
Legitimumque sonum digitis callemus & aure.

Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse Camenæ
Dicitur, & plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis,
Quæ † canerent agerentque peruncti fœcibus ora.
Post hunc personæ pallæque repertor honestæ
Æschylus, & modicis instravit pulpita tignis,
Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique cothurno.
Successit vetus his comœdia, non sine multâ
Laude; sed in vitium libertas excidit, & vim
Dignam lege regi: lex est accepta; chorusque
Turpiter obticuit, sublato jure nocendi.

Nil intentatum nostri liquere poëtæ;
Nec minimum meruere decus, vestigia Græca
Ausu deferere, & celebrare domestica facta,
Vel qui prætextas, vel qui docuere togatas.
Nec virtute foret clarisve potentius armis,
Quam linguâ, Latium, si non offenderet unum-
quemque poëtarum limæ labor, & mora. Vos, O
Pompilius sanguis, carmen reprehendite, quod non

turpiter obticuit. Nostri poëtæ liquere nil intentatum; nec meruere minimum decus, ausu deferere vestigia Græca, & celebrare facta domestica, vel qui docuere prætextas, vel qui togatas. Nec foret Latium potentius virtute clarisve armis, quam linguâ, si labor limæ, & mora non offenderet, unumquemque poëtarum. Vos, O sanguis Pompilius, reprehendite carmen, quod

* vestri, Bentl.

† qui, Id.

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nocturnâ manu, versate diurnâ. At nostri pro-
avi laudavere & Plau-
tinos numeros & sales;
mirati nimum patien-
ter, ne dicam stultè,
utrumque; si modò ego
& vos scimus seponere
dictum inurbanum
dicto lepido, callemus-
que sonum legitimum
digitis & aure. Thespis
dicitur invenisse ignotum
genus Camenæ tragicæ,
& vexisse plaustris
pœmata, quæ actores
peruncti quod ad ora
fœcibus canerent age-
rentque. Post hunc
Æschylus, repertor
personæ pallæque ho-
nestæ, & instravit
pulpita modicis tignis,
& docuit magnumque
loqui, nitique cothurno.
Vetus comœdia successit
his, non sine multâ
laude; sed libertas ex-
cidit in vitium, & vim
dignam regi lege: lex
est accepta; chorusque,
jure nocendi sublato,

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99 Liberty degenerating into abuse. The old comedy was of two kinds. In that properly called the old comedy, there was nothing feigned in the subject: the poets attacked vice publicly; without sparing the chief citizens, or even the magistrates. But after the taking of Athens by Lyfander, and the change of the government from a democracy to an aristocracy; this liberty became disagreeable, and poets were forbid to name the persons whom they attacked in their pieces. They therefore feigned names, but painted the characters so well, that it was impossible to mistake them. And this was what they called the middle comedy, which continued till the time of Alexander the Great; who, having totally subjected Greece, further restrained the licentious humour of the poets, which was beginning to break out afresh. To this last we owe the

new comedy, which was no more than an imitation of common life, and where both the subject and names were feigned.

100 Shamefully ceased. Because it ceased to avoid the punishment of the law. Turpiter therefore must be referred to obticuit and not to nocendi, as some think. The chorus was suppressed by law, because licentious; it was the law, properly speaking, that banished it, and this Horace regards as a kind of blemish.

101 Either by representing the manners of the more illustrious citizens, &c. Vel qui prætextas, vel qui docuere togatas. This is perhaps one of the most difficult places in Horace, occasioned chiefly by the little light Latin authors give us in what relates to their theatrical pieces. The chief thing is to know whether Horace comprehends in this verse both tragedy and comedy, meaning by

B b 2

prætextas

has not been often reviewed and blotted, and which the author has not gone ten times over with the most critical eye ¹⁰².

295 As Democritus fancied ¹⁰³ that a natural genius had much the advantage of art, and excluded every man in his senses from Helicon; the greater part of the poets refuse to cut their nails or beard; they affect retirement, and are never seen at the public baths: persuaded that they shall undoubtedly obtain the name and reward of poetry, if they never put into the hands of Licinius ¹⁰⁴ their head, not to be cured by all the hellebore of three Anticyras ¹⁰⁵. O extravagant folly ¹⁰⁶! if in the spring I had not by some physic cured myself of the spleen, none would have writ better poems than I. But it gives me no great pain. I will therefore do the office of a whetstone, which, though itself
305 incapable to cut, serves yet to sharpen the razor. Without writing myself, I will teach others how to acquit themselves well; whence they are to draw their riches; what forms and improves a poet; what becomes, and what not; what is excellent, or ill.

Good sense is the source and ground ¹⁰⁷ of writing well. You
310 are sure to meet with it in the philosophy of Socrates ¹⁰⁸: and when the subject is once duly prepared and understood, proper words naturally offer themselves. He who knows what he owes to his country and his friends; the different measures of respect due to a father, a brother, and a stranger; what is the duty of a senator, what of a judge; and how it becomes a general to act; he
only,

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prætexas tragedy, and by *togatas* comedy; or, if he only speaks of comedy, and marks its two principal kinds. The first seems to be the easiest account, and to solve all difficulties. But we must be determined by the truth of the case. The following passage of *Festus* will, I hope, serve to set this matter in a clear light. *Togatarum duplex est genus: prætextarum hominum fastigii, quæ sic appellantur, quod togis prætextis rempublicam administrarent; tabernariarum, quia hominibus excellentibus etiam humiles permixti.* From this we understand that *togata* was general, and expressed the different kinds of the Roman comedy; and that the *prætexa* were a particular kind comprehended under this general name. They were therefore belonging to the *togata*, and consequently comedies, for tragedies were never called *togata*. Comedies, where the subject was grave, and the actors represented the chief persons of the state and magistrates, were called *prætexa*, because they were supposed to be concerned in the action, and wore the *prætexa*, a robe bordered with purple. But

plays intended only as a representation of low life, were called *togata*. We have none now remaining of either of these kinds. As their subject and constitution were entirely different, so each required a different genius, and there were poets particularly famous in each kind. For example; *Afranius*, *Titinius*, and *Quinctius Atta* excelled in pure comedy, *Comædia togata*; *Pacuvius* and *Accius* in the more serious pieces, *Comædia prætexa*. If it should be objected here, that the two last were called tragic poets, and the *prætexa* must of consequence have been tragedies; I answer, that besides the pieces called *prætexa*, these poets were authors of several tragedies. *Pacuvius* wrote *Anchises*, *Antiope*, *Atalanta*, *Hermione*, &c. *Accius*, *Achilles*, *Egisthus*, *Hecuba*, *Meleager*. It was for this, they were called tragic poets. The *prætexa* of *Pacuvius* were his *Paulus* and *Tunicularia*; those of *Accius*, *Brutus* and *Decius*. By the names of these pieces it is plain, that they were of the serious kind, and approached nearly to the character

Multa dies & multa litura coërcuit, atque
Perfectum* decies non castigavit ad unguem.

Ingenium miserâ quia fortunatius arte
Credit, & excludit sanos Helicone poëtas
Democritus; bona pars non unguis ponere curat,
Non barbam; secreta petit loca, balnea vitat.
Nanciscetur enim pretium nomenque poëtæ,
Si tribus Anticyris caput insanabile, nunquam
Tonfori Licino commiserit. O ego lævus,
Qui purgor bilem sub verni temporis horam!
Non alius faceret meliora poëmata. Verùm
Nil tanti est. Ergo fungar vice cotis, acutum
Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exfors ipsa secandi.
Munus & officium, nil scribens ipse, docebo;
Unde parentur opes; quid alat formetque poëtam;
Quid deceat, quid non; quò virtus, quò ferat error.

Scribendi rectè sapere est & principium & fons.
Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt ostendere chartæ:
Verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur.
Qui didicit patriæ quid debeat, & quid amicis;
Quo fit amore parens, quo frater, amandus & hospes;
Quod sit conscripti, quod judicis officium; quæ

que poëtam; quid deceat, quid non; quò virtus ferat, quò error. Sapere est & principium & fons scribendi rectè. Chartæ Socraticæ poterunt ostendere rem tibi: verbaque non invita sequentur rem provisam. Qui didicit quid debeat patriæ, & quid debeat amicis; quo amore parens, quo frater, & hospes amandus sit; quod sit officium conscripti, quod judicis; quæ

* Præfectum, Benti.

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character of tragedy, though they were in fact real comedies.

¹⁰² Gone ten times over with the most critical eye. *Præfectum decies non castigavit ad unguem.* A metaphor, taken from the polishers of marble and wood, who tried its smoothness by running over it with their nails.

¹⁰³ *As Democritus fancied.* He maintained that art was of no advantage in forming a poet, who must be so by nature, and a certain innate enthusiasm. *Cicero de Divin. L. 1. Negat enim sine furore Democritus, quenquam poëtam magnum esse posse.* *Socrates* argues for the same notion. But though they meant that nature made a poet, yet they still thought art and study necessary to improve and bring him to perfection.

¹⁰⁴ *Licinius.* A famous barber, whom *Augustus* raised to the dignity of a senator, because of the hatred he testified against *Pompey*.

¹⁰⁵ *Three Anticyras.* *Strabo* mentions only two famed for hellebore. *Horace* names three, to give the greater idea of this poetical incurable madness.

¹⁰⁶ *O extravagant folly!* This is to be understood, as said in a way of pleasantry and mirth. If madness, says *Horace*, is sufficient to make a poet, what folly is it in me to cure myself of the spleen, by always taking physic in the spring? for this might at last increase to the degree necessary to qualify me for making verses. *Purgo bilem*, is the true reading, and an atticism.

¹⁰⁷ *Good sense is the source and ground, &c.* This is the principle which *Horace* opposes to the ridiculous conceits of his cotemporary poets: it is as if he had said, You imagine that madness makes a poet; but my notion is, that good sense is the foundation of all.

¹⁰⁸ *You are sure to meet with it in the philosophy of Socrates.* *Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt ostendere chartæ.* *Horace* is not satis-

315 only, I say, can give to every one his proper character. Whoever desires to imitate with justness, let him study well the original of human life¹⁰⁹, and learn hence to give every feature its true likeness¹¹⁰. For it sometimes happens, that a play where the sentiments are just, and the manners strongly marked, though in other respects without ornament, rough and undigested, yet succeeds better with the people, and engages their attention more, than words destitute of sense, and sounding harmonious trifles.

The Greeks had a genius enriched with all the happy graces of eloquence, fame was their only ambition and end. The Roman youth are bred up in a very different way; their heads are filled with calculations how to divide a pound into an hundred parts. Say, son of Albinus¹¹¹, if from five ounces one is taken away, what will remain? Why do not you answer? ALB. FOUR. HOR. Well said; you give hopes of being an admirable oeconomist. Add an ounce to five, what will it make? 330 ALB. Six. HOR. When once this rust and love of gain has taken hold of the soul, can we imagine it capable of noble thoughts, or poems worthy to be kept in cases of cypress and cedar¹¹²?

A poet's design is either to instruct, or please, or say what may at the same time be both useful and agreeable. Let your precepts be clear and succinct; that the mind may readily comprehend them, and the memory retain them long. For whatever is

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fied with recommending good sense as a necessary qualification to make a good writer. He further shews them where it is to be had; in the Academic philosophy, or writings of Socrates. Hear what Cicero says in his first Book *de Finibus*. *Ad eos igitur converte te, quos; ex eorum enim scriptis institutis cum omnis doctrina liberalis, omnis historia, omnis sermo elegans sumi potest; tum varietas est tanta artium, ut nemo sine eo instrumento ad ullam rem illustriorem satis ornatus possit accedere. Ab his oratores, ab his imperatores, ac rerumpublicarum principes extiterunt; ut ad minora veniam, mathematici, poëta, musici, medici denique ex hac, tanquam ex omnium artium officinâ, profecti sunt.* "Give yourself therefore wholly up to this study; for from their writings and principles we may draw knowledge, history, and eloquence. There is moreover a great variety of arts, without the aid of which it is impossible to succeed in any considerable undertaking. These are they that have formed orators,

"generals, and governors of states; and to descend to inferior branches, this is the school that has produced so many famous mathematicians, poets, physicians, and expert artists of all kinds."

¹⁰⁹ Let him study well the original of human life. *Respicere exemplar vitæ morumque jubebo.* Few commentators seem to have understood well the meaning of *exemplar vitæ morumque*, which I take to be the model of human life, nature herself, the source of all the different manners and shapes in which men appear upon the stage of the world. To give the true picture of a miser, suppose, a man of ambition, or gallantry; the character ought not to be too nicely copied from a particular, this would give it a singular and capricious air; the line must be drawn from nature, we are to consider what she would do in the case.

¹¹⁰ To give every feature its true likeness. *Et veras hinc ducere voces.* These words deserve a particular explication. They may be illustrated by an example taken from painting;

Partes in bellum missi ducis ; ille profectò
Reddere personæ scit convenientia cuique.
Respicere exemplar vitæ morumque jubebo
Doctum imitatore, & veras * hinc ducere voces.
Interdum speciosa locis, morataque rectè
Fabula, nullius veneris, sine pondere & arte,
Valdiùs oblectat populum, meliùsque moratur,
Quàm versus inopes rerum, nugæque canoræ.

Graius ingenium, Graius dedit ore rotundo
Musa loqui, præter laudem nullius avaris.
Romani pueri longis rationibus assem
Discunt in partes centum diducere. Dicat †
Filius Albini, si de quincunce remota est
Unica, quid superat ? poteras † dixisse—Triens. Eu !
Rem poteris servare tuam. Redit uncia, quid fit ?
Semis. At † hæc animos ærugo & cura peculi
Cum semel imbuerit, speramus carmina fingi
Posse linenda cedro, & lævi servanda cupressò ?

Aut prodesse volunt, aut delectare poetæ,
Aut simul & jucunda & idonea dicere vitæ.
Quicquid præcipies, esto brevis ; ut citò dicta
Percipiant animi dociles, teneantque fideles.

315 partes ducis missi in bellum ; ille profectò scit reddere cuique personæ convenientia. Jubebo doctum imitatore, respicere exemplar vitæ morumque, & ducere hinc veras voces. Interdum fabula nullius veneris, sine pondere & arte, speciosa tamen locis, morataque rectè, oblectat populum valdiùs, moraturque meliùs, quàm versus inopes rerum, nugæque canoræ. Musa dedit Graius, avaris nullius rei præter laudem, ingenium, dedit Graius loqui rotundo ore. Romani pueri discunt diducere longis rationibus assem in centum partes. Filius Albini dicat, si uncia remota est de quincunce, quid superat ? poteras dixisse : Triens. Eu ! poteris

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servare rem tuam. Uncia redit, quid fit ? Semis. At cum semel hæc ærugo & cura peculi imbuerit animos, speramus carmina linenda cedro, & servanda lævi cupressò fingi posse ? Poetæ aut volunt prodesse, aut delectare, aut dicere simul & jucunda & idonea vitæ. Quicquid præcipies, esto brevis ; ut animi dociles percipiant, fidelesque teneant citò dicta.

* vivas, Bentl. † dicas, Id. † superet ? poterat, Id. || An, Id.

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painting ; for poetry and painting are very much akin, and both the one and the other pure imitation. A painter, who, in drawing the picture of a beautiful woman, should borrow the features from a celebrated beauty of his acquaintance, would not give a true picture of beauty ; the lines of his piece are not *lineæ veræ* taken from nature and truth, but *lineæ simulatæ, adumbratæ* : a copy of another copy, without regard to the true original. It is just the same in poetry. In drawing the character of a miser, to take the lines of avarice from a particular person, would be mistaking the shadow for the substance. But if we fix our eyes on nature, and contemplate the idea of avarice which she furnishes, this is copying after a true original.

III Say, son of Albinus. This Albinus was a man of figure, and a celebrated usurer of that age. The chief part of his son's

education, was to understand numbers and calculations. We have already seen, that this was the method in which the most considerable centuries trained up their children, in the sixth Satire of the first Book.

III Cases of cypress and cedar. *Speramus carmina fingi posse linenda cedro.* Booksellers, to preserve valuable books, did them over with a kind of juice that came from cedar, and called *cedria*, or *cedrium*. Vitruvius says in the ninth Chapter of his second Book : Cedar yields a kind of essence called *cedrium*, which has the virtue to preserve every thing, inasmuch that books done over with it are subject neither to mouldiness nor mths. There is nothing of this kind in use with us, for which reason I have been obliged to translate it *poems worthy to be kept in cases of cypress* ; for to say *poems anointed with essence of cypress*, would sound harsh in our language.

is superfluous, soon flows away and is forgot ¹¹³. When you aim to divert, let your fictions have as near a resemblance as possible to truth; nor be so conceited, as to imagine you can persuade us to what you please; or venture to bring upon the stage a child taken
 340 alive from a sorceress ¹¹⁴ that had but just before devoured it. The senators ¹¹⁵ will never applaud a work destitute of instruction: the knights dislike too great an austerity ¹¹⁶. By mixing the useful and agreeable you will gain every heart, and improve and please the reader at the same time. These are the volumes that enrich book-
 345 sellers, pass the seas with applause, and bring immortal fame to the authors.

Yet there are some faults we ought frankly to excuse. For a string does not always return the sound the player wanted, and will sometimes jar in spite of all his art; and the most skilful archer
 350 cannot always hit his aim. But in a poem writ with elegance, I will not be offended with a few slight faults ¹¹⁷, that may be owing to a pardonable neglect, and that frailty which is natural to man. Where then is this indulgence to stop? As an amanuensis, who, though told of it, still commits the same blunder, deserves no
 355 pardon; or a musician, who in playing is always out at the same note, is sure to be laughed at by the company: so the poet, who often runs into absurdities, seems to me another Chærilus ¹¹⁸, who now and then stumbles upon a tolerable line, but is every where else ridiculous and contemptible: on the contrary, I fret and am
 360 displeased, when sometimes I observe Homer to nod ¹¹⁹. But in long works it is excusable, if at times we are surprised by sleep.

Poetry

A N N O T A T I O N S.

¹¹³ For whatever is superfluous, soon flows away, &c. *Omne supervacuum pleno de pectore manat*. This is a metaphor taken from a vessel, which once full, can receive no more, for all that is afterwards poured into it, flows over.

¹¹⁴ Taken alive from a sorceress. *Neu tranſæ lamie*. As it had been fabled that there was one *Lamus*, king of the *Læstrygons*, who fed upon human flesh; so it was also pretended that there was in *Libya* a queen named *Lamia*, who devoured children. It appears by a passage in *Diodorus*, that this fable was common in *Africa*; for he tells us that *Opbellas*, king of *Cyrene*, going in quest of *Agathocles*, who was at war with the *Cartaginians*, passed by a deep valley, where was a vast cave, in which he was told *Lamia* was born. The *Romans* feigned that this *Lamia* was a frightful sorceress, who devoured children. *Horace* had no doubt in view here some contemporary poet, who in a comedy had introduced this *Lamia*, and

made a child she had devoured to be taken alive out of her belly.

¹¹⁵ The senators. *Centuriæ seniorum*. The centuries of old men. *Servius Tullius* divided the *Roman* people into six classes, which he subdivided again into an hundred and eighty-three centuries. Each of these centuries was made up of persons of the same age, rank, or fortune, to facilitate the assemblies of the people in the comitia. *Centuriæ seniorum*, may therefore be supposed to stand here for the senators, which is the more probable, because of what follows.

¹¹⁶ The knights dislike too great an austerity. If the senators condemn a poem that carries no instruction with it, the knights dislike an austere work without pleasantry or mirth. Thus to gain the applause of both, these two must be judiciously mixed together. *Celsi Rhamnes*. *Dacier* tells us, that *celsi* is put here for the knights, and refers to *Festus* for a more particular explication of the word. Some explain *celsi*, brave, generous,

Omne supervacuum pleno de pectore manat.
 Ficta voluptatis causâ sint proxima veris;
 Nec quodcunque volet, poscat sibi fabula credi;
 Neu pransæ lamizæ vivum puerum extrahat alvo. 340
 Centuriæ seniorum agitant expertia frugis:
 Celsi prætereunt austera poemata Rhamnes.
 Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci,
 Lectorem delectando, pariterque monendo.
 Hic meret æra liber Sosis, hic & mare transit, 345
 Et longum noto scriptori prorogat ævum.

Sunt delicta tamen, quibus ignovisse velimus:
 Nam neque chorda sonum reddit, quem vult manus
 & mens,
 Poscentique gravem persæpè remittit acutum;
 Nec semper feriet quodcunque minabitur arcus. 350
 Verùm ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis
 Offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit,
 Aut humana parùm cavit natura. Quid ergo? *
 Ut scriptor si peccat idem librarius usque,
 Quamvis est monitus, veniâ caret; & † citharædus
 Ridetur, chordâ qui semper oberrat eâdem: 356
 Sic mihi qui multùm cessat, fit Chærilus ille,
 Quem bis terque ‡ bonum cum risu miror; & idem
 Indignor, quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus. 359
 Verùm opere || in longo fas est obrepere somnum.

aut humana natura parùm cavit. Quid ergo? Ut scriptor librarius, si usque peccat idem, quamvis est monitus, caret veniâ; & citharædus ridetur, qui semper oberrat eâdem chordâ: sic qui multùm cessat, fit ille Chærilus mihi, quem miror cum risu bis terque bonum; & ego idem indignor, quandoque bonus Homerus dormitat. Verùm fas est, obrepere somnum in longo opere.

* est, Bentl. † ut, Id. ‡ terve, Id. || operi, Id.

Omne supervacuum manat de pleno pectore. Ficta causâ voluptatis sint proxima veris; nec fabula poscat credi sibi, quodcunque volet; neu extrahat vivum puerum alvo pransæ lamizæ. Centuriæ seniorum agitant expertia frugis: celsi Rhamnes prætereunt poemata austera. Tulit omne punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci, delectando, pariterque monendo lectorem. Hic liber meret æra Sosis, hic & transit mare, & prorogat longum ævum noto scriptori. Sunt tamen delicta, quibus velimus ignovisse. Nam neque chorda semper reddit sonum, quem manus & mens vult, persæpèque remittit sonum acutum poscenti gravem; nec arcus semper feriet quodcunque minabitur. Verùm ubi plura nitent in carmine, ego non offendar paucis maculis, quas aut incuria fudit,

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out, noble, excelsè animo. But I am rather apt to fall in with Dacier's account: for Rhamnes is here for Romani, from the name of one of the three ancient tribes, into which the people were divided; the Rhamneses, Tatians, and Luceres.

117 With a few slight faults. It is in vain to expect perfection in any work of man. The best performances are those where the good not only surpasses the bad, but where faults are few and inconsiderable; such as are owing either to an excusable negligence, or bare marks of human infirmity, it being impossible to be every where equally correct. Longinus explains this passage in his thirtieth Chapter, where he says, that although he has observed many faults in Homer, and other the most distin-

guished poets, and was displeased with them; yet he did not regard them properly as faults, but as oversights, or slight mistakes, which escaped them by chance, while their mind was attentively fixed upon the more important parts, and could not attend to things of less moment.

118 Chærilus. See what we have said of him in the first Epistle of the second Book.

119 When sometimes I observe Homer to nod. It is impossible to fancy a more genteel way of praising than this. I admire that Chærilus has succeeded two or three times, and am quite out of humor, that Homer nods in some places. He has fewer faults than ordinary writers have beauties. With what justice and politeness he commends? How

Poetry very much resembles painting ¹²⁰: some pieces please most, when viewed near; others, at a distance: this loves the dark; that must be examined in the light, nor fears the piercing eye of the acutest judge: some please for once; some viewed a
 365 thousand times will please. But you, elder Piso, though formed by the precepts of your father to justness of taste, and wise by your own experience; yet remember this as an important truth; that there are some things in which mediocrity is allowable, and even esteemed. A lawyer, or pleader may fall short of the elo-
 370 quence of Messala ¹²¹, or the vast reading of Cassellius Aulus ¹²²; and yet be very much valued: but neither Gods, men, nor the pillars of the booksellers ¹²³, will allow of a mean in poetry. For as an ill concert, coarse perfumes, or poppy-seed mixed with Sar-
 375 dinian honey ¹²⁴, offend against the delicacy of a feast; because the scene might have passed without them: in like manner poetry originally invented to delight and unbend the mind, if it does not rise to the height of perfection, sinks below contempt. A man, who has never learned to handle arms, avoids the exercises of the Campus Martius; so he who knows not how to toss the ball, play
 380 at quoits, or drive the hoop ¹²⁵, quietly sits still; lest he should expose himself to be laughed at and hissed by the mob. But every ignorant pretender will be meddling with poetry. Why not? I am free, well-born, rated at a knight's estate, and my life is without reproach. Who then can object to my being a poet?
 385 But you, Piso, will never attempt any thing in contradiction to your genius and natural bent; such is your judgment and good sense. If however it should ever be your fate to write, submit it to the criticism of Metius ¹²⁶, your father, and me; and keep

it

A N N O T A T I O N S.

is a partizan of *Horace* pleased to see, that *Horace* could not observe a few faults in him, without indignation, and a kind of resentment: *Quandoque* is here for *quando-cunque*, *quoties*. *Indignor quoties*.

¹²⁰ Poetry very much resembles painting. Poetry and painting resemble each other, in that they are both imitations; but differ in this, that they imitate differently. *Horace*, therefore, does not mean that poetry resembles painting in general, but only in certain respects. He illustrates poetry by comparisons drawn from painting, after the manner of *Aristotle* in his *Poetics*, who often compares poets to painters and touches here upon an article common to both. And it is this; that they have each a particular light and point of view, in which we ought to judge of them. We may mistake, if they are misplaced: for what is just and

regular in the place for which it was designed, will appear monstrous and absurd, if viewed any where else. He might with equal justice have said, it is in poetry, as in sculpture. For statuaries follow the same rule as painters. As these last, by touches more or less strong, give their pictures that degree of force, which they ought to have in respect of the place where they are to stand, or the distance at which to be viewed; statuaries in like manner proportion their figures to place and light.

¹²¹ *Messala*. The celebrated orator *Messala Corvinus*, of whom before.

¹²² *Cassellius Aulus*. A Roman knight, one of the greatest lawyers of his time, eloquent, and deeply read.

¹²³ Neither Gods, men, nor the pillars of booksellers, &c. Every thing declares against a mediocrity in poetry. Men reject it: the

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Ut pictura, poësis erit: quæ, si propius stes,
Te capiat magis; & quædam, si longius abstes:
Hæc amat obscurum; volet hæc sub luce videri,
Judicis argutum quæ non formidat acumen:
Hæc placuit semel; hæc decies repetita placebit. 365

O major juvenum, quamvis & voce paternâ
Fingeris ad rectum, & per te sapis; hoc tibi dictum
Tolle memor; certis medium & tolerabile rebus
Rectè concedi. Consultus juris, & actor
Causarum mediocris abest virtute disertis 370
Messalæ, nec scit quantum Cassellius Aulus;
Sed tamen in pretio est: mediocribus esse poëtis
Non homines, non Dî, non concessere columnæ.
Ut gratas inter mensas symphonia discors, 374
Et crassum unguentum, & Sardo cum melle papaver
Offendunt; poterat duci quia cœna sine istis:
Sic animis natum inventumque poëma juvandis,
Si paulum summo decessit, vergit ad imum.

Ludere qui nescit, campestribus abstinet armis;
Indoctusque pilæ, discive, trochive, quiescit; 380
Ne spissæ risum tollant impunè coronæ.
Qui nescit, versus tamen audet fingere. Quidni?
Liber, & ingenuus, præsertim census equestrem
Summam nummorum, vitioque remotus ab omni.
Tu nihil invitâ dices faciesve Minervâ; 385
Id tibi judicium est, ea mens. Si quid tamen olim
Scripseris, in Metii descendat judicis aures,

juvandis, si decessit paulum summo, vergit ad imum. Is, qui nescit ludere, abstinet armis campestribus; indoctusque pilæ, discive, trochive, quiescit; ne spissæ coronæ impunè tollant risum. Qui nescit tamen, audet fingere versus. Quidni? Liber est, & ingenuus, præsertim census (recensitus) habere equestrem summam nummorum, remotusque ab omni vitio. Tu dices faciesve nihil Minervâ invitâ; id est judicium tibi, ea mens. Si tamen scripseris quid olim, descendat in aures Metii judicis,

Poësis, ut pictura erit: quæ, si stes propius, capiat te magis; & quædam, si abstes longius: hæc amat obscurum; hæc, quæ non formidat argutum acumen judicis, volet videri sub luce: hæc placuit semel; hæc repetita decies placebit. O major juvenum, quamvis & fingeris ad rectum paternâ voce, & sapis per te; attamen memor tolle hoc dictum tibi; medium & tolerabile rectè concedi certis rebus. Mediocris consultus juris, & actor causarum abest virtute Messalæ disertis, nec scit quantum Cassellius Aulus; sed tamen est in pretio: ac non homines, non Dî, non columnæ, concessere poëtis esse mediocribus. Ut symphonia discors, & crassum unguentum, & papaver cum Sardo melle, offendunt inter gratas mensas; quia cœna poterat duci sine istis: sic poëma natum inventumque animis

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the Gods Apollo, Bacchus, and the Muses disavow it; and the pillars of the book-sellers, that is, booksellers' shops, which were commonly under piazzas, refuse to receive it.

124 Poppy-seeds mixed with Sardinian honey. Pliny, in the eighth Chapter of Book 19, says: *Papaveris sativi tria genera; candidum, cujus semen testum in secundâ mensâ cum melle apud antiquos dabatur. There are three kinds of garden-poppies; the white, of which the ancients were wont to roast the seed, and serve it up at the second table mixed with honey.* Nothing could taste more harsh than this mixed up with Sardinian honey, which was exceedingly bitter, on account of the bitter

herbs, in which that island abounded. Virgil in his seventh Eclogue,

Immo ego Sardois videar tibi amarior herbis.

125 Toss the ball, play at quoits, or drive the hoop. *Indoctusque pilæ, discive, trochive, quiescit.* These several exercises have been already explained in the course of the foregoing notes.

126 Submit it to the criticism of Metius. *Spurius Metus Tarpa*, a great critic, and one of the judges established to examine the works of poets. Horace speaks of him in the tenth Satire of the first Book:

Quæ nec in æde forent certantia, iudice Tarpâ.

I amuse

it in your hands nine years¹²⁷ at least. While your papers are within your own desk, you may blot, change, and efface at pleasure: but what has once got abroad cannot be recalled.

Orpheus, that sacred interpreter¹²⁸ of the will of the Gods, by the power of his numbers reclaimed the first men from bloodshed and a savage life: it was for this that he was said to have tamed tigers, and softened the rage of lions. So likewise has it been said of Amphion, who built the citadel of Thebes¹²⁹, that his harmonious harp gave motion to stones, and by gentle persuasion ranged them each in their stations. For of old this was accounted wisdom, to distinguish private from public good; to separate between things sacred and civil; to forbid promiscuous love; to explain the duties of the married state; to build cities, and establish wholesome laws. Thus honor and renown daily increased to poetry and the divine race of poets. After these Homer and Tyrtæus¹³⁰ awakened martial courage, and sounded the alarms of war: oracles were delivered in verse; in them the secrets of nature were traced; Pierian measures served to gain the favor of kings; made a part of the public shows, and refreshed the mind sunk under a weight of toil: blush not, therefore, Piso, to make court to Apollo, and the Muses skilled in the harp.

It

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I amuse myself in those trifles, which are not made to dispute the prize before the celebrated critic Tarpa.

This academy of judges, founded by Augustus, continued a long time after his death. Onuphrius Panvinus has preserved an inscription, by which we learn, that in the reign of Domitian, one L. Valerius Pudens, native of a city in the territory of the Florentines, that now goes by the name of el Guasto, aged thirteen years, gained the prize of poetry, and was crowned by the unanimous suffrage of all the judges. Coronatus est inter poetas Latinos omnibus sententiis iudicum. It is true, that this young bard was crowned in the quinquennial games, instituted by Domitian, in honor of Jupiter Capitolinus, in which every five years, the prize was disputed in verse and prose, in Greek and Latin, Sueton. Domit. Chap. 4. Instituit & quinquennale certamen Capitol. no Jovi triplicem, musicum, equestre, gymnicum, & aliquantulum plurimum quam nunc est coronarum. Certabant etiam & prosa oratione Græcè Latinèque. But these games established by Domitian are a strong presumption, that something of the like nature had been instituted by Augustus; and as these judges may be supposed to have

continued to the times of Domitian, it is probable that they were named to preside in this new institution.

¹²⁷ Keep it nine years, &c. This was the method of Helvius Cinna, a great poet, the cotemporary and intimate friend of Catullus; for he labored nine whole years upon his poem, entitled Smyrna. Catullus:

Smyrna mei Cinna nonam post denique messim

Scripta fuit, nonamque edita post hyemem.

Isocrates, Demosthenes, Cicero, Pliny, &c. spent much time in polishing and correcting their works. They thought that what was intended for eternity, could not be too often reviewed. It was a saying of Zeuxes: Ego diu pingo, quia pingo æternitati.

¹²⁸ Orpheus, that sacred interpreter. The poet gives these epithets to Orpheus, because in his work he sung of the nature and will of the Gods, and instituted sacred rites. It is on the same account, that he is by Virgil called sacerdos, priest.

Necnon Threicius longa cum veste sacerdos.

Horace makes this abrupt transition to Orpheus,

Et patris, & nostras; nonumque prematur in annum.

Membranis intus positis, delere licebit

Quod non edideris: nescit vox missa reverti. 390

Silvestres homines sacer interpretisque Deorum

Cædibus & victu sædo deterruit Orpheus:

Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones.

Dictus & Amphion, Thebanæ conditor arcis,

Saxa movere sono testudinis, & prece blandâ 395

Ducere quò vellet. Fuit hæc sapientia quondam,

Publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis;

Concubitu prohibere vago; dare jura maritis;

Oppidia moliri; leges incidere ligno.

Sic honor & nomen divinis vatibus atque

Carminibus venit. Post hos insignis Homerus 400

Tyrtæusque mares animos in Martia bella

Versibus exacuit: dictæ per carmina sortes;

Et vitæ monstrata via est; & gratia regum

Pieriis tentata modis; ludusque repertus,

Et longorum operum finis: ne fortè pudori 405

Si tibi Musa lyræ solers, & cantor Apollo.

bus. Post hos insignis Homerus Tyrtæusque exacuit versibus mares animos in Martia bella: sortes dictæ sunt per carmina; & via vitæ monstrata est; & gratia regum tentata est modis Pieriis; ludusque repertus, & finis longorum operum: ne fortè Musa solers lyræ, & cantor Apollo sit pudori tibi.

& patris, & nostras; prematurque in nonum annum. Membranis positis intus, licebit delere quod non edideris: vox missa nescit reverti. Orpheus sacer interpretisque Deorum deterruit homines silvestres cædibus & sædo victu: dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones. Et Amphion, conditor Thebanæ arcis, dictus est movere saxa sono testudinis, & ducere blandâ prece quò vellet. Hæc quondam fuit sapientia, secernere publica privatis, sacra profanis; prohibere concubitu vago; dare jura maritis; moliri oppidia; incidere leges ligno. Sic honor & nomen venit divinis vatibus atque carminibus.

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phæus, out of fear that *Piso* might be discouraged from poetry, by the representation he had given of its difficulties. The elogium here given to the art, and setting before his eyes the honors done to the first poets, *Orpheus* and *Amphion*, were, he thought, sufficient inducements to make him overlook these difficulties. The *Orpheus* here spoken of, was not the same with him who assisted at the expedition of the *Argonauts*, as it is plain from what our poet says, *Cædibus & victu sædo deterruit Orpheus*; but one more ancient, cotemporary with *Moses*.

129 *Amphion*, who built the citadel of *Thebes*. *Thebes* was first built by *Cadmus*. About thirty years afterwards *Amphion* surrounded it with a wall, and built a citadel. And as by the harmony of his numbers, or according to others by his eloquence, he persuaded the peasants to set hand to the work; hence sprung the fable, that he built it by the sound of the harp: and that the stones of themselves took each its place, and joined together to form the walls and citadel.

130 *Tyrtæus*. He was master of a small school, and of a very unhappy make and

aspect. The *Lacedemonians* had carried on a long war against the *Messenians*, and laid siege to their city. They were advised by the oracle to apply to the *Athenians* for a general, who in derision sent them this *Tyrtæus*. The general, instead of retrieving their affairs, almost quite ruined them; for he was defeated three several times by the enemy. The *Lacedemonians* were so hard put to it, that they were under a necessity to inlist their slaves, and promise them the wives of such as had been slain. But the king of *Sparta*, discouraged by so many losses, and apprehending a total overthrow, was minded to raise the siege. *Tyrtæus* alone, firm to the oracle, opposed the design, and repeated at the head of the army some verses he had made to revive their courage. These verses animated the soldiers, and inspired them with firmness and intrepidity, insomuch that, despising death, they attacked the *Messenians*, and came off victorious. This brought the oracle of *Apollo* again into credit, and gained great glory to *Tyrtæus*, who was sent back to *Athens* with the title of citizen of *Sparta*.

It has been long a question¹³¹, whether a poet was formed by art or nature: I neither see what art can do without a rich vein,
 410 or a fine genius without the help of art; for each requires the other's aid, and conspires with it in a friendly manner. He, that hopes to carry off the Olympic prize, must inure himself to exercise and fatigue; he must bear heat and cold, and renounce love and wine. A musician ventures not to sing the Pythian songs,
 415 till he has first learned under an able master. But now every scribbler passes for a poet, who has the confidence to boast that his verses are admirable: shame come upon all that lag behind: it were a scandal for me not to hold the first rank, or own my ignorance of things, that I never understood.

A poet, rich in lands, and money lent out at usury, invites a
 420 set of flatterers to gain, as a public crier brings the croud together¹³² to a sale of goods. If moreover he is liberal in his entertainments, ready to give bail for the poorer sort, and warmly espouses their cause when involved in intricate suits; I shall wonder much, if he has the good fortune to discern between a
 425 true and a false friend.

If at any time you have been liberal to a friend, or intend to make him some present, read not your verses before him while his heart is yet full of joy: for he will cry out at every line, Fine, charming, admirable! he will look pale and astonished; shed tears of gratitude; leap from his seat, and stamp with his foot
 430 upon the ground. As men hired to weep at funerals¹³³ are more loud and noisy than they who truly mourn; so a flatterer seems always to be more moved than a real friend. Great men, when they would unmask the soul and see its deepest thoughts, whether
 435 worthy of trust and friendship, are said to try it with wine, and strongly urge the full cups: so when you write poems, beware of being deceived by falsehood lurking under the guise of the fox¹³⁴. If you read any thing to Quintilius¹³⁵, he frankly tells you, Correct this and this: if you answer that you have often tried in vain, and cannot change it for the better; then blot it
 out

ANNOTATIONS.

¹³¹ *It has been long a question.* This has been long a question before our poet's time; probably because men naturally averse to labor neglect study, confiding in the strength of a natural genius, which proves often not so happy as they imagined. *Horace*, to prevent the *Pisos* from falling into this error, argues that nature and art must join together. Nature is, as it were, the basis and support of all, but art is also necessary to complete the character.

¹³² *As a public crier brings the croud* together. Art and nature are not always sufficient to make a poet, he ought also to have faithful friends, who may acquaint him with his faults; but these are hard to be found, especially where the poet is rich and powerful, as were the *Pisos*. *Horace* compares rich poets to public criers; as they brought crowds together to buy up what was exposed to sale; in like manner, rich poets collected a set of flatterers. A poet ought with care to distinguish one of these from a sincere friend.

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Naturâ fieret laudabile carmen, an arte,
 Quæsitum est : ego nec studium sine divite venâ,
 Nec rude quid proffit * video ingenium ; alterius sic
 Altera poscit opem res, & conjurat amicè. 411
 Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam,
 Multa tulit fecitque puer ; sudavit & alfit,
 Abstiniuit Venere & vino. Qui Pythia cantat
 Tibicen, didicit prius, extimuitque magistrum. 415
 Nunc † satis est dixisse, Ego mira poëmata pango :
 Occupet extremum scabies : mihi turpe relinqui est,
 Et, quod non didici, sanè nescire fateri.

Ut præco, ad merces turbam qui cogit emendas,
 Assentatores jubet ad lucrum ire poëta, 420
 Dives agris, dives positus in sænore nummis.
 Si verò est, unctum qui rectè ponere possit,
 Et spondere levi pro paupere, & eripere atris ‡
 Litibus implicitum ; mirabor, si sciet inter-
 noscere mendacem verumque beatus amicum. 425
 Tu, seu donâris, seu quid donare voles cui,
 Nolito ad versus tibi factos ducere plenum
 Lætitiæ : clamabit enim, Pulchrè, benè, rectè ;
 Pallescet super his ; etiam stillabit amicis
 Ex oculis rorem ; saliet ; tundet pede terram. 430
 Ut qui conducti plorant in funere, dicunt
 Et faciunt propè plura dolentibus ex animo ; sic
 Derisor vero plùs laudatore movetur.
 Reges dicuntur multis urgere culullis,
 Et torquere mero, quem perspexisse laborent ||, 435
 An sit amicitia dignus : si carmina condes,
 Nunquam te fallant animi sub vulpe latentes.

Quintilio si quid recitares, Corrige, sodes,
 Hoc, aiebat, & hoc : meliùs te posse negares,

chrè, benè, rectè ; pallescet super his ; etiam stillabit rorem ex amicis oculis ; saliet ; tundet terram pede. Ut qui conducti plorant in funere, dicunt & faciunt propè plura dolentibus ex animo ; sic derisor movetur plùs vero laudatore. Reges dicuntur urgere multis culullis, & torquere mero hominem, quem laborent perspexisse, an sit dignus amicitia : si condes carmina, nunquam animi latentes sub vulpe fallant te. Si recitares quid Quintilio, aiebat, Corrige, sodes, hoc & hoc : si negares te,

* possit, Bentl.

† nec, Id.

‡ artis, Id.

|| laborant, Id.

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133 As men hired to weep at funerals. This comparison is extremely beautiful. Horace says that there is the same difference between a flatterer and a sincere friend, as between one who is hired to weep at a funeral, and one whose tears proceed from real grief. Horace had, no doubt, in view, a passage of the 22d Satire of Lucilius :

-----Mucede quæ
 Conductæ flect alieno in funere Præfixæ
 Multis, & capillos scinaunt, & clamant
 magis.

134 Under the guise of the fox. Horace alludes here to the fable of the fox and crow.

135 Quintilius. Quintilius Varus, a poet and

- 440 out altogether, and fashion anew every harsh ill-running verse. If he found you obstinately bent to defend your faults, rather than amend them, he said no more; but thinking it best to spare himself an useless trouble, left you to hug, without a rival, yourself and your darling book.
- 445 An impartial prudent friend will give notice of every idle line ¹³⁶, blame such as run harsh, score out what wants grace and beauty, and retrench every superfluous ornament; make you explain what seems obscure; challenge an ambiguous expression, and nicely mark every thing that wants to be changed ¹³⁷:
- 450 in a word, he will be an Aristarchus ¹³⁸; nor say, Why should I lose my friend for such trifles as these? for these trifles will be of serious consequence to you, when they have once made you ridiculous and the jest of the world. For the wiser part of mankind are not more careful to shun one infected with the
- 455 leprosy or jaundice, a lunatic or madman, than a poet in his rhyming raging fit; followed by a croud of boys, heedless of the danger. Such a one, when in a raving humor he vomits up his pompous lines, if peradventure, as a sportsman sometimes intent upon his game, he tumbles into a ditch or well; though
- 460 with a lengthened tone he cries for help, no person alive cares to assist or pity him. Were any one to offer their aid, and throw a rope to bring him out; I would be the first to ask, What are you a-doing? How do you know but he fell in on purpose, and does not want to be delivered? I would tell how a famed Sicilian poet
- 465 died. Empedocles ¹³⁹, full of the whim of being thought a God, leapt in a cold fit into burning Ætna ¹⁴⁰. Give poets leave to perish

ANNOTATIONS.

and the intimate friend of *Horace* and *Virgil*. He had been dead some time before this *Art of Poetry* was written; hence *Horace* has *recitare, jubebat, sumebat*.

¹³⁶ Will give notice of every idle line. There are few works of modern production, but furnish examples of all the faults *Horace* has assembled together in these five lines. But it is not every writer, whose faults deserve a particular notice. Those only merit our attention, which have been committed by poets of the first rank. For, if not pointed out, they may do great mischief, because the injudicious may admire and imitate them, and thus by degrees introduce a false taste.

¹³⁷ And nicely mark every thing that wants to be changed. *Mutanda notabit*. This is a general expression that includes all the rest. *Quintilian* tells us, that correction consists in retrenching, adding, changing. The two first

first are the easiest; the other requires a world of accuracy. His words are: *Sed facilius in his simpliciusque judicium, quæ replenda vel deicienda sunt; premere verba tumentia, humilia extollere, luxuriantia asringere, inordinata dirigere, soluta componere, exultantia coercere, duplicis operæ; nam & damnanda sunt quæ placuerant, & inveniendæ quæ fugerant*. It is much more easy and simple to add or retrench; but to lower a too pompous style, to raise what is creeping, to lop off superfluous ornaments, to adjust what has been placed wrong, to bring together the several dispersed sentiments, and contract what is too copious and luxuriant, is a work of double labor: for we must condemn what before pleased us, and recover what we suffered to escape us.

¹³⁸ An *Aristarchus*. A celebrated critic, who lived in the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and was cotemporary with *Callimachus*.

Bis terque expertum frustra; delere jubebat, 440
Et malè tornatos* incudi reddere versus.
Si defendere delictum, quàm vertere, malles;
Nullum ultrà verbum, aut operam infumebat inaniem,
Quin sine rivali teque & tua solus amares.
Vir bonus & prudens versus reprehendet inertes, 445
Culpabit duros, incomptis allinet atrum
Transverso calamo signum; ambitiosa recidet
Ornamenta; parùm claris lucem dare coget;
Arguet ambiguè dictum; mutanda notabit:
Fiet Aristarchus; nec † dicet, Cur ego amicum 450
Offendam in nugis? hæ nugæ seria ducent
In mala derisum semel, exceptumque finistrè.

Ut mala quem scabies, aut morbus regius urget,
Aut fanaticus error, & iracunda Diana;
Vesànium titigisse timent fugiuntque poëtam, 455
Qui sapiunt; agitant pueri, incautique sequuntur.
Hic, dum sublimes versus ructatur, & errat,
Si veluti merulis intentus decidit auceps
In puteum foveamve; licèt, Succurrite, longùm
Clamet, Io cives; non sit, qui tollere curet. 460
Si quis curet ‡ opem ferre, & demittere funem;
Quî scis, an prudens huc se dejecerit**, atque
Servari nolit? dicam; Siculique poëtæ
Narrabo interitum. Deus immortalis haberi 464
Dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus Ætnam

bis terque expertum frustra, posse melius; jubebat delere, & reddere incudi versus malè tornatos. Si malles defendere delictum, quàm vertere; infumebat nullum verbum ultrà, aut operam inaniem, quin solus amares teque & tua sine rivali. Vir bonus & prudens reprehendet versus inertes, culpabit duros, allinet transverso calamo atrum signum incomptis; recidet ambitiosa ornamenta; coget dare lucem parùm claris; arguet dictum ambiguè; notabit mutanda: fiet Aristarchus; nec dicet, Cur ego offendam amicum in nugis? hæ nugæ ducent in seria mala hominem semel derisum, exceptumque finistrè. Qui sapiunt, timent fugiuntque tetigisse vesànium poëtam, ut unum quem malè scabies, aut morbus regius, aut error fanaticus, & Diana iracunda

urget; pueri agitant, incautique sequuntur. Hic, dum ructatur versus sublimes, & errat, si, veluti auceps intentus merulis, decidit in puteum foveamve; licèt clamet longùm, Io cives, succurrite; non sit unus, qui curet tollere. Si quis curet ferre opem, & demittere funem; Quî scis, an non prudens dejecerit se huc, & nolit servari? dicam; narraboque interitum poëtæ Siculi. Dum Empedocles cupit haberi Deus immortalis, frigidus insulit Ætnam ardentem.

* ter natos, Benth. † non, Id. ‡ curet quis, Id. ** projecit, Id.

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Callimachus. He wrote above fourscore volumes of commentaries upon *Homer*, *Aristophanes*, and the other Greek poets.

139 *Empedocles.* A great poet and philosopher, who wrote three books of the Nature of Things, frequently quoted by *Aristotle*. He flourished in the eightieth olympiad. *Lucretius* gives him this fine elogium:

*Nil tamen hoc habuisse viro præclarius in se,
Nec sanctum magis, & mirum, carumque videtur.*

*Carmina quinetiam divini pectoris ejus
Vociferantur, & exponunt præclara reperta;
Ut vix humanâ videatur stirpe creatus.*

Sicily never produced a greater man, nor one more venerable, wonderful, or dearer than this
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philosopher. The divine poems, which he wrote, proclaim to all the world his many useful inventions; insomuch that it is hard to believe he was born of a mortal.

If it is hard to believe that he was born of a mortal, it is still harder to credit the story of his throwing himself alive into *Ætna*; yet the story is very ancient. It is grounded chiefly upon one of his sandals being found near an opening of the mountain, which it is pretended was thrown out in an eruption of flames; and that this might not appear absurd, it is said that he wore sandals of brass. It was the manner of the ancients to ascribe something extraordinary to great men, and fill the history of their lives with abundance of fables.

140 Leapt in a cold fit into burning Ætna.
Ardentem

perish, when they are so minded. To keep a poet alive¹⁴¹ against his will, is equally a sin with killing him. This is not the first instance of his folly; nor, if you extricate him now, will he be a jot the wiser, or lay aside his frolic of a famous death. Indeed
 470 it is hard to say, why he has been seized with this vein of rhyming; perhaps he has profaned his father's tomb, or sacrilegiously removed the bounds of some consecrated place¹⁴²: one thing is certain, that he is possessed, and like a bear, who has broke through all the bars and bolts that secured his den¹⁴³, puts all he meets, learned and unlearned, to flight by eternally reciting his
 475 verses. Whoever he can seize upon, he is sure to hold him, and read him to death; like a leech that once fastened sticks close to the skin, till ready to burst with blood.

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Ardentem frigidus Ætnam, &c. The word *frigidus*, is differently explained by commentators. Some pretend that it is for foolish; others, that it means the same as when we say, he did any thing in cold blood. *Dacier* is equally displeased with both these: he thinks that the poet meant to paint the extravagance of a man, who, to acquire an empty fame, and be accounted a God, rushed upon a death, which he beheld with horror, and whose approach chilled his blood.

¹⁴¹ To keep a poet alive, &c. *Invitum qui servat, idem facit occidenti.* Horace can never mean this as a general maxim, he undoubtedly speaks only of poets; *invitum poetam*: others, when seized with melancholy, may possibly be cured. But with poets the case is otherwise; their malady is commonly desperate, and beyond the power of art. All that can be done is to abandon them to their own fancies, and let them perish when they will.

¹⁴² Removed the bounds of some consecrated place.

The KEY.

WE have thus gone through the *Art of Poetry*; which, as it is a work that required to be explained with particular exactness, I have enlarged the notes considerably. It now remains that I conclude the work, by giving a general account of the poet's design, and how he has conducted it. *Dacier*, in the introduction to his remarks upon this part of *Horace's* works, has given the best account of it that I have any where met with. As I cannot hope to present the reader with any thing better upon this subject, I shall here, by way of a Key, transcribe what I think necessary from him.

In *Asia*, *Greece*, *Macedonia* and *Egypt*, there had been from the earliest times select judges appointed to examine works of poetry and eloquence. *Augustus*, who desired that *Italy* should in his reign fall nothing short of *Greece*, or any other of the most flourishing empires, and was particularly careful to raise an emulation among writers, and rouse them by the hopes of rewards and honors, established a like set of judges at *Rome*, and gave them the temple and library of *Apollo* for their conferences. *Theodorus Marcilius* tells

Infiluit. Sit jus, liceatque perire poëtis.
Invitum qui servat, idem facit occidenti.
Nec semel hoc fecit; nec, si retractus erit; jam
Fiet homo, & ponet famosæ mortis amorem.
Nec satis apparet, cur versus factitet; utrùm
Minxerit in patrios cineres, an triste bidental
Moverit incestus: certè furit, ac velut ursus;
Objectos caveæ valuit si frangere clathros,
Indoctum doctumque fugat recitator acerbus.
Quem verò arripuit, tenet, occiditque legendo,
Non missura cutem, nisi plena cruoris, hirudo.

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Sit jus, liceatque poëtis
perire. Qui servat
alium invitum, facit
idem occidenti. Nec
fecit hoc semel; nec, si
erit retractus, fiet jam
homo, & ponet amorem
famosæ mortis. Nec
apparet satis, cur fac-
titet versus; utrùm
minxerit in cineres pa-
trios, an incestus mo-
verit triste bidental;
certè furit, ac veluti
ursus, si valuit fran-
gere clathros objectos caveæ, recitator acerbus fugat indoctum doctumque. Quem verò arripuit,

gere clathros objectos caveæ, recitator acerbus fugat indoctum doctumque. tenet, occiditque legendo, hirudo non missura cutem, nisi plena cruoris.

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place. An triste bidental moverit incestus. When thunder broke upon any place, the ancients fancied that the Gods meant to have that place consecrated. Accordingly, the *aruspices* immediately went to it, and offered the sacrifice of a young sheep; after which they inclosed it with a rope, or stakes, or a wall of stone. After this the place was sacred, it was held unlawful to walk in it, and was called *bidental* from the sheep that had been offered, à *bidente*. To profane this place, or remove its bounds, was looked upon as an impious and sacrile-

gious presumption. Horace calls it *movere bidental*. Incestus. As the ancients used the word *castus* for pious, so *incestus* often signifies impious.

143 Through all the bars and bolts that secured his den. Valuit si frangere clathros. Clathrus, from the Greek *κλῆθρον*, signifies properly those great bars of wood or iron, wherewith they were wont to secure the gates and windows of houses. Hence it was also made to stand for the fences with which wild beasts were shut in.

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tells us, that this assembly had a great advantage over all others of the same kind; for whereas they consisted of six or seven persons at most, this was made up of no less than twenty, the greatest geniuses in Rome. He further tells us, that this institution put Horace upon the design of composing his *Art of Poetry*; as a collection of the rules and judgment of that learned body. But whether Horace composed this work in a private or public character, he had it doubtless in view to give the Romans an *art of poetry*, which should serve as an abridgment of what Aristotle, Crito, Zeno, Democritus and Neoptolemus had written on the same subject. Some tell us, that it is no more than a collection of some of the most excellent precepts of this last; for Porphyryon, speaking of it, says: *In quem librum coniecit præcepta Neoptolemi de arte poëtica; non quidem omnia, sed eminentissima.* "Where he has collected the precepts of Neoptolemus upon the art of poetry; not indeed all, but the most important." As Horace

The KEY.

never reviewed this piece, nor observed any particular order, but took the several subjects, as chance threw them in his way; there is neither method nor connexion in this treatise, which is, properly, an unfinished work, the poet not having time to put his last hand to it, or which is more likely, not caring to give himself that trouble. They, who imagine that it may be made a perfect work by transposing the verses, are very much mistaken: there will yet be found a great many things wanting that naturally entered into his design. If we except *Aristotle's Art of Poetry*, there is not, in all antiquity, a finer or more useful work of criticism than this. In all its parts we meet with a justness and perfection, that leaves not so much as a wish unsatisfied. All its decisions and judgments are so many truths drawn from the nature of the subjects which he handles; and it is impossible to refuse our assent to them, without running contrary at the same time to reason and good sense. *Julius Scaliger* indeed seems to have been of a different mind: *Would you know, says he, what my sentiments are of Horace's Art of Poetry? It is an art described without art. De Arte quæres quid sentiam: Quid? Equidem quod de arte sine arte traditâ.* He adds, that it can please only children, and that there is no profit in reading it. Would the reader know why *Scaliger* passes such a severe censure upon this part of *Horace*? It is this: *Scaliger* himself wrote an *Art of Poetry*, of which he was very fond. This work, it must be owned, has merit: it is writ with just method, a beautiful arrangement, and a great extent of learning; the style is noble, concise, and suited to the subject: but it is defective in what is of greatest importance; for it is formed upon a false taste, and full of little niceties that concern rather a grammarian than a poet: no precept that regards the sublime of poetry; no way opened to the imagination; no aid to a genius that wants instruction; nothing to raise the mind, or dispose it to a noble enthusiasm; nothing that discovers wherein consist the riches of poetry, what leads to perfection, &c.

*Unde parentur opes; quid alet formetque poetam;
Quid deceat, quid non; quò virtus, quò ferat error.*

On the contrary, all these are treated of in *Horace* with marvellous address: every thing is great; a poet's path is distinctly marked; all the secrets of the art are laid open. The precepts are so solid, so necessary, and so important, that, even at this day, the success of the greatest works in poetry depends upon the observation of these rules; a sure sign that they are taken from nature herself, still the same in all times and places. Had *Scaliger* understood our poet, he would probably have done him more justice, and spoke with greater modesty; but he did not allow himself time to study and comprehend

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prehend him well. It was of too small a compass to be relished by a man of his taste, who made so little account of great volumes, and loved better to give than receive rules. His *Art of Poetry*, it must be owned, is a work of great learning; but his criticisms are not always just.

Although this piece is no more than an Epistle, like the former, yet *Horace*, to distinguish it from them, calls it *DE ARTE POETICA*; *THE ART OF POETRY*. For he treats of it expressly, and gives rules for composition; whereas his other Epistles are only occasional criticisms. Nor can the antiquity of this title be questioned, it being that under which *Quintilian* cites it in the third Chapter of his eighth Book: *Id enim tale est monstrum, quale Horatius in primâ parte libri de Arte Poeticâ fingit: Humano capiti, &c.*

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Catella, a little chain which ladies wore upon their wrists by way of bracelets, 290.
Catia, a *Roman* matron of an abandoned character, 24.
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Cato, the censor, a remarkable saying of his, 20.
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- Celsus Albinovanus*, secretary to *Tiberius*, a plagiary, 221.
- Censor*, his office; made to stand for an impartial critic, 350.
- Centuriae seniorum*, the centuries of old men or senators, 392.
- Centurio*, captain of a century or company of a hundred, 72.
- Centuriones magni*, the captains of the first companies of the legions; *Principili*, 72.
- Centurus*, a great admirer of women of quality, 23.
- Centuriones*, a people of *Tuscany*, who, by revolting, forfeited their privilege of Roman citizens, 232.
- Cerberus*, represented as laborious masculine men, retaining the manners of the ancient Romans, 365.
- Cerberus*, *Marcus Cornelius*, consul in the year of the city 550, 321.
- Cerberus*, a wretched poetaster, highly favored by *Alexander the Great*, 335.
- Characters*, to mark them strongly, and keep them distinct, one of the most essential parts of dramatic poetry, 371.
- Charybdis*, a dangerous rock in the straits of *Sicily*, painted by *Homer* as a monster, 374.
- Chariot-races*, the pursuits of ambition compared to them, 13.
- Chian wine*, mixed commonly with *Falerian*, to temper the sharp taste of it, 95.
- Chios*, an island of the *Aegean sea*, between *Lesbos* and *Samos*, 254.
- Chorus*, tragedy, in losing it, has lost its chief ornament, 378. Its several functions described, *ibid.*
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- Cicero Gabinius*, a description of it from *Ferrarius*, 365.
- Circe*, *Ulysses* too wise to drink of her philtres, 214.
- Circus*, a great building of an oval figure, in which the public shows were represented to the people, 140.
- Citizen of Argos*, a remarkable story of one, 351.
- City-life*, its reputation owing entirely to the blindness of men, 255.
- Civil-life*, *Horace* full of the best precepts in that way, 290.
- Civil wars*, hurry *Horace* from *Athens*, to engage in the party of *Brutus*, 344.
- Clathrus*, a great bar of wood or iron, for securing the gates and windows of houses, 403.
- Clavi*, purple galloons that bordered the fore part of the tunic on both sides, 59.
- Clazomene*, a city of great traffic in *Asia Minor*, 76.
- Clusium*, a city of *Tuscany*, whose cold baths were much frequented, 273.
- Coactor*, a collector of the customs, 73.
- Cocceius*, a celebrated lawyer, grandfather of the emperor *Cocceius Nerva*, 58.
- Cock-crowling*, the Roman lawyers went to rise so early, and give advice gratis to their clients, 3.
- Cœna dubia*, where the variety of dishes makes you at a loss which to choose, 120.
- Cœnacula*, the highest chambers in any house, those immediately under the roof, 210.
- Cognitor*, an agent for any person, who manages affairs in his absence, 166.
- Cold bath in the winter*, first advised by *Antonius Musa*, 272.
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- Fountains*, esteemed sacred by the ancients, 58.
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- Friendship*, one of the most valuable enjoyments of life, 40.
- Frigore ferire*, an uncommon phrase, to look cold upon one, to be displeased with him, 109.
- Frons urbana*, the same as *frons scurrilis*, town-assurance, 248.
- Fruzi*, a word of very extensive signification, 280.
- Fucus*, an herb used by women to paint themselves with, 24.
- Fusidius*, a celebrated usurer in our poet's time, 17.
- Fulvius*, a gladiator, whose picture was often done upon sign-posts, 191.
- Fundanius*, a celebrated writer of comedy, 97. A fine rallier, and remarkable too for his readiness to find out the ridicule of every thing that occurred to him, 193.
- Fundi*, a town on the *Appian* way, ten miles from *Terracina*, 58.
- Funerals*, among the *Romans*, always preceded by trumpets and flutes, 68.
- Furcâ expellere*, to drive away by violence; the original of the phrase, 252.
- Furius Bibaculus*, a poet that wrote upon the wars of *Gaul*, 166.
- Furnius*, consul in 737, equally master of the pen and sword, 100.
- Fuscus Ariflius*, the poet addresses the tenth Epistle of the first Book to him, 248.
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- Galli*, the priests of *Cybele*, all eunuchs, 27.
- Gallonius*, censured for his gluttony, handled unmercifully in the satires of *Lucilius*, 117.
- Gardens in the suburbs of Rome of great extent*, so as to be portioned into fields, groves, and meadows, 252.
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Hecate, the same with *Diana*, always invoked by sorceresses, 82.

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Hymettus, a mountain of *Attica*, fertile in honey, 115.

Hypsea, a lady of quality, whose blind fondness for a gallant gave rise to a proverb, 24.

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- Jericbo*, the most fertile part of *Judea*, 355.
- Jews*, remarkably zealous in seeking after proselytes, 55.
- Ilerda*, a city of great trade in *Spain*, 311.
- Ilia ducere*, to be short-winded, to puff and blow, 203.
- Ilione*, the name of a comedy written by *Accius* or *Pacuvius*, 130.
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- Inconstancy and avarice*, vices near akin to each other, 12.
- Incrustare vas sincerum*, to do over a found vessel with varnish; the meaning of the phrase, 34.
- Indictæ Latinæ*, the feast of the *Latins*, why so called, 242.
- Indoctum canere*, to sing without rule, as taught by nature, 34.
- Inequality of verse*, a great advantage in the *Greek* and *Latin* elegy above ours, 367.
- Ingluvies ingrata*, used by *Horace* in a very particular sense, 16.
- Ingratitude*, the sure return of favors injudiciously bestowed, 236.
- Ino*, the daughter of *Cadmus* and *Harmonia*, married to *Atamas*, 371.
- Insinuations*, often give the deepest wounds to the reputation of our friends, 51.
- Instita*, a border of purple that went round the bottom of the *stola*, 19.
- Intervention of a Deity*, never to take place but in the most weighty cases, 378.
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- Iō Bacche*, the first words of a song greatly in vogue in our poet's time, 30.
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- Judgments past upon actions*, various, according to the various humours of men, 28.
- Judicare Jove æquo*, to judge fairly, the original and meaning of the phrase, 321.
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Lamus, king of the *Læstrygons*, who fed upon human flesh, 392.

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Laticlavii, broad galloons that bordered the fore part of the tunic, 59.

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Lectica, a kind of chaises used by the Roman ladies, 24.
Lentissima brachia, arms that easily yield, not sensible to the touch, 90.
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- Medea*, her character must be bloody and inflexible, as in *Euripides*, 371.
- Mediastinus*, the lowest servant in a house, who was obliged to receive the orders of the rest, 267.
- Membrana*, parchment upon which they wrote out any work fair when they had put the last hand to it, 124.
- Memory*, divided into natural and artificial, a description of the latter from *Cicero*, 154.
- Menander*, the inventor of the new comedy, 126.
- Mendici*, sharpers, conjurers, &c. 16.
- Menedemus*, his character as drawn by *Terence* in the *Self-tormentor*, 18.
- Menenii*, a family where folly was in a manner become hereditary, 149.
- Merces*, made to stand for the interest or usury exacted upon any sum, 17.
- Merit*, seldom regarded so much as the advantage of birth and fortune, 76.
- Messala Corvinus*, a famous pleader, greatly commended by *Quintilian*, 96.
- Metella*, a pearl taken from her ear, dissolved and swallowed, 145.
- Metellus*, severely handled by *Lucilius* in his satires, 110.
- Metempsychosis*, a doctrine first started by *Pythagoras*, 319.
- Methymnean grape*, so called from a city of that name in *Lesbos*, 196.
- Metius Tarpa*, one of the judges established to examine the works of poets, 395.
- Middle way*, strongly recommended and placed in following Nature, 29.
- Milefians*, famed for the magnificence of their habits, 288.
- Milonius*, *Horace* defends himself from his example, 106.
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- Mimes of Laberius in great esteem*, especially with *Cæsar*, 94.
- Mimnermus*, a poet of *Ionis*, who succeeded chiefly in matters of love and
- raillery, 233. His style smooth, copious, and florid, preferred to *Callimachus*, 249.
- Minimo provocare*, to challenge; a metaphor taken from players on the lute, 44.
- Minturnæ*, upon the borders of *Campania*, full of marshes, 224.
- Minucian way*, so called from the consul *Tiberius Minucius*, led from *Rome* to *Brundysium*, 294.
- Misenum*, a promontory of *Campania*, 157.
- Miser*, story of a miser at *Athens*, 8.
- Moderate fortune*, commended as the most desirable, 182.
- Modesty of our poet*, when he sends his papers to *Augustus*, 265.
- Modius*, a measure in use among the *Romans*, 7.
- Momenta Leonis*, for *motus, æstus, Leonis*, 251.
- Morality*, *Horace's* Satires and Epistles, a fine collection of it, 14. The study of it attended with the greatest advantages, 210.
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- Murena*, brother to *Licinia*, the wife of *Mæcenas*, 59.
- Musie*, the several changes that happened in the music of tragedy, 379.
- Mutius Publius*, one of the first writers upon the civil law, 348.

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- Nævius*, blamed for negligence in his entertainments, 119. *Horace's* judgment of the merit of his poetry, 319.
- Nares acutæ*, an ordinary mark of a rallier, 33.
- Navis emunctæ homo*, a keen rallier, 44.
- Nasica* and *Coranus*, their story related with great humour, 168.
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- Nasus aduncus*, used by the ancients to denote a sneerer, 44.
- Nativity of Cæsar*, *Horace* invites *Torquatus* to sup with him upon it, 226.
- Natta*, a surname of one of the branches of the family of the *Pinarii*, 75.
- Nature*, sufficient of herself, without foreign aid, to make us happy, 22.
- Naumachiae*, representations of sea-fights, their probable origin, 298.
- Necessary wants*, easily supplied, 22.
- Nebulo*, an unstable man, acting upon no fixed views, 12.
- Nerius*, a banker, in whose hands *Perilius* had lodged his money, 131.
- Nestor*, a Greek of great experience, always for peaceful and moderate counsels, 213.
- Neurospasta*, little statues of wood of the nature of our puppets, 189.
- Nisibis*, a city of *Mesopotamia*, where *Tigranes* kept his treasures, 343.
- Nomentanus*, a noted debauchee in our poet's time, 11. The poet's severe stroke of satire against him, 81.
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- Numerus*, the bulk of mankind so called because mere ciphers, 214.
- Numicius*, *Horace* addresses the sixth Epistle of his first Book to him, 221.
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- Occare*, to break or reduce into small pieces with a rake, 354.
- Octavius*, an excellent poet and historian, 100.
- Otionæ*, an epithet given to the *Ides*, because they happened just eight days after the *Nones*, 72.
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- Olidæ capræ*, used to express that noisome smell which arises from crowds of people got together in a hot season, 227.
- Onuphrius Panuvius*, an inscription preserved by him, 396.
- Opella forensis*, affairs that require close attendance upon courts of judicature, 236.
- Opimius*, introduced as a remarkable example of avarice, 138.
- Oppidius Servius*, story of him and his two sons, 140.
- Orbilus*, a schoolmaster at *Rome*, harsh to his scholars, 322.
- Orbius*, one of large domains, who sold yearly great quantities of grain, 353.
- Orca*, by some made to signify an earthen jar, by others the tunny-fish, 159.
- Orestes*, his tragical history brought in by the poet, 137. The character he should appear in in tragedy, 372.
- Origo*, a famous courtesan and comedian, 21.
- Orpheus*, called the sacred interpreter of the Gods, because he sung of their nature and will, and instituted sacred rites, 396.
- Oryzæ piscinarium*, a decoction of rice, 138.
- Oscians*, the people inhabiting the maritime towns of *Campania*, 60.
- Osiris*, the same with *Apis* and *Serapis*, and patron of vagabonds, 291.
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- Pace*, the slow majestic pace of *Juno* celebrated by the poets, 30.
- Pacuvius*, a writer of tragedies, whose poems were much esteemed because of the great learning dispersed in them, 320.
- Pætus*, one who has pinking eyes, 33.
- Paganica*, a ball stuffed with feathers, described by *Martial*, 114.
- Palatine hill*, *Augustus* builds a library upon it, and consecrates it to *Apollo*, 221.
- Palla* and *Pallium*, a kind of mantle thrown over the *stola* by ladies when they went abroad, 24.
- Pantilius*, a buffoon, and great enemy to *Horace*, 100.
- Pantolabus*, the poet's severe stroke of satire against him, 81.
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- Partiality* to one's own faults, exposed and censured, 31.
- Passion*, each has an air, language, and action peculiar to itself, 370.
- Passions*, headstrong, and apt to push us too far, 218.
- Pastillus*, a kind of little cake made up round, 19.
- Patera*, a cup for libations, 74.
- Patruus*, often used by the Romans instead of censor, 134.
- Paucorum hominum*, a man of difficult access, and nice in the choice of his friends, 88.
- Pausias*, a famous painter of *Sicyone*, contemporary with *Apelles*, 190.
- Peacocks*, first brought into vogue by *Q. Hortensius*, 115.
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- Pedius*, a celebrated pleader, whom *Cæsar* made heir to the fourth part of his estate, 96.
- Pedum*, a small town between *Prænestæ* and *Tivoli*, the retreat of *Tibullus*, 222.
- Peleus*, an indigent prince, banished his own country, 369.
- Penelope*, her chastity ascribed by *Tiresias* to the avarice of her lovers, 169.
- Pentameter*, or *lesser elegiac*, the author of it uncertain, 367.
- Pentatblum*, composed of five several exercises, 114.
- Penula*, of Greek derivation, a kind of rough coat to defend from cold and rain, 257.
- People*, naturally biassed to birth and pomp, 67.
- Perfection of manners*, neither to be too forward nor too indolent, 217.
- Perillus*, introduced as the creditor of *Damaspippus*, 131.
- Periscelis*, a garter, the Roman ladies wore them very rich, 291.
- Perseus*, his character of *Horace*, 5. A considerable trader, of a Greek father, and Italian mother, 76.
- Pesilius Capitolinus*, one who had been prosecuted for extortion during his proconsulship, 51.
- Petrorritum*, a kind of chariot with four wheels, 74.
- Pœdria*, his long debate with himself in the *Eunuch* of *Terence*, 147.
- Pbalaris*, tyrant of *Agrigentum*, his famous brazen bull alluded to, 216.
- Pharmacopolæ*, perfumers, 16.
- Philip*, an orator of the first rank, often mentioned by *Cicero*, 239.
- Philippi*, *Horace*, by the memorable battle here fought, strip of his all, and reduced to have recourse to poetry, 344.
- Philodemus*, fond of pleasure only, when it could be purchased with ease, 26.
- Philosophy*, *Horace's* Satires and Epistles, one of the best systems of it, 14.
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- Pibimus*, a box used in playing at dice, 184.
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- Pillars*, erected to mark the extent of public grants of land, 81.
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- Pituita*, its effects upon the stomach when it mixes with the bile, 119.
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- Planus*, a beggar, vagabond, or impostor, 291.
- Plato*, a story of him and *Diogenes*, 35. A comic poet, his works carried by *Horace* into the country, 126.
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- Polypus*, a fleshy excrescence in the nose, 33.
- Pomponius*, used by *Horace* as a general name to express any provoked father, 48.
- Pontiffs*, first instituted by *Numa*, 317.
- Populace*, their inconsistent changeable humour described, 208.
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- Porticos*, annexed to public buildings by way of ornament, 54. Of *Agrippa* near the *Pantheon*, at the entrance to the *Campus Martius*, 230.
- Poverty*, first sets *Horace* upon attempting poetry, 344.
- Præco*, a public crier, 73.
- Prædes*, properly in civil causes, *Vades* in criminal, 88.
- Præneste*, a city of *Latium*, eighteen miles from *Rome*, 212.
- Prætecta*, originally the magistrate's robe; a gown edged round with a border of purple, 59.
- Pratinas*, the first among the *Greeks*, who wrote satirical pieces, 381.
- Premere aulæa*, to let fall the curtain, to begin, 332.
- Prepossession* of the *Romans* in favor of antiquity, very strong, 316.
- Priapus*, his merry revenge on two forceresses, 85.
- Primipili*, captains of the first companies of the legions, 72.
- Prisus*, changeable and inconstant; the character applied by *Davus* to *Horace*, 183.
- Prodigality*, severely censured as of pernicious consequence, 22.
- Proteus*, the son of *Neptune*, who could assume what shape he pleased, 132.
- Ptisanarium*, of Greek derivation, a decoction of barley, 138.
- Public*, dangerous to prepossess it in favor of a work, 265.
- Pulmentarium*, a kind of minced meat, or water-gruel, 115.
- Puppius*, a tragic poet, whose chief excellence lay in moving the passions, 208.
- Puteal*, a place where thunder broke, inclosed and consecrated, 176.
- Pylades*, nephew to *Orestes*, famed for the friendship between them, 137.
- Pyrrhia*, the name of a servant-maid in a comedy, who stole some bottoms of yarn, 264.
- Pythagoras*, his precepts not to provoke a man in a passion, 148. One of the first who applied to the study of philosophy, 154. His notion that the souls of men passed sometimes into plants, 261.

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- Quinquatrus*, or *Quinquatria*, the feast of *Minerva*, continued five days, 356.
- Quinquennial games*, instituted by *Augustus*, in honor of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, 396.
- Quinquertium*, composed of five several exercises, 114.
- Quinqueviri*, magistrates of the colonies and municipal towns, why so called, 167.
- Quintilian*, differs from *Horace* in his judgment of *Lucilius*, 93.
- Quintilis*, the ancient name of *July*, changed in honor of *Julius Cæsar*, 234.
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- Rancidus aper*, a proverbial expression, its meaning, 121.
- Rapula*, turnips, 116.
- Reason*, the only cure for the disorders of the mind, 257.
- Reciting*, the nature of it described from *Pliny*, 45.
- Recommending friends*, a matter of great nicety, 248.
- Referre æra Idibus*, to calculate the interest of any sum from the *Calends* to the *Ides*, 72.
- Register of the Cerites*, the list of those deprived of the right of suffrage, 232.
- Relations,*

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- Reposita*, the feast made the day after the nuptials, 118.
- Reputation of friends*, often most deeply wounded by dark insinuations, 52.
- Respondere*, in law, to appear in court and answer to an indictment, 88.
- Reticulum*, a kind of basket used in carrying of bread, 7.
- Retirement*, *Horace* a great lover of it, 250.
- Rhannet*, instead of *Romani*, from *Rhannenses*, one of the three ancient tribes into which the people were divided, 393.
- Rhetorician*, story of a rhetorician and lawyer, two brothers, 347.
- Riches*, men not always esteemed in proportion to them, 8. Often the cause of great anxieties and fears, 9. In the hands of a miser, like a flute in the hands of a man unskilled in music, 145.
- Romans*, very careful of the education of their children, 217.
- Romulus*, dissuades *Horace*, in a dream, from meddling with *Greek* poetry, 96.
- Roscius*, a tribune of the commons, who enacted a law regulating the estates of the different orders of the commonwealth, 208. One of the best actors that ever appeared in *Rome*, excelled chiefly in comedy, 322.
- Rostra*, that part of the *forum* whence the magistrates harangued the people, 177.
- Rubii*, a small town in *Apulia*, 20.
- Rudarii*, gladiators who for their dexterity had been rewarded with the *rudis*, 202.
- Rudis*, a rod given to gladiators, discharging them from any further performance, 202.
- Rufillus*, censured for being always strongly perfumed, 18.
- Rupilius Rex*, a native of *Præneste*, proscribed by *Augustus*, 76.
- Rutuba*, a gladiator, whose picture was often done upon sign-posts, 191.
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- Sabbata tricesima*, the different notions of commentators about it fairly represented, 91.
- Sabine farm*, *Horace* commonly retired to it during the autumn-season, 236.
- Sabinus, Aulus*, a poet, whose elegies were held in great esteem, 227.
- Sacred way*, that by which, in triumphal processions, they ascended to the Capitol, 84.
- Sagana*, a famous enchantress, 82.
- Salernum*, a small town in the territories of *Picenum*, 271.
- Saliare carmen*, the poem sung by the *Salii* in their solemn processions, full of obscurity, 323.
- Salii*, twelve priests, instituted by *Numa* in honor of *Mars*, 323.
- Sallust*, prodigal, and excessively given to women, 20.
- Samnite gladiators*, hired to divert at entertainments, fought only with foils, 349.
- Samos*, the country of *Polycrates* and *Pythagoras*, 254.
- Sardis*, the capital of *Lydia*, where was the palace of *Cræsus*, 254.
- Sarmentus*, a buffoon, his encounter with *Cicerrus*, 60.
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- Saturnalia*, one of the most remarkable feasts among the *Romans*; their manner of observing it, 125.
- Saturnian verses*, the same with the *Fescennine*, so called on account of their antiquity, 329.
- Saturum*, a city upon the borders of the *Volsi* in old *Latium*, 70.
- Scæva*, produced as an example of men's acting differently, according to their different turn of mind, 108. Introduced to clear himself from the accusation of poisoning his mother, 137. *Horace* addresses the seventeenth Epistle of his first Book to him, 284.
- Scævola, Quintus*, a celebrated professor of

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- Scarus*, a fish very much liked at *Rome*, 115.
- Scaurus*, one whose feet are so distorted, that he walks upon his ancles, 33.
- Scipio Africanus*, the destroyer of *Carthage*, a great patron of learning, 109.
- Scrutum*, all kinds of iron and such like ware, 241.
- Scutica*, a leathern thong, used by school-masters in correcting children, 39.
- Scylla*, a dangerous rock in the straits of *Sicily*, painted by *Homer* as a monster, 374.
- Sellanus*, a man abandoned wholly to courtezans, 52.
- Secundus panis*, the same among the *Romans* as brown bread with us, 326.
- Sella curulis*, proper to the *consuls*, *ædiles* and *prætors*, called hence *Curules Magistratus*, 232.
- Sempronius*, first brought storks into use at *Rome*, 117.
- Seneca*, a passage of his quoted, 25.
- Septimius*, a celebrated lyric poet, whom *Horace* recommends to *Tiberius*, 246.
- Seri studiorum*, such as begin not their studies till late, and never arrive at any great degree of perfection, 95.
- Sertorius*, the method he took to revive the courage of his army after a defeat, 318.
- Servius*, one whose judgment *Horace* expresses a great value for, 100. A celebrated informer, who threatened all that offended him with an action, 108.
- Sesquipedalia verba*, words of a foot and half, &c. 370.
- Sestertium* and *Sestertius*, a way of computing in use among the *Romans*, 31.
- Sestos*, on the *Hellepont*, famous for the lovers of *Hero* and *Leander*, 218.
- Sextarius*, a *Roman* measure of about a pint and a half, 9.
- Sextilis*, the ancient name of *August*, changed in honor of *Augustus*, 234.
- Sicily*, remarkable for the many tyrants that have reigned in it, 216.
- Sigillaria*, little statutes of wood of the nature of our puppets, 189.
- Siliqua*, a kind of fruit like a chesnut, pulse, husks of pulse, 226.
- Simplicity in the several parts*, a fundamental rule of composition, 360.
- Singers*, their most prevailing fault exposed and censured, 28.
- Sinuessæ*, a city upon the sea-coast, seventeen miles from *Formia*, 59. The wine near this place was very much esteemed, 225.
- Sisenna, Cornelius*, a celebrated rallier mentioned also by *Dion*, 77.
- Sisyphus*, the dwarf of *Mark Antony*, 33. The son of *Æolus*, according to some, the first who found out *Corinthian* brass, 128.
- Slaves*, commonly educated in the knowledge of the languages, music, and exercises, 340.
- Sloth*, the poet counselled against it by *Damasippus*, 127.
- Smyrna*, originally a colony of *Ephesians*, 255.
- Soccus*, peculiar to the actors of comedy, 332.
- Socrates*, his great success in the way of irony and raillery, 84. Tried and condemned on the false accusation of *Anytus*, 154.
- Socraticæ chartæ*, the Academic philosophy, or writings of *Socrates*, 390.
- Soldier in the army of Lucullus*, his resolution inspired by the loss of his all, 342.
- Solennia insanire*, to be seized with a madness common to all the world, 210.
- Sophocles*, the successor of *Æschylus*, he carried tragedy to its highest perfection, 330.
- Sorcery*, ridicule the fittest weapon wherewith to combat it, 84.
- Sossi*, two brothers, noted booksellers in *Rome*, 310.
- Soul*, called, in the language of *Plato*, a particle of the Divinity, 120.
- Speakers*, their number never to exceed three, 378.
- Staberius*, his strange fantastical humor, 133.
- Stag*, the fable of the horse and stag, 253.
- Stare*, in law, marks the posture of the parties before a court, 88.
- Sterimius*, a Stoic philosopher of the sect of *Chrysippus*, 129.
- Steward*, *Horace* writes an Epistle to his steward in the country, 266.
- Stoics*, their doctrine of the equality of crimes censured, 36.

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- Syola*, the robe worn by women of quality, 19.
- Storks*, first brought into use by *Afinius Sempronius*, 117.
- Strabo*, one whose eyes are distorted, who looks askint, 33.
- Sirenuæ inertia*, a happy expression to mark a labor that turns to no account, 259.
- Studiosa cohorts*, the studious tribe, the republic of letters, 219.
- Sturgeon*, first brought into vogue by *Gallonius*, 117.
- Style*, an instrument made use of by the ancients in writing, 99.
- Subject*, every one should choose a subject fitted to his strength, 363.
- Subucula*, a kind of under-vestment of linen, 210.
- Sulcius*, a celebrated informer, dreaded by thieves and rogues, 49.
- Sulpicia*, the daughter of *Servius*, in love with *Cerinthus*, 23.
- Superstition*, ridiculed by our poet with great humour, 84. In the story of a freedman, &c. 148.
- Surrentum*, wine of it, when poured upon *Falernian* lees, must be clarified with a pigeon's egg, 158.
- Syllogism of the heap*, a way of reasoning the most artful of any, 318.
- Sylvanus*, different offerings made to him according to the season, or need of his assistance, 327.
- Sirens*, the daughters of *Achelous* and *Calliope*: their history, 127. Their songs not sufficient to entice *Ulysses* from his steady purpose, 214.
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- Table*, the manner of sitting among the ancients, 50.
- Tabulae*, the seats of the judges, sometimes used for the judges themselves, 111.
- Tacitus*, the character of *Tiberius* as drawn by him, 247.
- Tamais*, instanced as running to an extreme we ought to shun, 12.
- Tantalus*, his story an emblem of a covetous mind, 9.
- Tarentum*, *Horace* made this his retreat in the cold season, because of the mild winter and long spring, 236.
- Tarpea*, one of the five judges established to decide upon the merit of authors, 97.
- Tarpeian rock*, criminals sentenced to be thrown down from it, 68.
- Taurus Statilius*, a man of obscure birth, whose merits raised him to the highest dignities of the state, 224.
- Teanum*, one of the finest cities in *Campania*, 209.
- Telemachus*, his wise answer to *Menelaus*, when urged to accept a present of horses, 239.
- Telephus*, an indigent prince banished his own country, 369.
- Temperance*, the advantages of it a common theme for moralists, 124.
- Tenebrio*, from *tenebræ*, the meaning of the word explained, 12.
- Terence*, excelled chiefly in painting life and manners, 321.
- Terracina*, a city of the *Volsci*, so called because situate upon a barren rocky soil, 58.
- Tesqua*, eminences covered with woods, and difficult of access, 267.
- Tetrachord*, a musical instrument often used in concert with the voice, 30.
- Tetrarchs*, governors of the fourth part of a kingdom, 30.
- Theatre*, among the ancients commonly strowed with flowers and saffron-waters, 322.
- Theban measures*, the measures of *Pindar*, who was of *Thebes*, 220.
- Thespis*, one of the first who gave tragedy its true form among the Greeks, 330.
- Thyestes*, the history of his family afforded the best subjects for tragedy, 369.
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- Tibullus*, a celebrated poet of the *Alban* family, who ruined his estate by his prodigality, 222.
- Tigellius*, a native of *Sardinia*, and a famous musician, 16. Censured for his bad taste in poetry, 94.
- Timagenes*, a rhetorician of *Alexandria*, carried his railleries to excess, 305.
- Tiresias*, his dialogue with *Ulysses*, in the eleventh Book of the *Odyssey*, continued by *Horace*, 162.
- Titus Septimius*, author of several tragedies and lyric poems, 219.

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- Togata comædia*, comedies where the subjects were Roman, 320.
- Tollere aulæa*, to draw up the curtain after all is over, 332.
- Torquatus*, *Horace* invites him to sup with him, 224.
- Transitions*, *Horace* extremely fond of them, 276.
- Transmigration of souls*, a doctrine first started by *Pythagoras*, 319.
- Traſius*, one that had waſted his patrimony in luxury, 121.
- Trebatius Teſta*, a celebrated lawyer, whom *Horace* applies to for advice, 104.
- Trebonius*, one that had loſt his reputation by criminal intrigues, 52.
- Trevicum*, a town belonging to the *Hirpini*, 62.
- Tribulis conviva*, one belonging to a club whoſe members were all of the ſame tribe, 264.
- Tribune*, *Horace* a military tribune under *Brutus* at the battle of *Philippi*, 69.
- Trigonalis pila*, a common ball in playing, with which three perſons ſtood in form of a triangle, 114.
- Trimeters*, iambics ſo called, becauſe of their rapidity, 384.
- Trinacria*, *Sicily* ſo called becauſe of its triangular figure, 177.
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- Trulla*, from *trua*, a great pot with a long handle, 138.
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